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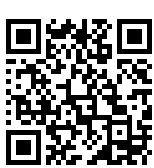

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ESSAYS ON LITURGIOLOGY AND CHURCH HISTORY.

BY THE REV. J. M. NEALE, D.D.

WARDEN OF SACKVILLE COLLEGE.

WITH AN APPENDIX ON LITURGICAL QUOTATIONS FROM THE ISAPOSTOLIC FATHERS,

BY THE REV. GERARD MOULTRIE, M.A.

SECOND EDITION, WITH PREFACE BY THE REV. R. F. LITTLEDALE, LL.D.

LONDON:

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1867.

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TO HIS HOLINESS,

PHILARET,

METROPOLITAN OF MOSCOW,

AND ARCHIMANDRITE OF THE TROITZKO-SERGIEVSKY LAURA,

WITH DEEP VENERATION FOR HIS OFFICE AND CHARACTER,

AND IN GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE

OF HIS

BLESSING BESTOWED ON THE WRITER,

"AS ONE OF THOSE

WHO STUDY THE LITURGIES OF THE CHURCH,

IN ANTICIPATION OF HER FUTURE REUNION,"

THESE ESSAYS ARE DEDICATED.

Orthodoxy Sunday,
February 17, 1862.

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PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION.

THE impetus given to the ſtudy of Comparative Liturgiology by the great ſcholar whoſe chief Eſſays on that new branch of eccleſiaſtical literature are contained in this volume has already produced remarkable effects in the Church of England, and is likely to lead to reſults even more ſtriking and comprehenſive.

When the maxim, "*Lex orandi eſt lex credendi*," has once been accepted, the whole practical ſyſtem of Chriſtianity is ſtraightway put on a firmer baſis than that of Evidences or Articles, and is removed from the tainted atmoſphere of controverſy into the clear and healthy air of frank belief.

So long as attention is concentrated on the formularies of one age or nation alone, the full importance of certain expreſſions is apt to be underrated, and the removal or modification of phraſes deemed exceptional or ſuperfluous is urged by many who are unaware of the place which theſe phraſes actually hold in Chriſtian theology. There

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is no ſuch certain bulwark againſt haſty and indiſcreet Liturgical Reviſion as the ſtudy of thoſe Prayer Books of other lands and centuries which the advocates of ſudden change do not even profeſs to underſtand or examine; but which clearly eſtabliſh the truth that the exciſions deſired are not of mere external accretions, not of portions of the frame in which the mirror of truth is ſet, but integral parts of the mirror itſelf, whoſe removal utterly mars the remainder in beauty and utility.

On the other hand, intelligent plans of true reform are ſteadily foſtered by liturgical ſtudies.

It is impoſſible for any one to examine the vaſt treaſures of Eaſtern and Weſtern devotions which are ſtored in Euchology and Menæa, in Miſſal and Breviary, in Hymnal and Sacramentary, without feeling that our poverty may moſt beneficially be aided from their wealth, our rigidneſs ſoftened by their wonderful plaſticity. For what the public Offices of the Church of England lack is not ſo much doctrinal fulneſs (although they are ſuſceptible of much improvement under this head), as variety, fervour, flexibility. Such problems as thoſe of conſtant occurrence: how to contrive a ſervice ſuitable for children; how to deviſe a ſecond Evenſong where one is inſufficient; how to provide for ſpecial occaſions of prayer and thankſgiving, though abſolutely inſoluble ſo long as mere centos from the Bible and Common Prayer Book are made, become clear in the light of Comparative Liturgiology. The ſame principle, applied to religious ſong, has materially altered and raiſed the tone of Engliſh Hymnals during the laſt thirty years. Greek, Latin, and German

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have contributed their beauties and their peculiarities for the enrichment of our hymnody; and that not merely in the form of direct tranſlation, but by the infuſion of their ſpirit into the new compoſitions which are rapidly multiplying day by day. When the acerbity of modern polemics has ſomewhat abated, and when Reviſion is ſought for the ſake of practical utility rather than partiſan triumph, the ſtudies which theſe Eſſays repreſent will undoubtedly lead to healthy remodelling of our Offices. At firſt confined to a few erudite ſtudents, Liturgiology has gradually extended its ſphere of attraction, and the faſcination which it exerciſes over all who have once taken it up, even paſſingly, has put ſo much heartineſs into the purſuit, that incomparably more progreſs has been made than was to have been looked for in ſo young a ſcience. As yet, the reſults are rather of a private and unofficial character, betokened more by the increaſed richneſs and devoutneſs of manuals of prayers and collections of ſpecial offices, than by any direct improvement in our public formularies, except ſo far as Liturgiology happens to bear upon their outward manifeſtation. But every ſuch manual or collection at once helps to build up individual devotion, and points out alike the wants in our common Offices, and the fitting mode of ſupplying them. That the wants have made themſelves univerſally felt can no better be pointed out than by reference to the Harveſt and Choral Feſtivals now common throughout England, and to the frequent ſight of conſecrations and reſtorations of churches. No one preſent on ſuch occaſions can have failed to note the extreme difficulty of making the ſervice

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expreſs its intention, even when it is not further marred by the uſe of one of thoſe ſingular oriſons put out at irregular intervals in conſequence of an Order in Council, which contraſt ſo unfavourably, not only with the ſtately and ſimple collects of the Weſt, but with the petitions of the Jewiſh Rabbi, or the fervid declamation of the higher ſtamp of Diſſenting miniſters.

A ſtill deeper intereſt underlies this great ſubject. All who long and pray for the Reunion of Chriſtendom muſt feel that ſuch a bleſſed event cannot be brought about by formal treaties, by exchange of protocols, by compariſon of Articles. The union which is to be cemented at the Altar has little to do with the pulpit, and nothing with eccleſiaſtical law-courts. Maimed and diſfigured as our rites are, yet they atteſt our claims to the Catholic heritage, in a way that the Articles are very far from doing, and conciliate, in their degree, members of foreign Churches, who wiſely and naturally ſhrink from thoſe utterances of 1562, whoſe inutility amongſt ourſelves has long been patent, whoſe doom is already ſealed, whoſe abolition is imminent.

And the reſult on our own ſide is not diſſimilar. Thoſe of us who are moſt reluctant to admit the truth or the adviſability of many uſages and tenets which we ſee prevalent in other communities, and who are apt to look rather at the ſurface differences than at the ſubſtantial identity, will find their beſt corrective in the marvellous devotions which, riſing above the ſphere of error and miſconception, ſeem to pierce the very ſkies. And the humility which teaches us that we have very much to

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learn from thoſe we haſtily deſpiſed is a large element in that temper of mind which is beſt adapted to promote Reunion.

Laſtly, it ſhould be borne in mind that Liturgiology is not a partiſan ſcience. No doubt it bears concluſive teſtimony againſt the innovators on the Faith, againſt the ſcioliſts of reviſion. But its ſcope is ſo wide, embracing every age from the time of the Maccabees to the preſent, every land from India to America, every Jewiſh and Chriſtian Church which has accredited formularies, that it is a ſtanding witneſs againſt narrow excluſiveneſs. The ſame truths are ſeen by its light preſented in ſuch varying forms and colours, without any loſs or concealment of identity, that the upholders of rigid uniformity are at once confuted.

It thus leads directly to the true idea of Catholic comprehenſiveneſs and toleration; not the Latitudinarian notion of ſtriking out what may diſpleaſe anyone, till (like the picture of the ancient artiſt, who aſked his critics to paint over anything they diſapproved) nothing but a vague daub remains; but the higher thought of culling from every ſource the choiceſt flowers for the garland of prayer, heedleſs, ſo long as they are beautiful and fragrant, whether they have ſprung wild on commons and under hedgerows, or have been the object of ſedulous culture in the garden of a floriſt.

Such are the ideas, ſuch the motives, which influenced the illuſtrious ſcholar whoſe learning and genius have thrown a bright halo around purſuits which before ſeemed dull and unattractive, and to whom it was given

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to recaſt, in his lifetime, the hymnody of his native Church. That a yet greater taſk, that of recaſting our Prayer Book, will be achieved in conſequence of his labours, though not by his perſonal energy, cannot be doubted, and the new Office Book may be fitly laid upon his grave, in token of his victory, as the keys of the captured Mooriſh city were placed upon the coffin of the Cid.

R. F. L.

London: Quinquageſima, 1867.

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PREFACE.

I HAVE always felt that there ought to be ſome eſpecial reaſon why papers, which have ſerved their turn in a periodical, ſhould be collected into a volume.

I may remark that the Eſſays, which the reader is about to peruſe, are, in their nature, (for the moſt part,) rather ſucceſſive chapters of one work, than ſcattered papers in a quarterly review. In the latter, they appeared rather by neceſſity, than by choice, of order. Peruſed, as they were to be, at ſuch a diſtance of time from each other, an amount of recapitulation was ſometimes neceſſary, which rendered the Diſſertation in which it occurred the heavier reading; while, after all, it could not be expected that the ſtudent, in giving his attention to an Eſſay of this quarter, ſhould be able to revert to the ſame ſubject in a number of the Review which might be two or three years old.

In the preſent volume the various papers have been arranged in proper order; reiterations, no longer neceſ-

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ſary, have been cut out; ſome miſtakes have been rectified; ſome criticiſms have, I hope, been profited by; and the reſult is now before the reader.

I might alſo, in excuſe for their republication, plead the urgent requeſts which I have received from ſcholars, both in England, Germany, and Ruſſia, by whom it is an honour to be referred to, that theſe Eſſays ſhould appear in a ſeparate form: and I may mention that ſome of them have been tranſlated into French, German, Romaic, and Ruſs.

This volume conſiſts, almoſt entirely, of papers furniſhed to the *Chriſtian Remembrancer*. I have to thank the editor not only for his permiſſion to republiſh them, but alſo for his acceptance of Diſſertations which to the majority of his readers muſt have been, for the moſt part, unintereſting; and which could only be really acceptable to the ſmall claſs of Liturgical ſtudents among us.

I have alſo to thank my friend, the Rev. Gerard Moultrie, for his addition to the paper on Liturgical Quotations in the New Teſtament: where he has moſt happily —unleſs partiality deceives me—worked out—with regard to the Iſapoſtolic Fathers,—the idea which had been in my Eſſay ſtarted with reſpect to the writings of the New Teſtament. I have endeavoured to adduce additional proof in favour of a theory which I am the more encouraged to conſider important on account of the very great kindneſs with which it was received in Germany.

In addition to thoſe papers which are reprinted from

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the *Chriſtian Remembrancer*, one—that on the Bollandiſts—was a contribution to the *Eccleſiaſtic*: only, when it was originally written, I had not myſelf enjoyed, as I have ſince, the privilege of viſiting their houſe of S. Michael, at Bruſſels; and this has occaſioned ſome addition to the original account.

And, finally, the Diſſertation on Sequences is reprinted becauſe it is not procurable in England, while it has been quoted as of ſome degree of authority in Germany. The firſt draught was prefixed as an Introduction to the Collection of Sequences which I printed in 1851. Dr. Daniel, the firſt hymnologiſt of the day, being about to add a fifth volume, by way of appendix, to his former labours—a volume dedicated to Proſes alone—requeſted leave to reprint that Introduction. I was unwilling that, after the lapſe of ſix or ſeven years, it ſhould appear without corrections and additions; and the reſult was the Epiſtle which the reader has now before him.

How utterly unworthy of their ſubject theſe Diſſertations are, no one can feel more deeply than I do. Yet, at the ſame time, they were, I believe, the firſt attempt to elucidate Comparative Liturgiology which had appeared in the Engliſh language, (Mr. Freeman's invaluable work having not been publiſhed when moſt of them were written),—a fact which may perhaps be allowed to excuſe ſome of its ſhortcomings.

SACKVILLE COLLEGE,
All Saints, 1862.

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Его Святѣйшеству,

Филарету,

Митрополиту Московскому и

Священно-Архимандриту Свято-

Троицко-Сергіевой Лавры,

съ глубокимъ сознаніемъ
къ Его служенію и Особѣ,
и съ благодарнымъ памятованіемъ о Его благословеніи на
труды писателя, какъ одного изъ тѣхъ, которые ищутъ цер-
ковной, древле-преданной истинны, къ миру и чаемому
соединенію Святыхъ Божіихъ Церквей,
настоящіе опыты
посвящаются.

Недѣля Православія 1839.

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Eſſays on Liturgiology and Church Hiſtory.

I.

THE BREVIARY*—ROMAN AND GALLICAN.

THE Breviary! How many perſons have the words conſtantly in their mouths without attaching a tangible idea to the phraſe! How many have a miſty notion that it contains a monſtrous jumble of incredible legends, invocations of ſaints, mediæval miracles, fictions, and deceits of all ſorts! How many, even a degree further in ignorance, mix it up in ſome way with the maſs, and expend a vocabulary of Proteſtant indignation on both in one! How few realize to themſelves that it is, to the reſt of the Weſtern Church, their office of Morning and Evening Prayer, their Collects, their daily and Sunday Leſſons, and Pſalter! Nay, that it is the ſource from which our own Prayers and Collects have been tranſcribed. An Engliſh Breviary, indeed, would be a very convenient book, and we recommend the idea to the conſideration of ſome of our church publiſhers.

We beg, at the outſet, that our deſign in this paper may be diſtinctly underſtood. We have not the ſlighteſt intention of attempting anything approaching to a hiſtory of the Breviary,

* Breviarium Romanum, ex decreto SS. Concilii Tridentini reſtitutum: S. Pii V. Pontificis maximi juſſu editum: Clementis VIII. et Urbani VIII. auctoritate recognitum: cum officiis Sanctorum, noviſſime per ſummos pontifices uſque ad hanc diem conceſſis.—Mechliniæ. Typis J. Hanicq. 1846.

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its gradual formation—its various branches—its different corruptions—its ſeveral reforms—the manner in which Rome has ſteadfaſtly ſet herſelf to have one recognized Breviary throughout the Churches of her obedience—to how great an extent ſhe has ſucceeded, where ſhe has failed; all this, though moſt deeply intereſting, is utterly out of our field at preſent. We may, indeed, at ſome future time, enter on this ſubject, ſhould that we have taken in hand prove agreeable to our readers; and we ſhould do it the more readily, becauſe *the Hiſtory of the Breviary*, not only from the time that it came as a book, ſo-called, into uſe, about 1050, but from the very commencement of the gradual proceſs of its formation, is a great deſideratum, perhaps *the* great deſideratum in ritualiſtic works: the treatiſe of Grancolas ſupplying but a very ſmall part of what is wanted. But we now propoſe to explain what the Breviary is, and how it is uſed; and we believe that the majority of our readers will be obliged to us if we take nothing for granted as known, and begin from the beginning. It may be as well to ſay alſo, that we propoſe to include in our inquiry, beſides the modern Roman, the various French Breviaries, thoſe of England, in ſome degree thoſe of weſtern Germany, and thoſe of ſome of the monaſtic orders. With the Breviaries of Germany, (generally ſpeaking,) Poland, Pruſſia, Italy, Sweden, Holland, &c. we ſhall not concern ourſelves; and we alſo propoſe to conſider the Breviary as it is intended for the Church, and not for individual recitation.

It might ſeem that the crowd of French Breviaries which have had their origin within the laſt hundred and fifty years, muſt be utterly worthleſs for ritual ſtudies; but this is not quite the caſe. Juſt as an eccleſiologiſt will, in a moderniſed church, trace a ſtring here, a capital there, a jamb on this ſide, a piſcina on that, which ſpeaks of older and better work; ſo, in theſe office-books, many an old rite may be noted, if looked for, though perhaps disfigured, perhaps diſlocated. And ſuch diſcovery will be the more likely to be made, if the Breviaries in queſtion are ſtudied together with the invaluable *Voyages Liturgiques* of De Moleon, (Le Brun,) who wrote while the old provincial uſes of France were ſtill, in great degree, kept up, and who had that quickneſs of liturgical tact which let nothing noticeable eſcape his obſervation. Thoſe who are not acquainted with this rare book may form a very tolerable idea of it from Mr. Webb's *Continental Eccleſiology*, except that Mr. Webb, if inferior to De Moleon as a ritualiſt, far ſurpaſſes him as an eccleſiologiſt.

Although not concerned with the Hiſtory of the Breviary, it will be neceſſary to ſay a few words on Cardinal Quignon's Reform, both becauſe we ſhall frequently have occaſion to refer to

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it in the following pages, and becauſe it is very intereſting to Engliſh Churchmen as a kind of connecting link between their own Prayer-book and the Roman Breviary. From the time that Pope Nicolas III, about 1180, ſubſtituted Franciſcan for then Roman uſes, (we need not here diſcuſs with what limitations the ſtatement is to be taken,) various propoſals were made for a reform, which, as was natural, grew more requiſite with each century. At length Clement VII. entruſted a thorough reviſion to Fernandez de Quiñones, of a noble family in Leon, a Franciſcan, and Cardinal Preſbyter of the title of Holy Croſs. The firſt edition *appears* to have been publiſhed in 1535; and by the audacity of its alterations excited great oppoſition. It had been approved, however, by Clement VII, and was ſo again by Paul III, Feb. 5, 1535; but the Theological Faculty of Paris cenſured it on July 27 of the ſame year, as infringing on the ancient order of the Church, by the omiſſion of antiphons, by reducing all days to a level in a perpetual monotony of three leſſons, &c. Quignon made ſome alterations in his ſecond edition, in the preface of which he ſays that he had rather publiſhed the former as a *feeler*, than as a final arrangement. The Breviary, in ſome reſpects amended, and with antiphons inſerted, became a favourite in France; there are Paris editions of 1536,* 1539, 1542, 1545, 1546; and twelve Lyonneſe editions between 1538 and 1557. The laſt edition, we believe, is that of Antwerp, 1566.

The Brief of Paul III. gives leave to all ſecular prieſts to recite the new Breviary, on condition that they apply for licence to the Apoſtolic See, which licence is to be granted gratis. S. Francis Xavier, writing to S. Ignatius, (Liſbon, Nov. 1, 1540,) wiſhes to obtain the privilege of himſelf granting this licence to ſix prieſts at a time, of his own election, as likely to perſuade ſome to follow him to India—certainly rather a ſtrange reaſon for miſſionary enterpriſe.

The new Breviary, it is clear, was principally intended for private recitation; and we find a Biſhop of Verona, and in Spain of Hueſca, proteſting againſt its introduction into the choir. The prefaces to the Breviaries of Ilerda and Hueſca, printed about that time, bitterly complain of thoſe of three lections. At Saragoſſa, the people, juſtly enraged at the loſs of the *Tenebræ* office, abſolutely roſe againſt the Clergy, and the ſecular churches were almoſt deſerted. At length the Cardinal Peter John Caraffa,

* Or rather, we ſuſpect, *two* of 1536. For Arevalus, in his *Breviarium Quignonianum*, ſpeaks of the Paris edition of 1536 as a reprint of the *ſecond* Roman edition. Now the copy we uſe is clearly a reprint of the *firſt*, becauſe it does not contain Antiphons; but, in (what appears to be) a careful copy of the loſt title-page, in an old hand, it is dated 1536.

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elected Pope by the title of Paul IV, prohibited (Aug. 8, 1558) the granting any fresh licences; yet, such was the number already issued, that four editions were subsequently called for. Finally, S. Pius V, by his bull, *Quod a nobis postulat*, in 1568, absolutely abolished the Breviary. We would recommend, as a very curious inquiry, to some such scholar as Dr. Maitland, what traces can be found in the writings of the Reformers of the influence exercised on the English Prayer-book by this Breviary; to which it certainly owes, as we shall see, a portion of its preface, and probably the *first* hint of its table of lessons.

The principle of the French reforms is, as we shall see, to admit into the Breviary as little as possible that is not taken from Scripture; with the exception of hymns, prayers, and lections from Homilies, this rule is strictly observed. There was some countenance to this practice in earlier times. The Council of Braga, 561, forbade all poetical compositions not taken from Scripture; and S. Agobard, who was Bishop of Lyons about 813, wrote against the use of hymns and antiphons on that very ground, and, probably in consequence of his authority, the Church of Lyons did not use any hymns in her services (except at Compline), till, we believe, the Lyonnese Breviary of Archbishop Malvin de Montazet, (1780,) and he, in his preface, makes a kind of apology for the innovation.

In proceeding to our subject, we utterly disclaim all disaffection, all lukewarmness, to our own Church, because we are about to dwell on the riches of the devotional treasury of her Roman sister. That we earnestly long to win back for her much of what she has lost, we do not deny. That we would fain help, be it only in the humblest degree, to promote such an object, is also true. But that any one should leave the Church of his Baptism because the offices of her rival have superior æsthetical beauty—against such undutifulness and ingratitude we should be the first to protest. And, (putting aside the very difficult question of a vernacular language,) we feel our advantage strongly in one respect. While the beauty of our Prayer-book is but the faint shadow of the beauty of the Breviary, it would be much easier to correct the former by amplification than the latter by diminution. The process, on our side, involves no laceration of faith. We have no legends that *must* be given up. We have no invocations that must not be *insisted* on. We have a good foundation, and have only to heighten and give majesty to our building:—Rome would have to take down part of the edifice, and to remove a good many of the incongruous ornaments. For, be it remembered, there is no instinctively Catholic truth stated in the Breviary, (of the Missal and Offices we are not now speaking,) which

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is not as plainly ſet forth in our own Prayer-book, with the one exception of Prayers for the Dead. Regeneration,—the propitiatory virtue of Alms and Faſting,—the Power of the Keys,—England ſtates them as clearly as Rome; and our weak point, the obſcurity in which our offices involve the doctrine, that the Holy Euchariſt is truly and properly a propitiatory Sacrifice, is one not particularly included in the ſubject of our preſent conſideration.

We proceed to our taſk: and while, as we ſaid, we propoſe to be as elementary as poſſible, the fact that ſome eighty Breviaries, ſeveral of exceſſive rarity, are at our ſide as we write, may enable us, in ſome degree, to gratify thoſe who are rather further advanced in ritual ſtudies.

The Breviary, then, is uſually contained in four volumes, one for each quarter of the year. It is ſometimes, indeed, compriſed in one volume, and is then technically called a *Totum*. One of the neateſt of Hanicq's reprints, the Franciſcan Breviary, is ſo; it forms a goodly octavo of ſome 1200 pages, in double columns, and in type a ſize ſmaller than the notes to the preſent article. Among early *totums* are thoſe of the Cardinal Quignon, 1536, and of the *Fratres Humiliati*, 1540.

Each of the volumes of the Breviary conſiſts of ſix parts. 1. The Calendar, Rubrics, and Tables. 2. The Pſalms, Verſicles, and Reſponſes of the week-day hours, or ferial office. 3. The *Proprium de tempore:* the collects and lections for the Sundays and weeks in that part of the year which the volume contains. 4. The *Proprium de Sanctis:* the ſame for the feſtivals of Saints which occur in that period. 5. The *Commune Sanctorum:* the lections, collects, hymns, &c. common to all thoſe Saints for whom no particular office is appointed. And to all theſe we may add—6. The offices for the Anniverſary of a Dedication, for a Departing Soul, of the Dead, the Little Office of S. Mary, &c; ſo that much of the 1ſt, and all the 2d, 5th, and 6th of theſe diviſions are neceſſarily repeated in every volume of the Breviary.

We do not here propoſe to ſpeak of the Calendar, nor of thoſe admirable Tables, whereby all the confuſion and perplexity concerning concurrences is avoided, which, in our own Church, is ſo painful, and all the prolixity and difficulty, which, in the Eaſtern Church, is ſo cumberſome; reſerving that ſubject for another time.

We need hardly ſtay to remind our readers of the myſtical commemoration of our LORD'S ſufferings made by the Seven Canonical Hours. The old verſes give them well; we quote the verſion from the notes of the late tranſlation of Durandus.

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At Matins bound, at Prime reviled, condemned to death at Tierce,
Nailed to the Croſs at Sexts, at Nones His Bleſſed Side they pierce:
They take Him down at Veſper-tide, in grave at Compline lay,
Who thenceforth bids His Church obſerve her ſevenfold hours alway.

And the ſame idea was expanded in many a mediæval poem, of which, perhaps, one of the moſt beautiful is that which begins—

Patris Sapientia, bonitas divina,
Deus Homo captus eſt horâ MATUTINA, &c.

We will proceed to the hours themſelves, after noticing the *golden verſes* which in ſome of the older Breviaries preceded them.

Mens vaga, diſcurſus, et ſyncopa, ſermoque mixtus,
Tollunt canonicas meritum dicentibus horas.

Although, correctly ſpeaking, Veſpers are the firſt office of the day, and although the Breviaries uſually commence with Prime, from which the Pſalms alſo begin their courſe, we will take Matins firſt. The *Officium Nocturnum*, *Vigiliæ*, *Ad Matutinum*, or *Matutinæ*, conſiſts of one, two, or three Nocturns, as the caſe may be, and is immediately followed by Lauds.

Matins are preceded by the Pater Noſter, the Ave Maria, and the Credo; as are all the other hours except Compline with the Pater Noſter and Ave Maria. This uſe, however beautiful, is known not to be very ancient; it was not received with any authority into the Roman Church till the Breviary of Cardinal Quignon; which, however, added alſo the *Confiteor* of the Maſs. No doubt, however, the practice was widely in uſe as early as the eleventh and twelfth centuries: and in the Sarum, York, and Hereford Miſſals, the Pater Noſter is ordered to be ſaid ſecretly before the commencement of the office, juſt as now in the Roman Church. In the Paris Breviary of 1557, and that of Senlis of the ſame date, no alluſion is made to the uſe. In that of the *Frères Humiliés* no notice is taken of the Ave Maria and the Creed, but the Pater Noſter is preſcribed. The proper commencement of Matins, therefore, is with the Verſicles and Reſponſes, "O LORD, open Thou our lips. And our mouth ſhall ſhow forth Thy praiſe. O GOD, make ſpeed to ſave us. O LORD, make haſte to help us;" the *Gloria*, and the *Laus tibi Domine*, *Rex æternæ gloriæ*, in Septuageſima, or *Alleluia* at other times.

We would here make one remark on the *Gloria*, with reſpect to the cuſtom of turning to the Eaſt, and bowing when it is ſaid. It was the univerſal cuſtom for the children of the choir to do this in all French Cathedrals; but in the beginning of the laſt century, it was remarked as a ſingularity, that the Canons of Notre

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Dame at Rouen, and the Canon-Counts of S. John at Lyons, ſtill retained the practice. The Cluniac rule orders turning to the altar at the *Gloria*, as well as at the *Deus in adjutorium*. The extravagant inclinations practiſed by ſome of our brethren during both verſes ſhow more zeal than knowledge; in fact, at the *Sicut erat* it was the practice of many churches to turn to the weſt.

The ninety-fifth Pſalm is preceded by the Invitatory, the greateſt of the minor loſſes which the Engliſh Church has ſuſtained. It pitches the key-note to the whole office: it directs the worſhippers in what light they are at that particular time called on to regard GOD; and ſtamps its own meaning on the whole ſeries of Pſalms. No one, we imagine, but muſt have felt the lamentable want of this in our own Matins. On Chriſtmas-Day, for example, and Good-Friday, the office is abſolutely the ſame through ſentences, exhortations, confeſſion, abſolution, verſicles, and Venite; in ſhort, down to the Pſalms. And on days which have no proper Pſalms the caſe is even worſe. For inſtance, on Maundy Thurſday and Lady-Day, the difference between the Te Deum and the Benedicite, (and that is ſeldom practically obſerved,) would be the firſt intimation that the days were of different natures.

The Invitatory is divided into two clauſes: both are ſaid before the Pſalm, and at the end of the ſecond, ſeventh, and laſt verſes; the ſecond clauſe only at the end of the fourth and ninth verſes. The Gloria is followed, firſt, by the ſecond, and then by both clauſes. The Breviary of Cardinal Quignon reſtricted the Invitatory to the beginning and end of the Pſalms. *Deinde ſequitur invitatorium tempori ſeu feſto conveniens; Pſalmus*, Venite exultemus; *in cujus fine duntaxat invitatorium repetitur, non autem in medio.*

The ordinary Sunday Invitatory in the Roman Breviary is: "Let us worſhip the LORD * our Maker." In the four firſt Sundays of Lent: "Let it not be in vain to you to riſe early before the light, * for the LORD hath promiſed the crown to them that watch." On Eaſter-day: "The LORD is riſen indeed, * Alleluia." On the commemoration of Apoſtles: "The LORD, the King of Apoſtles, * O come let us worſhip." So in the commemoration of other ſaints: "The LORD, the King of Martyrs," or "the King of Confeſſors," or "the King of Virgins, * O come let us worſhip." In the office of the Dead: "The King, to Whom all things live, * O come let us worſhip." Quignon's Reform, while it retained the proper invitatories for the commemoration of Saints, made great innovations in thoſe for Sundays. For example, in thoſe of Advent: "LORD, we wait for Thine Advent * that Thou mayeſt quickly come, and

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diſſolve the yoke of our captivity." How unfavourable a contraſt with the Roman: "The King, the LORD That is to come, * O come let us worſhip!" But Quignon, true to his ſcriptural principle, continually inſerted texts in this poſition which were not in the leaſt calculated for it.

The Engliſh Breviaries agree pretty cloſely in their invitatories with the modern Roman. The York, however, in the commemoration of Saints, has great and not happy variations. Thus, for one Martyr: "The juſt ſhall flouriſh, planted in the houſe of the LORD; * let us rejoice and be glad in this ſacred ſolemnity." Of one Confeſſor: "One GOD in Trinity let us faithfully worſhip, * by faith in Whom the Holy Prelate N. beheld GOD." Of the invitatories of the older French Breviaries there is little to be ſaid; but a few words muſt be given to thoſe of the Paris Reform, by way of ſhowing how much the attempt to ſcripturaliſe them has lowered their tone. For example, in the commemoration of Martyrs, inſtead of the glorious "The LORD, the King of Martyrs, * O come let us worſhip,"—which at once raiſes our thoughts to Him Who is the Martyr of Martyrs and the Saint of Saints, aſſuming His myſtical union with His people in this as in every other action,—we have mere common matter-of-fact ſtatements, that direct our attention to the grace of GOD rather than to the GOD of grace. Thus the new Paris, followed by a multitude of others: "The GOD of patience and conſolation, * O come let us worſhip." Laon, S. Quentin, Le Mans, Limoges, Rouen, Amiens, Cahors: "CHRIST, Who giveth to the conqueror hidden manna, * O come let us worſhip." Bourges, Chalons-ſur-Saône, Nevers: "GOD, Who giveth the crown of life to him that is faithful unto death, * O come let us worſhip." Dijon, with completely the old ſpirit, "The LORD, mighty in battle, * O come let us worſhip."

It will be worth while, as a curious ſpecimen of this diverſity, to take the invitatories for an ordinary Sunday. Paris: "The LORD Who made us, * O come let us worſhip." Laon, Rheims, Cahors, Le Mans: "GOD, Who hath made us and regenerated us *." It would be difficult to aſſign any reaſon for the omiſſion of redemption. Verſailles, Chalons-ſur-Marne: "It is a ſolemn feaſt unto the LORD *." Bourges, Beauvais: moſt inappropriately: "The LORD Who reſted on the ſeventh day and ſanctified it *." Dijon, Liège: "O come * let us ſing unto the LORD." S. Quentin, Amiens: "The LORD our GOD, * O come let us worſhip." Bazas, Lombes, Toulouſe, Vienne: "GOD, Who hath made us and raiſed us together with CHRIST *." Nevers: "Him that ſitteth upon the throne, and liveth for ever and ever *." Meaux: "CHRIST JESUS,

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Whom it behoved in all things to be like unto His brethren, that He might be merciful *." The laſt is an invitatory clearly at variance with the ſpirit of the feſtival: appropriate enough to a Friday, but ſadly out of place on a Sunday.

The *Venite exultemus* is ſaid, not from the Vulgate, but in the Old Italic verſion. This Quignon abrogated for that of S. Jerome. When the Pſalm occurs in the middle of the office, however, then it is ſaid from the Vulgate.

A few words on theſe two Tranſlations of the Pſalms may not be out of place. The Old Italic, ſlightly corrected by S. Jerome, was called the Roman uſe: the new verſion of S. Jerome was introduced by S. Gregory of Tours into Gaul, and thence called the Gallican uſe. From Gaul it had paſſed into Germany, before the time of Walafrid Strabo. In Spain, the Old Italic was retained till the partial abrogation of the Mozarabic Rite by S. Gregory VII. S. Francis, in his Rule, orders the Roman Office, *except the Pſalter.* By the time of Sixtus IV. the Gallican uſe had prevailed everywhere, except in Rome itſelf, and the churches within a circle of forty miles. Finally, the Gallican edition was made *the* uſe of the Latin Church by the Council of Trent. But the Clergy of the Lateran, in ſpite of the Council, retained the Italic verſion, and ſtill do ſo. The ſecond volume of the collected works of the Cardinal Thomaſius contains a compariſon of the two verſions, arranged in parallel columns.

We have ſaid that the *Venite exultemus* follows the reſponſes with which Matins open. But the rule of S. Benedict prefixes to it the third Pſalm. This is retained in the modern Benedictine and Cluniac Breviaries, as alſo in the Carthuſian.

The *Venite* is followed by the hymn, either for the day of the week, or proper to the feſtival, as the caſe may be. Of the hymnology of the Breviary* we do not now intend to ſpeak, and ſhall therefore paſs on to the Pſalms.

* We will, however, for the ſake of thoſe who may travel in thoſe French dioceſes which ſtill have proper Breviaries, (though the ultramontane views at preſent prevailing in France are introducing, or reintroducing, the Roman Breviary everywhere,) give the explanations of the initials attached to the French hymns.

B.—The Abbé Beſnault, Prieſt of S. Maurice, Sens, 1726.

Br. or ſometimes *B.*—The Abbé J. B. Le Brun Deſmarets, author of the Breviaries of Orleans and Nevers, died 1791.

C.—Charles Coffin, Rector of the Univerſity of Paris, who died in 1749: the ſecond in point of excellence.

Commir.—Jean Commire, of the Society of Jeſus, died 1702.

D.—J. D. Danicourt, of Noyon, died after 1786.

G. or *Guiet.*—Charles Guiet, of the Society of Jeſus, died 1684.

G. ep S.—Guillaume du Pleſſis de Geſte, Biſhop of Saintes, died 1702.

H.—Iſaac Habert, Doctor of the Sorbonne, 1668.

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At the concluſion of the hymn the firſt nocturn begins. We may, for greater clearneſs, divide the arrangement of nocturns into two great families, which we may call the monaſtic and the ſecular. We will begin with the latter firſt, and take the Roman as the example.

On ordinary days, *one* nocturn only is ſaid. This conſiſts of twelve Pſalms, recited two and two together under one antiphon, and three leſſons from Holy Scripture; or, if it be a ſimple feſtival, the ſecond, or the ſecond and third leſſons, are of the Saint.

On ſemi-double and double Feſtivals* there are three nocturns. The firſt conſiſts of three Pſalms, each under its own antiphon, and three leſſons from Scripture; the ſecond alſo conſiſts of three Pſalms, and three leſſons from ſome ſermon, generally ſpeaking, on the paſſage of Scripture which has preceded; the third of three Pſalms, the beginning of the Goſpel for the day, and three leſſons from a homily upon it; and then, under reſtrictions which we ſhall afterwards ſee, the Te Deum.

But on Sundays, the firſt nocturn conſiſts of twelve Pſalms, ſaid four and four under one antiphon; while on the Feſtivals of Eaſter and Pentecoſt one nocturn only is ſaid.

The general arrangement of the Pariſian Breviary is the ſame, with the exception that the firſt nocturn on Sundays is of the ſame length with that on ordinary days; that ſemi-doubles have

L.—F. L. Liſſoir, Prænonſtratenſian Abbat of Val-Dieu, died after 1786.

R.—Urban Robinet, Vicar-General of Paris, died 1758.

S. V.—Jean Baptiſte Santeuil, the Prince of French Hymnographers, better known by his name of Santolius Victorinus, died 1697. His hymns met with the almoſt unanimous admiration of contemporary French critics; one of the beſt editions was publiſhed at Paris in 1698. The greater part of the French Breviaries have adopted them;—among the firſt that did ſo were thoſe of Orleans, 1693; Liſieux, 1704; Narbonne, 1709; Meaux, 1713. Bourdaloue even wiſhed that they might be received into the Roman Breviary. The criticiſms of Commire were thoſe of a rival; but the remarks of De la Monnaye, (Menagiana, Ed. 1713, tom. iii. p. 402,) give a much juſter idea of their merits. For anything like the fervour and ſternneſs of the older hymns we muſt not look; but they were the truly elegant productions of a Chriſtian ſcholar of the age of Louis XIV. We believe that they are, from their very faults, more popular among Engliſh Churchmen, generally ſpeaking, than thoſe of the Roman Breviary. Santeuil has been accuſed of Janſeniſm; it would ſeem cauſeleſſly;—at leaſt, the verſe which has been thought to imply it is innocent enough,—"Inſcripta ſaxo lex vetus Præcepta, non vires dabat; Inſcripta cordi lex nova Quicquid jubet, dat exequi." There are, however, ſome very offenſive paſſages; *e.g.* of our ſuffering LORD: "Clamore magno dum Patrem Sibi relictus invocat, Cum morte luctantem Deum *Non* audit Ille, *vix Pater:*" a contradiction, almoſt in terms, of the Apoſtle's declaration, that "He *was* heard in that He feared."

S. M.—Santolius Maglorianus, or Claude Santeuil, brother of the above.

* [On the different claſſes of Feſtivals, ſee a ſubſequent paper on "The Calendars of the Church."]

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only one nocturn; and that this nocturn, as well in them as in simple feasts and ferial days, has nine and not twelve Psalms.

In the Benedictine Breviary, on semi-double and all superior festivals, three nocturns are said: the first consists of six Psalms, said two and two under one antiphon, if Sunday;—each with its own antiphon, if any other festival;—and four lessons from Scripture: the second, of six Psalms in like manner, and four lessons from a homily: the third, of three Canticles from the Old Testament, the beginning of the Gospel for the day, with four lections by way of commentary on it.

But on feriæ and simple feasts, as also on octave days, though semi-doubles, *two* nocturns are said. The first consists of six Psalms, under three antiphons; and in the feriæ of winter, simple festivals, and octave days, three lections; but in the feriæ of summer, a short "chapter" only. The second nocturn consists of six Psalms in like manner, and a short chapter.

The old order, as we learn from Durandus, was that monks *never* said nine lessons, except in Matins for the Dead, and, as being of the same kind, on the three last days of Holy Week; but this rule was afterwards departed from. The breviary of the *Frères Humiliés* (1548) has only nine lections; and a great many of the modern reforms, *e.g.* the Carmelite (1755), the Augustinian (1849), the Franciscan (1848), the Gallican congregation of Augustinians (1778), and that of S. Maur, have all the same arrangement. The unreformed Benedictines, however, the Cistercians, and (to the last) the Cluniacs, retained the twelve lections. The two nocturns are not so easily explained. Durandus does not mention them; and the rule of S. Benedict only does so by implication.

Cardinal Quignon's Reform gives one nocturn of three psalms and three lections all the year round.

In proceeding to the Psalms, we may remark that the rule of S. Benedict, the great normal guide of monastic Breviaries, after giving a particular arrangement, concludes thus:*—"Admonish-"ing this before all things, that if by chance the aforesaid dis-"tribution of the Psalms should displease any, let him arrange "them in some other way, as it shall seem good to him; observ-"ing, however, this most carefully, that, in every week, the "whole Psalter, to the number of CL. Psalms, be sung, and be "commenced anew in the vigils (Matins) of the Sunday."

* This is S. Benedict's rule; but he makes, with great *naïveté*, an exception,—"Unless by chance, which GOD forbid, the brethren arise too late, and something has to be shortened in the responses or lections,—all care, however, should be taken that this fall not out so,—but if it shall so happen, he by whose neglect it fell out shall worthily satisfy GOD in the oratory."

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The Benedictine arrangement, then, is this :—

	Matins.		*Lauds.*
Sunday . .	21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26.	27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32.*	67. 51. 118. 63. Benedicite. 148. 149. 150
Monday . .	33. 34. 35. 37. 38.	39. 40. 41. 42. 44. 45.	51. 5. 35. Song of Isaiah. 148. 149. 150.
Tuesday . .	46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 52.	53. 54. 55. 56. 58. 59.	51. 47. 57. S. of Hezekiah. 148. 149. 150.
Wednesday	60. 61. 62. 66. 68.	69. 70. 71. 72. 73.	51. 64. 65. S. of Hannah. 148. 149. 150.
Thursday .	74. 75. 77. 78. 79.	80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85.	50. 88. 90. Song of Moses. 148. 149. 150.
Friday . . .	86. 87. 89. 93. 94.	96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101.	50. 76. 92. S. of Habaccuc. 148. 149. 150.
Saturday . .	102. 103. 104. 105.	106. 107. 108. 109.	50. 153. Song of Moses. 148. 149. 150.

	Prime.	*Tierce.*	*Sexts.*	*Nones.*	*Vespers.*	*Compline*
Sunday . .	119. *v.* 1—32.	119. *v.* 32—56	119. *v.* 57—80.	119 *v.* 80—105.	110. 111. 112. 110.	
Monday . .	1. 2. 6.	119 *v.* 105—128	119. *v.* 129—153.	119. *v.* 153—end	114. 115. 116. 117. 129	
Tuesday . .	7. 8. 9.				130. 131. 132. 133.	
Wednesday	10. 11. 12.				135. 136. 137. 138.	
Thursday .	13. 14. 15.				139. 140. 141.	>4. 90. 13
Friday . . .	16. 17. 18. *v.* 1—25.	120. 121. 122.	123. 124. 125.	126. 127. 128.	142. 144. 145. *v.* 1—10	
Saturday . .	18. *v.* 25—51. 19. 20.				145. *v.* 10—end 146. 147.	

Now, this arrangement is manifestly imperfect, because there can be no reason why Monday should be distinguished above the other days of the week by proper Tierce, Sexts, and Nones. Yet it is retained in the later Benedictine Reforms; as, for example, in the Cluniac revision, 1696. The Roman Breviary removes the inconsistency by making the Psalms of the little hours always the same: and a beautiful mystery is discovered in this by the ecclesiastical commentators, that whereas in the *night* of this world change and chance prevail, in the immutable *day* of heaven the service of GOD will ever be one and the same.

We will now give the Paris arrangement.

	Matins.	*Lauds.*	*Prime.*	*Tierce.*	*Sexts.*	*Nones.*	*Vespers.*	*Compline.*
Sunday . .	1. 2. 3. 18. 28. 30. 66.	63. 70. 100. 148.	118. 119. *v.* 1—32.	119. *v.* 32—80.	119. *v.* 80—128.	119. *v.* 128—176.	110. 111. 112. 113. 114. (115.)	4. 91. 134.
Monday . .	104. 105. 106.	92. 136. 135.	8. 77.	25. 96.	47. 98. 99.	53. 73.	115. 121. 124. 126. 137.	6. 7.
Tuesday . .	15. 19. 72. 101. 107.	24. 85. 97. 150.	35.	26. 50.	37.	109.	120. 122. 133. 141. 142.	13. 32. 79.
Wednesday	9. (=9. 10.) 78.	5. 36. 65. 147—part.	31.	42. 43.	21. 103.	82. 94.	123. 125. 127. 130. 131.	11. 14. 16.
Thursday .	20. 33. 68. 89.	81. 108. 147—part.	67. 90.	27. 84.	23. 34.	80. 92.	126. 138. 145.	12. 39.
Friday . . .	52. 55. 59. 61. 69.	54. 71. 146.	44.	40. 58.	102.	22.	129. 139. 140.	38. 56.
Saturday .	41. 49. 62. 64. 75. 76. 83.	17. 57. 117.	88. 143.	29. 45. 149.	46. 47. 87.	60. 74.	128. 132. 144.	51. 86.

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It is to be underſtood that thoſe Pſalms which in the preceding table are in larger characters, are ſuch as are ſaid in two or more diviſions; ſo that the principle of nine at Matins, four, beſides the canticle, at Lauds, five at Veſpers, and three at all the other hours, may be conſtantly obſerved. It muſt be confeſſed that the diviſion of ſome of theſe Pſalms ſeems rather arbitrary. Thus, while the 51ſt and 88th, each conſiſting of nearly twenty verſes, are undivided, the 19th, which has only fifteen, is divided. Thus alſo the firſt diviſion of the 109th has only four verſes.

The Paris, and, following it, many of the French Breviaries, take, ſo to ſpeak, a theme for the Pſalms of each Feria. Thus, Monday is occupied with the goodneſs of GOD, as diſplayed in the works of Creation: Tueſday, Wedneſday, Thurſday, by Charity, Hope, and Faith: Friday, by our LORD'S Paſſion: Saturday, by the future glory of the Saints.

Now, theoretically, nothing could be more excellent than the weekly recitation of the Pſalms. But, practically, it came to paſs that, from the fact of all, even ſemi-double feſtivals, having proper Pſalms, a few of them were repeated over and over again, and the reſt left utterly unſaid. The prefaces to the modern Breviaries are full of complaints of this abuſe. So Paul Rabuſſon, or whoever wrote the preface to the Cluniac Reform: "Porro ea Pſalmorum ſervata diſtributio eſt, ut ſingulis hebdomadibus omnes percurrantur, in quo et veteris Eccleſiæ mos retentus, et S. Benedicti ſententiæ obtemperatum" . . . "In hujus operis ordine illud primum intendimus, ut juxta antiquam Eccleſiæ conſuetudinem plurimorumque Conciliorum decreta, Davidicum Pſalterium per ſingulas Hebdomades recitatum foret," ſays Biſhop De Rochechouart, in his preface to the Evreux Breviary. "Ut quidam Pſalmi," complains Biſhop Deſnos, "per magnam anni partem vix ſemel atque iterum recitarentur: nos rem gratam facturos exiſtimavimus, ſi eorum ſequeremur exempla qui Pſalmos ita diſtribuerunt," &c. And for this reaſon, amongſt others, Gregory XIII. in his bull, *Paſtoralis Officii* (1573), forbade—"ne ſcilicet officium majoris partis Feriarum anni omitteretur, et Breviarii ordo ſubverteretur." But the moſt remarkable complaint is that of Cardinal Quignon, in the Preface to his Reform, if we put it in juxta-poſition with the preface to our own Prayer-book, evidently derived from his; although both lead us a little way from our immediate purpoſe, inaſmuch as they touch on the Lections as well as on the Pſalms.

* The Benedictine uſe here, as always in the third Nocturn, gives three Canticles from the Old Teſtament writers under one Antiphon.

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CARDINAL QUIGNON.

Et profecto, ſi quis modum precandi olim a majoribus inſtitutum diligenter conſiderat, horum omnium ab ipſis habitam rationem manifeſto deprehendet.

Sed factum eſt neſcio quo pacto hominum negligentiâ, ut paullatim a ſanctiſſimis illis veterum Patrum inſtitutis diſcederetur. Nam primum libri Sacræ Scripturæ, qui ſtatis anni temporibus erant perlegendi, vixdum incepti a precantibus prætermittuntur. Ut exemplo eſſe poſſunt (ſic) liber Geneſis, qui incipitur in Septuageſimâ et liber Iſaiæ qui in Adventu, quorum vix ſingula capita perlegimus, ac eodem modo cetera Veteris Teſtamenti volumina deguſtamus magis quam legimus: nec ſecus accidit in Evangelia et reliquam ſcripturam Novi Teſtamenti, quorum in locum ſucceſſerunt alia, nec utilitate cum his, nec gravitate, comparanda.

Accedit tam perplexus ordo, tamque difficilis precandi ratio, ut interdum paullo minor opera in inveniendo ponatur, quam, cum inveneris, in legendo.

ENGLISH PRAYER-BOOK.

The firſt origin and ground whereof, if a man would ſearch out by the ancient Fathers, he ſhall find that the ſame was not ordained but of a good purpoſe, and for a great advancement of godlineſs.

That commonly when any book of the Bible was begun, after three or four chapters were read out, all the reſt were unread. And in this ſort the book of Iſaiah was begun in Advent, and the book of Geneſis in Septuageſima; but they were only begun, and never read through: after like ſort were other books of holy Scripture uſed.

This godly and decent order of the Fathers hath been ſo altered and neglected, by planting in uncertain ſtories and Legends. . . .

Moreover, the number and hardneſs of the rules called the Pie, and the manifold changings of the ſervice, was the cauſe, that to turn the book only was ſo hard and intricate a matter, that many times there was more buſineſs to find out what ſhould be read, than to read it when it was found out.

There is ſome truth in the above remarks: but the Reform was carried too far in Quignon's Breviary, and to ſuch an extent in our own as almoſt to deſtroy the beauty and appropriateneſs of our Pſalms. There is ſurely a wide difference between ſcarcely ever having the ferial office, as in the ante-Tridentine books, and only having ſix exceptions from it, as in our own Church. No ritual ſcholar but muſt feel the glaring impropriety of carrying the week-day Pſalms into Maundy Thurſday, Eaſter Eve, the Epiphany, &c.—of having, in a ſeaſon of deep humiliation, a Pſalm of praiſe and jubilee; of a penitential Pſalm on a high feſtival. We ſhall have more to ſay on this matter when we come to the Lections.

While on the ſubject of the Pſalms, we may give the following verſes as to the tones, which are equally ingenious and con-

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venient. They occur in many old Breviaries: we copy from that of S. Remy of Rheims (1557).

Verſus tonos declarantes.

Pri. re, la: *Se.* re, fa: *Ter.* mi, fa: *Quart.* quoque mi, la:
Quint. fa, fa: *Sext.* fa, la: *Sept.* ut, ſol: *Oct.* tenet ut, fa.

Pſalmorum mediationes.

La, la, la dat *Primus*, *Sextuſque*:* fa, ſol, fa *Secundus*,
Tertius, *Octavus*: ter fa poſt ſol dabo *Terno*:
La mutat per re *Quart.* et poſt vult dare mi, re.
Septimus in ſol, re dabit, et poſt dat fa, mi, re, mi.

The Pſalms naturally lead us to the Antiphons.† This moſt beautiful invention pitches the key-note of the Pſalm (as the invitatory of the office); and points out in which of its myſtical ſenſes it is at that time to be recited. Thus, for example, the 65th Pſalm is, in the Benedictine Breviary, recited in the ferial office for Lauds on Wedneſday; the antiphon then is, "Thou, O GOD, art praiſed in Sion." It is alſo ſaid in the office of the Dead; and in this caſe we have the antiphon, "Hear my prayer; unto Thee ſhall all fleſh come;" where the reference is manifeſtly to the reſurrection of the dead. Thus the 46th is ſaid at Matins on Tueſday, with the antiphon, "A very preſent help in trouble." It is recited in the Commemoration of a Virgin, under the antiphon, "GOD is in the midſt of her, therefore ſhall ſhe not be removed." We will now give ſome examples of the general arrangement of antiphons.

Here are thoſe at Matins on Eaſter Day, from the York and Saliſbury Breviaries, which are in this caſe the ſame as the modern Roman.

Nocturn.—I am that I am, and my counſel is not with the wicked, but my delight is in the law of the LORD: Alleluia. (*Pſalm* 1.)—I aſked My Father, Alleluia: and He gave Me the Gentiles to My heritage: Alleluia. (*Pſalm* 2.)—I laid me down and ſlept, and roſe up again. Alleluia, Alleluia. (*Pſalm* 3.)

From the modern Paris:—

Nocturn.—GOD hath fulfilled His promiſe, raiſing up His Son JESUS, as it is written in the Second Pſalm, Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten Thee; Alleluia. (*Pſalm* 2.)—In that GOD raiſed Him from the dead, now no more to return to corruption, He ſaith on this wiſe, Thou wilt not ſuffer Thine Holy One to ſee corruption: Alleluia. (*Pſalm* 16.)—Him, delivered up by the appointed counſel and foreknowledge of GOD, GOD raiſed up, having looſed the pains of death, becauſe it was impoſſible that He ſhould be holden of them. Alleluia. (*Pſalm* 30.)

No doubt the dove-tailing of the Old and New Teſtament, in

* That is, the mediation of the Firſt and Sixth is, according to this rule, monotonic. The exquiſite beauty of ſuch an arrangement of the Firſt, in Mr. Helmore's 137th Pſalm, will probably recur to our readers.

† [I have dwelt at much greater length on the ſubject of Antiphons in the firſt eſſay prefixed to my "Commentary on the Pſalms."]

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CARDINAL QUIGNON.

ENGLISH PRAYER-BOOK.

The first origin and ground whereof, if a man would search out by the ancient Fathers, he shall find that the same was not ordained but of a good purpose, and for a great advancement of godliness.

that commonly when any book of the Bible was begun, after three or four chapters were read out, all the rest were unread. And in this sort the book of Esaias was begun in Advent, and the book of Genesis in Septuagesima: but they were only begun, and never read through: after like sort were other books of holy Scripture used.

this godly and decent order of the Fathers hath been so altered and broken, by running in uncertain times and seasons.

Moreover, the number and hardness of the rules called the Pie, and the manifold changings of the service, was the cause, that to turn the book only was so hard and intricate a matter, that many times there was more business to find out what should be read, than to read it when it was found out.

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the Paris Breviary, is, as we ſhall more than once have occaſion to obſerve, ingenious to the laſt degree. One cannot, however, but ſometimes feel that the effect is rather too much like a theological leſſon, to be always beautiful as a devotion of praiſe.

The Paris Breviary is followed in its Antiphons by moſt of thoſe of the French. Here, however, is an exception for Eaſter Day, from the Breviary of S. Quentin:—

Nocturn.—I laid me down, &c. (*Pſalm* 3.)—Thou haſt ſhowed Me the way of life: Thou haſt filled Me with the joy of Thy preſence: Alleluia. (*Pſalm* 16.)—Thou haſt turned My mourning into joy; Thou haſt put off My ſackcloth, and girded Me with gladneſs: Alleluia. (*Pſalm* 28.)

The Benedictine Breviary, though containing three Nocturns on Eaſter Day, has but three Antiphons. They are theſe:—

1. *Nocturn.*—I am that I am, &c. (*Pſalms* 1, 2, 8, 16, 24, 28.)
2. *Nocturn.*—The earth trembled, and was ſtill, when GOD aroſe to judgement: Alleluia. (*Pſalms* 30, 64, 66, 76, 88, 108.)
3. *Nocturn.*—Fear not ye: ye ſeek JESUS of Nazareth, Which was crucified. He is riſen; He is not here; Alleluia. (Song of *Iſaiah*, lxiii. 1—5; Song of *Hoſea*, vi. 1—6; Song of *Zephaniah*, iii. 8—13.)

The Antiphons of the Saliſbury Breviary are frequently in verſe. Thus, thoſe of the firſt nocturn in the Sundays from Trinity to Advent are:—

Pro fidei meritis vocitatur jure beatus
Legem qui Domini meditatur nocte dieque.

Followed, of courſe, by the firſt Pſalm:—

Naturæ Genitor conſerva morte redemptos,
Facque tuo dignos ſervitio famulos.

And—

Pectora noſtra tibi tu conditor orbis adure,
Igne pio purgans, atque cremando probans.

The need felt of Antiphons, which, not being entirely or always taken from Holy Scripture, may more definitely expreſs what they are intended to ſignify, is curiouſly ſhown by the devices ſometimes adopted to point out, irreſpectively of them, in what myſtical ſenſe the Pſalm for the time being is to be taken. Thus, in the Breviary of Bazas, at the firſt Nocturn of the Feaſt of the Conception, we have the following:—"Ps. Cœli enarrant. *Cœlum*, "*Apoſtoli; Sol, Chriſtus; Lex, Evangelium.* Ps. Eructavit cor "meum. *Chriſtus, Rex; Regina, Virgo Mater;*" &c. &c.

The manner in which Antiphons are ſaid, in the Breviary, is as follows. In double Feſtivals the Antiphons are doubled, *i. e.* ſaid whole, both before and after their Pſalm, at Matins, Lauds, and Veſpers; on other days they are not doubled, *i. e.* the firſt words only are ſaid at the beginning, but the whole at the end. And thus much of Antiphons.

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The assistance given by Antiphons to the mystical explanation of the Psalm for that time, is still further explained by the *farced* Kyries, Epistles, &c., which, in mediæval times, were so much in use. We give an example of the former from a Lyons edition of the Missal of Pope Paul III, where we have this :—

Sequuntur quædam devota verba super *Kyrie eleison*, *Sanctus*, et *Agnus Dei*, ibi ob pascendam nonnullorum Sacerdotum devotionem posita, quæ, licet non sint de Ordinario R. E., tamen in certis missis ibidem annotatis licite dicendæ.

This is one :*—

Kyrie cunctipotens genitor Deus omnicreator—*eleison*.
Fons et origo boni, pia luxque perennis—*eleison* ;
Sanctificet pietas tua nos bone Rector,—*eleison*.
Christe Dei splendor, virtus Patrisque Sophia—*eleison* ;
Plasmatis humani sator, lapsi reparator—*eleison* ;
Ne tua damnetur Jesu factura, *eleison*.
Kyrie, amborum spiramen nexus amorque—*eleison* ;
Purgator culpæ, veniæ largitor opimæ—*eleison* ;
Offensas dele, sacro nos numine reple—*eleison*.

The insertions are called *Tropes*. They continued in use in Sicily till the middle of the last century, and may do so now.

Farced Epistles are still more curious. There is one published by M. Edelestand du Meril, from a MS. at Sens, of the thirteenth century. We may imitate it thus, not a whit exaggerating its rudeness :—

The Church shall raise her voice to sing The glory of the Heavenly King ; And in the praise of John be said The Epistle that shall now be read. From the Wisdom of Solomon. *Attend, ye faithful, every one ! The Holy Ghost proclaimed of old This lection to the chosen fold.*

He that feareth the LORD, will do good :

And when this evil life is past, Receive the King's reward at last.

And he that hath knowledge of the law shall obtain her, and as a mother shall she meet him :

For He is full of love and grace, And mercy guards His dwelling-place, And glory shines around His face.

With the bread of understanding shall she feed him :

While he alone, among the rest, Reclined on God the Saviour's breast.

And give him the water of wisdom to drink :

That so the river might arise, And flow abroad from Paradise, That wisdom to the world supplies.

He shall be stayed upon her, and shall not be moved ; and shall rely upon her, and shall not be confounded.

That, placed on Syon's glorious height, His virtues thence might glitter bright.

She shall exalt him above his neighbours :

And him beside the Judge shall place, When He shall come to doom our race.

In the midst of the congregation he opened his mouth :

* [See note at the end of this Article.]

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And taught the Evangelic lore Of myſteries unknown before.
And ſhe filled him with the ſpirit of wiſdom and underſtanding:
That he, like Eagle ſoaring high, Might view the Sun with unmoved eye, &c. &c.

It is not wonderful that theſe farced Epiſtles from doggrel ſhould have degenerated into ribaldry, and left a trace of their name in the modern *farce*.

The Nocturns end with a verſe and reſponſe, as in the Commemoration of Apoſtles, Roman Breviary. "*V.* Thou ſhalt make them princes over all the earth. *R.* They ſhall remember thy name, O Lord."—On Paſſion Sunday: "*V.* Deliver my ſoul from the ſword. *R.* My darling from the power of the dog."

In ſeveral Breviaries, however, there is a double verſe and reſponſe; the one preceding, the other following, the LORD'S Prayer. The former is called the *Verſus Puerorum;* the latter, the *Verſus Sacerdotalis*. This occurs, for inſtance, in the Moulins and Liège Breviaries. Thus, in the former, we have, on an ordinary Sunday, after the concluding Antiphon of the firſt Nocturn: "*V. Puerorum.* Memor fui nocte nominis tui, Domine. *R.* Et cuſtodivi legem tuam." Then the *Pater Noſter*, and then—"*V. Sacerdotalis.* Media nocte ſurgebam. *R.* Ad confitendum tibi."

The LORD'S Prayer is then ſaid; and after the "*V.* And lead us not into temptation. *R.* But deliver us from evil," the Prieſt gives the Abſolution. Theſe ſlightly vary. The Roman rule is this:—At the firſt Nocturn, and on Monday and Thurſday (for in the Ferial office there is, of courſe, only one Abſolution), "Hear, LORD JESUS CHRIST, the prayers of Thy ſervants, and have mercy on us: Who with the Father," &c. In the ſecond Nocturn, and on Tueſday and Friday: "His piety and loving-kindneſs help us: Who with the Father," &c. In the third, and on Thurſday and Saturday: "From the chains of our ſins, the Almighty and merciful LORD abſolve us."

The Abſolutions, in the Gallican Breviaries, are taken from Holy Scripture, according to the principles of that Reform, and have thereby loſt much of their original and diſtinctive character. Thus, the Paris has:—*Firſt Abſolution.* "GOD open your heart to His law, and to His precepts, and grant unto you all a heart that ye may fear Him." (2 *Maccab.* i. 3.) *Second Abſolution.* "Our GOD incline our hearts to Him, that we may keep His commandments." (1 *Kings* viii. 58.) *Third Abſolution.* "GOD remember His covenant which He hath ſpoken, and hear your prayers." (2 *Maccab.* i. 4.) The poverty of this arrangement is ſelf-evident.

The Abſolutions, we ſhould ſay, do not exiſt at all in many

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Breviaries. This was the case in the Salisbury and York; so, among modern French Rituals, in the Bourges. It is, in the Cluniac Reform, called the Benediction; as there are no proper benedictions in that office. To these we next proceed.

After the "*V.* Jube, Domine, benedicere," before each lection, how few or many soever in number, a benediction is said.

Their fullest form is, of course, where there are four lections to each nocturn. Those in the Benedictine are as follow:—

I. *Noct.* 1. Benedictione perpetuâ benedicat nos Pater eternus.
2. Unigenitus Dei Filius nos benedicere et adjuvare dignetur.
3. Spiritus Sancti gratia illuminet sensus et corda nostra.
4. In unitate Sancti Spiritus benedicat nos Pater et Filius.

II. *Noct.* 5. Deus Pater omnipotens sit nobis propitius et clemens.
6. Christus perpetuæ det nobis gaudia vitæ.
7. Ignem sui amoris accendat Deus in cordibus nostris.
8. A cunctis vitiis et peccatis absolvat nos virtus Sanctæ Trinitatis.

III. *Noct.* 9. [Which, as we shall see, precedes the Gospel.] Evangelica lectio sit nobis salus et protectio.
10. Ille nos benedicat, qui sine fine vivit et regnat.
11. Divinum auxilium maneat semper nobiscum.
12. Ad Societatem civium supernorum perducat nos Rex Angelorum.

But, if the office be of a Saint of twelve lections, the 11th benediction is—"Cujus festum colimus, ipse intercedat pro nobis ad Dominum." And if, for the twelfth lection, a part of another Gospel, with the homily, be read, the 12th is, "Per Evangelica dicta deleantur nostra delicta."

The modern Roman agrees with the above, except that, of course, the 4th, 8th, and 12th of the benedictions are omitted.

The Salisbury has the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd, as above; the 4th, "Omnipotens Dominus suâ gratiâ nos benedicat;" the 5th, "Christus perpetuæ," &c.; the 6th, "Intus et exterius purget nos Spiritus almus." The 7th, that is, the one at the commencement of the third nocturn, differed according to the Gospel. If it were from S. Matthew, "Evangelicis armis muniat nos conditor orbis;" if from S. Mark, "Evangelica lectio," &c.; if from S. Luke, "Per Evangelica," &c.; if from S. John, "Fons Evangelii repleat nos dogmate cœli." The 8th, "Divinum auxilium," &c.; the 9th, "Ad Societatem," &c. There are a great number of Proper Benedictions in Festivals of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

The Paris, and, following it, the other French Breviaries, have substituted, as is their wont, Scriptural benedictions, *e. g.* 1. "GOD, "the Father of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, the Father of glory, "give unto us the spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge "of Him;" 2. "The SON of GOD give us an understanding, that

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we may know the true GOD ;" 3. "May the love of GOD be ſhed abroad in our hearts by the HOLY GHOST."

We now come to the Lections ; and we will commence with the Benedictine Ritual.

To begin with a general outline of the ſcheme. In a feſtival that has twelve lections, the four firſt are from Holy Scripture; the four next contain the commentary of ſome Father on the paſſage that has been already read ; or, in the caſe of a Saint with Proper Leſſons, contain his life. The third nocturn commences with a few lines from the Goſpel of the day followed by *et reliqua;* then four lections from a Commentary on that ; and after the *Te Deum*, the Goſpel itſelf. Of courſe there are exceptions ; and the *Tenebræ* ſervice, and Matins of the Dead, are quite anomalous. In a feſtival of three lections, they are ſometimes from Scripture, ſometimes from a homily on Scripture. Sometimes the firſt is from Scripture, and the two others from the life of a Saint.

With one or two ſlight exceptions, the Roman Breviary, *mutatis mutandis*, as to the number of leſſons, agrees with the Benedictine.

The Paris Breviary principally differs in not making (at leaſt as a general rule) the lections of the ſecond nocturn a commentary on thoſe of the firſt.

We muſt now ſay ſomething as to the manner in which the various books of Holy Scripture are read. For this purpoſe, we will take the Benedictine Breviary, as the moſt difficult, noting its moſt remarkable differences from the Roman or Paris.

Commencing with Advent, that order begins the firſt chapter of Iſaiah on its firſt Sunday, and reads detached lections here and there, right through the book, till Chriſtmas Eve. On Chriſtmas Eve itſelf, the Goſpel (S. Matth. i. 18-21,) and the Commentary, in three Lections (the Feſtival being ſimple), from S. Jerome. On Chriſtmas Day, four lections from ſeparate parts of Iſaiah ; four from the firſt ſermon of S. Leo, on the Nativity ; and, in the third nocturn, which is anomalous, the commencement of four Goſpels, one in each lection, with the reſpective comments of the four Weſtern Doctors. Down to the octave of the Epiphany, the Leſſons are for the moſt part *proper*, either of the Feſtivals, or of the octaves. On the firſt Sunday after Epiphany, the Firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians is begun, and ſelected portions read through in the week. On the Second Sunday, the Second Epiſtle is commenced, and read in like manner. On the Third Sunday, the Epiſtle to the Galatians, the ſelect portions of which are finiſhed on the Tueſday. On the Wedneſday, that to the Epheſians is begun, and finiſhed on Saturday. The Epiſtle to

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the Philippians is begun on the Fourth Sunday, that to the Coloſſians on Tueſday; the Firſt Epiſtle to the Theſſalonians on Thurſday; the Second to the Theſſalonians on Saturday. On the Fifth Sunday, the Firſt Epiſtle to Timothy; on the Tueſday, the Second to Timothy; on the Thurſday, that to Titus; on the Saturday, that to Philemon. On the Sixth Sunday, the Epiſtle to the Hebrews, which is continued in that week.

On Septuageſima Sunday they commence Geneſis, which is read pretty nearly in courſe till Shrove Tueſday, which has part of the fourteenth chapter.*

On the week-days of Lent,† goſpels are read, with commentaries from the Fathers; the Goſpels are principally from S. Matthew, till the beginning of the fourth week; then principally from S. John (though alſo from S. Luke), till Palm Sunday. As for the Sundays, the firſt has its lections from 2 Cor. vi. and vii., on repentance and its fruits; the ſecond, from Gen. xxvii.,‡ Eſau's finding no place for repentance; the third, Gen. xxxvii., the ſtory of Joſeph's miſſion to his brethren. Why this is ſelected,—preſently; Durandus's reaſon is not very ſatisfactory: "This is the ſixth Sunday from Septuageſima, and our Lord was "crucified on the ſixth day of the week, wherefore mention is made "of the Paſſion of the Lord, which is ſignified by Joſeph." On the fourth Sunday, Moſes' miſſion to ſave the Iſraelites, the lections being from Exod. iii. On Paſſion Sunday, the miſſion of Jeremiah (Jer. i.): the reference of all theſe lections clearly being to Him Whoſe miſſion to ſave loſt man the Church is immediately about to celebrate. We now come to Holy Week. The lections on Palm Sunday are from Jeremiah, as alſo on the Monday,§ Tueſday, and Wedneſday. On the Thurſday, when the double office begins (though but three leſſons in each Nocturn), the three firſt are from Lamentations; the three next from S. Auguſtine's Commentary‖ on the Fifty-fifth Pſalm; the three laſt, the inſtitution of the Bleſſed Euchariſt, from the Epiſtle to

* The Paris here, as always, partly by the ſuperior length of its leſſons, partly by its principle of abſtracting the whole, rather than giving at continuous length part, of a book, has advanced much further, namely, to the twenty-fifth chapter.

† In the week-days of Lent, till *Paſſion* Sunday, the two firſt lections of the Paris Breviary are from the reſt of Geneſis; a few chapters from the other books of Moſes; from Joſhua; Judges, and Ruth; in Paſſion Week, from Jeremiah.

‡ This and the following Sundays, till Paſſion Sunday, have, in the Paris Breviary, their lections merely in the due courſe of the ferial reading.

§ On theſe three days, in the Paris Breviary, as all through Lent, the third lection is from a Commentary on the Goſpel.

‖ Paris, from S. Chryſoſtom's Sermon on the Betrayal.

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the Corinthians. On Good Friday and Easter Eve the three first lessons are from the Lamentations; the three next from S. Augustine's Commentary* on the Sixty-third Psalm; the three last from the Epistle to the Hebrews. In the Octave of Easter, Paschal gospels† are read, with commentaries. On the week-days, from Low Sunday till Ascension, there is merely a brief lection (Hos. vi. 1, 2) repeated daily.‡ In the second Sunday after Easter, the lection is from the first (thirteenth in the Roman) chapter of the Acts of the Apostles; on the third, from the beginning of the Revelations; on the fourth, from the beginning of S. James's Epistle; on the fifth, from the beginning of the First Epistle of S. Peter. Ascension Day and its octave have Gospels and their commentaries proper for the season; the Sunday, however, has its lections from the First Epistle of S. John; the octave day, from Ephes. iv. "Wherefore he saith, when He ascended up on high," &c.; and the Friday after the octave, from the Second and Third Epistles of S. John and S. Jude; the Roman has the Third Epistle of S. John only, and entire. Pentecost, and its octave, have, of course, proper lessons for the solemnity. Trinity Sunday has its four first lections from Isaiah's vision, with reference to the Trisagion of the Angels; (in the Paris the lections of the first Nocturn are from 1 Sam. i.,§ the old lesson for the first Sunday after Pentecost;) the four next from the Treatise of S. Fulgentius to Peter, on Faith; the ninth, tenth, and eleventh, from a Homily of S. Gregory Nazianzen, read by way of Commentary on the commission of our LORD to His Disciples to baptize in the name of the FATHER, of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST; while the twelfth is the Gospel for the old first Sunday after Pentecost, before the institution of the festival of the TRINITY, "Be ye therefore merciful," &c., with the Commentary of S. Augustine thereon.

After Trinity, till the beginning of November, with the exception of the octave of Corpus Christi, there are no proper lessons for the ferial office,‖ but merely a short chapter at the

* Paris, as before, from S. Chrysostom.

† In the Paris Breviary, during the Octave of Easter, the three lections are—1, from the Acts; 2, a passage from the Fathers; 3, a Paschal Gospel, with its homily.

‡ In the Roman Breviary, in the weeks that follow the first and Second Sundays after Easter, the Acts are read; in that succeeding the third Sunday, the Revelation is continued; in those following the fourth and fifth Sundays, the Epistles of S. James and one of S. Peter respectively.

§ "Sumus," says Durandus, "in viâ veniendi ad patriam. Sed quia hostes habemus prius quam illic perveniamus, sc. carnem, mundum, et diabolum, ideo legitur de Libris Regum, in quibus agitur de bellis et de victoriis."

‖ In the Roman Breviary the lections of the week are continued from those of the Sundays, else the arrangement is nearly the same.

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end of the firſt Nocturn, which varies with the day of the week.

After the Sunday in the Octave of Corpus Chriſti, the Sundays are thus arranged :* there may be eleven Sundays between Pentecoſt and the Sunday neareſt to the firſt of Auguſt; for theſe, eleven ſets of lections are provided, from the books of Samuel and Kings. From the firſt Sunday in Auguſt (*i. e.* the Sunday neareſt to the firſt day of Auguſt) the eight firſt leſſons are given from the Sunday in the month, while the laſt four, namely, the Goſpel and its commentary, are, as uſual, for the Sunday, *de Tempore*. An example will make this plainer. The eleventh of Auguſt is this preſent year on a Sunday; for the firſt eight leſſons, then, take thoſe of the ſecond Sunday in Auguſt; thoſe of the firſt Nocturn, from Eccleſiaſtes; thoſe of the ſecond, from the Sermon of S. Chryſoſtom againſt concubinage; for the four laſt leſſons, we turn to thoſe of the eleventh Sunday after Pentecoſt, the Goſpel of the deaf and dumb man, and S. Gregory's remarks thereon in his Commentary on Ezekiel.

In Auguſt, September, and October, five Sundays are given reſpectively. In that time we have lections from Proverbs, Eccleſiaſtes, Wiſdom, Eccleſiaſticus, Job, Tobiah, Judith, Eſther, Maccabees.

With November, the ferial leſſons are reſumed; the intention of this being, according to S. Benedict's rule, that the increaſing length of the winter nights gives the greater time for Nocturns. In the three firſt weeks of November, Ezekiel and Daniel are read; in the two laſt the Minor Prophets; and thus we again come to Advent.

A remark here may not be out of place. By the winter and ſummer arrangement of S. Benedict, we ſee clearly how great a point he made of the hours being ſaid at the canonical time, and not by anticipation. It was his intention that Lauds ſhould always begin at break of day; and we have before ſeen that, if the convent were late in beginning Matins, they were rather to omit leſſons and reſponſes than violate this rule. *Now*, it need hardly be ſaid, Matins are oftener than not recited on the preceding afternoon. The French Breviaries give the following table; (the hours ſlightly differ :)— Dec. 1, Matins may be begun at 2 P.M.; Nov. 1, Jan, 12, 2·15; Oct. 20, Feb. 4, 2·30; Oct. 3, Feb. 22. 2·45; Sept. 16, March 10, 3; Aug. 30, March 27, 3·15; Aug. 12, April 13, 3·30; July 21, May 1, 3·45; May 22, 4.

* In the Paris Breviary there is no diſtinction between the Sundays of the month and the Sundays after Pentecoſt; but the whole ſeries runs on, as in our own Prayer-book. The books of Samuel and of Kings are read up to the ninth Sunday after Pentecoſt, and then Proverbs are commenced.

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From the moſt abſtruſe, we come to the eaſieſt of the arrangements of lections, that of Quignon.

The weeks from Advent follow each other in regular courſe; the firſt leſſon being invariably from the Old Teſtament, the ſecond, from the New; the third, where there is a feſtival with proper leſſons, is of that; where there is not, it is taken from a calendar given at the beginning of the Breviary, of which we print a ſpecimen, as undoubtedly the germ of our own:—

APRILIS HABET DIES XXX.

Feſta et aliæ tertiæ Lectiones.

		Fol.
g	Calendis. 1. Ex Epiſt. ad Ephes. Paulus Apoſt. . . .	90
a	iiij Non. 2. Ex Epiſt. ad Ephes. Et vos cum . . .	91
b	iij Non. 3. Ex Epiſt. ad Ephes. Hujus rei	eodem.
c	Prid. Non. 4. *Iſidorus Epiſcopus Confeſſor*	346
d	Non. 5. Ex Epiſt. ad Ephes. Obſecro itaque	92
e	viij Id. 6. *Xyſtus Papa Martyr*	346
f	vij Id. 7. Ex Epiſt. ad Ephes. Renovamini	91

The reference to the folio points to the place where the portion of Scripture in queſtion, here to be read as the *third* leſſon, is elſewhere to be found as the ſecond. The Acts and Epiſtles are read entirely through twice in the year; the Goſpels once; and a conſiderable part of the Old Teſtament once. How clearly our arrangement was taken from this, it is needleſs to remark.

Before we proceed, we will make a few obſervations on the general principle of Leſſons, as enunciated in the various Breviaries which we have been conſidering, and in our own Prayer-book.

And, to begin:—No one doubts that our people hear a great deal more of Holy Scripture in the courſe of the year than thoſe of the Roman Church; but ſome grave conſiderations will ariſe for the diſcuſſion of the future National Council of the Engliſh Church.

1. It is abſolutely certain that no uneducated, and not many educated, perſons, can underſtand half of the Old Teſtament leſſons of our Church. Take, for example, the prophets from Jeremiah, which occupy from the 17th of July to the 27th of September, how many chapters are, and muſt be, an utter myſtery to an ordinary congregation! How many to how many prieſts! So again of the Epiſtles; where not only is the obſcurity ſo great, but where there is conſiderable danger leſt they that are unlearned and unſtable ſhould wreſt them to their own deſtruction. Do we therefore ſay that ſuch lections need be unprofitable to the hearers? GOD forbid! But we ſay that they can only be profitable by virtue of a kind of *opus operatum*. The hearer

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comes in faith, believing that it will do him good to hear a certain amount of Scripture; and no doubt GOD will have reſpect to the faith, and increaſe that man's goodneſs in proportion to it; but not by any inherent virtue of the portion read. Mr. Monro, in his *Parochial Work*, ſpeaks of the cottager ſitting down on a Sunday afternoon to "read his Bible," and pitching, very likely, on the genealogies of the Chronicles, or the viſions of the Apocalypſe. We think he hardly does juſtice to the good which the poor man is likely to obtain in ſuch a way; but, if he does not obtain any good, it certainly follows that many of our leſſons are wholly uſeleſs. And it is inconſiſtent enough, on the one hand, to condemn wholeſale the uſe of one tongue "not underſtanded of the people," and, on the other, to make ſuch a large portion of the ſervice conſiſt of a language (namely, that of Scripture prophecy and argument) almoſt equally unintelligible to them.

For, 2, the Engliſh Church has deprived herſelf of the helps which Rome gives to an intelligent reading of Scripture hiſtory, by rejecting all comments. Does it not ſtand to reaſon that a few verſes, rightly underſtood by means of a plain explanation, would be more likely to affect the heart than chapter after chapter, which (like the "thorough-paced doctrine" which had nearly got Dr. Yalden into trouble) go in at one ear and out at the other?

And, 3, in order to make room for this vaſt poriton of obſcure paſſages, how do we treat thoſe which are moſt likely to do good—thoſe which are all in all—thoſe on which our ſalvation hangs? How do we treat the words and actions, the miracles and parables, of our LORD? We heap a ſeries of them together, giving the mind no time to dwell on any; preſenting them in a confuſed maſs, at unneceſſary length, and in diſtracted variety. Yet ſome who praiſe the triple repetition of the New Teſtament in the courſe of the year, would be the firſt to ſneer at the remark of S. Dominic the Cuiraſſier, who on one occaſion obſerved to a friend, that he never before remembered to have ſpent ſo profitable a day—he had eight times recited the Pſalter, whereas never before could he get through it ſo many. We cannot ſee ſo much difference between the two principles.

4. Again; the diſlocation of ſenſe, by adopting the capitular diviſion, muſt painfully jar on the feelings of religious people. What can be well worſe, for example, than to leave off in the middle of our LORD'S Paſſion, go to ſomething quite different—the prayers for the Parliament, for inſtance—and then begin it again?

5. The length—as mere length—of the leſſons, is not unfrequently objectionable; even the ſhorter portions of other Breviaries are broken up by the beautiful reſponſes, of which more preſently.

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In one particular, however, Cardinal Quignon's lections are inferior to our own; it is, that the greateſt feſtivals of ſaints have no commemoration in the way of lections, except the third leſſon, which the minor feſtivals ſhare equally with them. For example, in the preſent year: the firſt leſſon for S. John Baptiſt (falling, as it does, on the Monday following the fourth Sunday after Trinity) is Deut. xix. 14 to xx. 10; the ſecond, Acts xxi. 1—19. The ſcriptural hiſtory, in ſuch caſes, is mingled together and abbreviated in the oddeſt manner poſſible.

We do not, however, mean for a moment to deny the great neceſſity there was for a reform in the lections for the feſtivals of ſaints. Here, in the modern Roman Breviary, as we have ſeen, thoſe of the ſecond Nocturn only contain the legend (if we except the caſes of a double commemoration, where the ninth lection alſo embraces it); but, in the Engliſh Breviaries, where there were nine lections on a ſaint's feſtival, all of them were filled with the legend of the ſaint. We have heard Engliſh Roman Catholics lament the ultramontane tendency which has deprived them of their own uſes, and impoſed a foreign Breviary upon them. And we entirely ſympathiſe with them; only, if ever they can re-obtain the Saliſbury Breviary, they may reſt well aſſured that *its* lections will need, what the Roman have received, a ſcrutinizing reform. And the caſe was the ſame, more or leſs, with all the unreformed Breviaries. In the *Breviarium ſecundum uſum percelebris archicœnobii divi Remigii Remenſis nunc primum typis excuſſum* (*ſic*) *Pariſiis*, 1549, (where there are twelve lections,) eight of them are of the Saint, four of the Goſpel and Homily. In the Paris Breviary (1557), all nine are of the Saint; and examples might be eaſily multiplied. The Breviary of the Fratres Humiliati (Rome, 1548) agrees with the arrangement of that of Rheims. But now, all the reforms, both ſecular and religious (ſo far as we are aware), have adopted, more or leſs cloſely, the arrangement of the Roman.

The diviſion of the Meaux Breviary is almoſt unique. Here there is no *Proprium de Tempore*, except for Sundays; but the days, whether feſtivals or not, follow each other regularly all through the year, except during Septuageſima. Thus, for example:—

Oct. 19. SS. Saviniani, Potentiani, et Sociorum, MM. Duplex minus.—Lect. 1. Zephan. i. 1—9 (in ferial courſe). Lect. 2, 3. The Legend of the SS. Oct. 20. De Feria.—Lect. 1. Zeph. i. 10 to end. Lect. 2, cap. ii. 8—11. Lect. 8, cap. iii. 1—7. Oct. 21. S. Hilarionis Abbat. Simplex.—Lect. 1, Hag. i. 1—8. Lect. 2, cap. i. 14. Lect. 3. The Legend. Oct. 22. S. Celinia, V. and Patroneſs of Meaux.—Solemne Minus. 1 Noct. Lect. 1. Zach. i. 1—16. Lect. 2. Zech. ii. —5. Lect. 3. Zech. vi. 11. 2 Noct. Lect. 1. The Legend. Lect. 2. From S. Cyprian *de habitu Virginum*. Lect. 3. From Pſeudo-

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Chryſoſtom on S. Thecla. 3 Noct. Lect. 7, 8. From S. Auguſtine's Sermon on the Ten Virgins. Lect. 9. S. Matt xix. 12, and S. Chryſoſtom thereon.

This Breviary, and this only, therefore, agrees with the Engliſh Prayer-book, in appointing Scripture leſſons according to the days of the year (as Quignon's did the *third* leſſons on feriæ).

Each lection is cloſed by *But Thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us*, from the reader; and *Thanks be to God*, as the reſponſe. But, on the three laſt days of Holy Week, the three firſt lections (which are, as we have ſeen, from Jeremiah) are terminated by, *Jeruſalem, Jeruſalem, return to the Lord thy God*, without reſponſe. In the Paris Breviary, during Advent, the three firſt leſſons (from Iſaiah) are followed by, *Thus ſaith the Lord God: Return unto me, and ye ſhall be ſaved.*

We have now arrived at one of the moſt beautiful parts of the Breviary—the reſponſes that follow each leſſon.

The reſponſe is divided into two parts—the beginning, and the *reclamation;* which are ſeparated from each other by an aſteriſk, and of which the reclamation is repeated after the verſe: *e. g.* after the fifth lection on the Feſtival of the name of Jeſus:—

R. Let them give thanks unto Thy name. * For it is great, wonderful, and terrible. *V.* Some put their truſt in chariots, and ſome in horſes: but we will remember the name of the LORD our GOD. For it is great, wonderful and terrible.

But, at the laſt lection of each Nocturn, the *Gloria* is added on this wiſe: *e. g.* after the ſixth lection in the Commemoration of the Virgin:—

R. The virgins that be her fellows ſhall be brought unto the king. * With joy and gladneſs ſhall they be brought. *V.* According to thy beauty and renown: good luck have thou with thine honour. With joy and gladneſs ſhall they be brought. Glory be. With joy and gladneſs ſhall they be brought.

It is, perhaps, ſuperfluous to obſerve that, for brevity's ſake, the reſponſes are written thus: *e. g.* in the Commemoration of Apoſtles:—

R. Without ſin were they before GOD, and from each other they were not divided. * The cup of the Lord they drank, and became the friends of GOD. *V.* They delivered their bodies to torments for GOD's ſake: wherefore they are crowned, and receive the palm. The cup. Glory. The cup.

But occaſionally, and eſpecially in inferior Breviaries, the *initium* of the reſponſe is repeated, inſtead of the reclamation after the verſe. And ſometimes, in the laſt reſponſe of a Nocturn, there are two reclamations ſaid thus; *e. g.* the third reſponſe on S. Stephen's Day, in the Paris Breviary:—

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R. He that ſoweth in bleſſings ſhall reap alſo in bleſſings, as it is written. • He hath diſperſed abroad, he hath given to the poor. † His righteouſneſs remaineth for ever. *V.* All the Church of the Saints ſhall tell of his loving-kindneſs. • He hath. Glory. † His righteouſneſs.

In the Paris, and many other French Breviaries, when *Te Deum* is not ſaid, the whole third (or ninth) reſponſe is repeated.

It is a peculiarity, and not, we think, an enviable one, of the Roman Breviary, that, when *Te Deum* is ſaid (of which more preſently) there is no ninth reſponſe, the eighth being treated as if it were the ninth. It is, however, an ancient uſe, for Durandus mentions it as the cuſtom of *ſome* Churches.

We have ſaid enough to acquit ourſelves of any undue partiality for the Paris Breviary; but in the reſponſes it exceeds, in our judgment, any other with which we are acquainted. The manner in which the Old and New Teſtament are made to explain each other—a manner ſo much more really *Scriptural* than long unconnected leſſons—will be beſt underſtood by an example, which we will take from Good Friday, and place by their ſide thoſe from the Roman Breviary.

Lection 1.—From the Lamentation of Jeremiah the Prophet.†

I am the man that hath ſeen affliction by the rod of his wrath. He hath led me and brought me into darkneſs, but not into light. Surely againſt me is he turned; he turneth his hand againſt me all the day. My fleſh and my ſkin hath he made old; he hath broken my bones. He hath builded againſt me, and compaſſed me with gall and travel. He hath ſet me in dark places, as they that be dead of old. He hath hedged me about, that I cannot get out: he hath made my chain heavy. Alſo when I cry and ſhout, he ſhutteth out my prayer. He hath incloſed my ways with hewn ſtone, he hath made my paths crooked. He was unto me as a bear lying in wait, and as a lion in ſecret places.

Jeruſalem, Jeruſalem, return unto the LORD thy GOD.

PARIS.	ROMAN.
R. They ſought falſe witneſs againſt JESUS, to put Him to death: and found it not: • for many bare falſe witneſs againſt Him, but their witneſs agreed not together. *V.* Falſe witneſſes alſo did riſe up: they laid to my charge things that I knew not. For many. (S. Mark xiv. 55, 56; Ps. xxxv. 11.)	All my friends have fled from Me: and they that laid ſnares for Me have prevailed againſt Me: He whom I loved hath betrayed Me: • and with terrible eyes they ſmote Me with a cruel ſtroke, and gave Me vinegar to drink. *V.* They caſt Me out among the wicked, and ſpared not My ſoul. And.

Lection 2.

He hath turned aſide my ways, and pulled me in pieces: he hath made me deſolate. He hath bent his bow, and ſet me as a mark for the arrow.

† The Roman are not preciſely the ſame as the Paris lections from the Lamentations, being, the firſt, Lam. ii. 8—11; the ſecond, Lam. ii. 12—15; the third, the ſame as the firſt Paris. But this makes no difference in what we are now comparing.

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He hath caused the arrows of his quiver to enter into my reins. I was a derision to all my people; and their song all the day. He hath filled me with bitterness, he hath made me drunken with wormwood. He hath also broken my teeth with gravel stones, He hath covered me with ashes. And Thou hast removed my soul far off from peace: I forgat prosperity. And I said, My strength and my hope is perished from the LORD: remembering mine affliction and my misery, the wormwood and the gall. My soul hath them still in remembrance, and is humbled in me. This I recall to my mind, therefore have I hope.

Jerusalem, Jerusalem, return unto the LORD thy GOD.

PARIS.

R. The High Priest saith: I adjure Thee by the Living GOD, that Thou tell us whether Thou be the CHRIST, the Son of GOD. JESUS saith unto him: Thou hast said.— They say: * He is guilty of death. *V.* Then spake the priests, saying, This man is worthy to die: for he hath prophesied, as ye have heard with your ears. He. (S. Matt. xxvi. 63. 66. Jer. xxvi. 11.)

ROMAN.

R. The veil of the temple was rent in twain, * and the earth did quake; the thief cried from the cross, saying, LORD, remember me when Thou comest in Thy kingdom. *V.* The rocks were rent, and the graves were opened: and many bodies of the saints which slept arose. And the earth.

Lection 3.

Mine enemies chased me sore, like a bird, without cause. They have cut off my life in the dungeon, and cast a stone upon me. Waters flowed over mine head; then I said, I am cut off. I called upon thy Name, O LORD, out of the low dungeon. Thou hast heard my voice: hide not thine ear at my breathing, at my cry. Thou drewest near in the day that I called upon thee: thou saidst, Fear not. O LORD, thou hast pleaded the causes of my soul; thou hast redeemed my life. O LORD, thou hast seen my wrong: judge thou my cause. Thou hast seen all their vengeance and all their imaginations against me. Thou hast heard their reproach, O LORD, and all their imaginations against me; the lips of those that rose up against me, and their device against me all the day. Behold their sitting down, and their rising up; I am their musick. Render unto them a recompense, O LORD, according to the work of their hands.

Jerusalem, Jerusalem, return unto the LORD thy GOD.

PARIS.

R. They spat in the face of JESUS, * and buffeted, saying: Prophesy unto us, Thou CHRIST: who is he that smote Thee? *V.* They have gaped upon me with their mouth: they have smitten me upon the cheek reproachfully. And buffeted. (S. Matt. xxvi. 67. Job xvi. 10.)†

ROMAN.

R. My elect Vine, I planted thee: * how art thou turned into bitterness, that thou shouldest crucify Me, and let Barabbas go? *V.* I hedged thee, and gathered the stones out of thee, and built a tower in thee. How art thou. My elect Vine.†

† The *Gloria* is omitted, as being Holy Week. For the last half of the response the Paris substitutes nothing; the Roman, the whole. The regular ending of course would be, "How art thou. Glory. How art thou."

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NOCTURN II.—A Sermon of S. John Chryſoſtom.†

Lection 4.

To-day CHRIST our Paſſover was ſacrificed for us. And where was He ſacrificed? On a lofty Croſs. The Altar for this Sacrifice was new: becauſe the Sacrifice itſelf was new and marvellous. For the ſame is both Sacrifice and Prieſt: Sacrifice according to the Fleſh, Prieſt according to the Spirit. The ſame both offered, and according to the Fleſh was offered. And the Croſs was the Altar. And why, ſayeſt thou, was not the Sacrifice offered in the Temple, but without the city and the walls? That the ſaying might be fulfilled, He was reckoned among the tranſgreſſors. And why is He put to death on a lofty Croſs, and not under a roof? That the LAMB, immolated on high, might purge the nature of the air. The earth alſo was purged: for blood flowed from His Side upon it. Therefore not under a roof, therefore not in the Jewiſh Temple, that the Jews might not claim the Sacrifice to themſelves: that ye might not imagine this Victim to have been offered for that nation alone. Therefore without the city and the walls, that ye may learn that the Sacrifice is univerſal: becauſe the Oblation was for the univerſal world;—and that this purification was common to all, and not peculiar, as that among the Jews.

PARIS.

R. They ſaid unto Peter: Surely thou art one of them. ℣ He began to curſe and to ſwear, I know not this Man of Whom ye ſpeak. *V.* They that dwell in my houſe count me for a ſtranger: I am an alien in their ſight. He began. (S. Mark xiv. 70, 71. Job xix. 15.)

ROMAN.

R. Are ye come out as againſt a thief, with ſwords and with ſtaves for to take Me? ℣ I was daily with you teaching in the Temple, and ye laid no hold upon Me: and behold ye have ſcourged Me, and lead Me away to crucify Me. *V.* And when they had laid hands on JESUS, and had taken Him, He ſaid unto them. I was.

Lection 5.

Would you learn His illuſtrious work? To-day He opened to us Paradiſe:—till then cloſed. For on this day, at this very hour, GOD introduced the thief thither. To-day He reſtored to us our ancient country; to-day He brought us back to the City of our Land: for, To-day, ſaith He, thou ſhalt be with Me in Paradiſe. What! crucified and nailed, and promiſe Paradiſe! Even ſo, ſaith He: that on the Croſs thou mayeſt learn My power. Becauſe it was a ſpectacle of grief, that thou mighteſt look, not at the nature of the Croſs, but at the pains of the Crucified, He works this miracle on the Croſs, which, beyond any other, manifeſts His power. For, not when He raiſed the dead, not when He rebuked the winds and the ſea, not when He put demons to flight, but when He was crucified, pierced with nails, loaded with ſpitting, contumely, reproach, rebuke, did He will to change the heart of the thief, that thou mayeſt ſee His power on all ſides. He agitated the whole of Creation: He cleft the rocks: but the heart of the thief, harder than the rock, He drew to Himſelf.

† The Roman lection is from S. Auguſtine's Commentary on the 64th Pſalm.

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PARIS.

R. Whom will ye that I releaſe unto you? Barabbas, or JESUS, which is called CHRIST? They ſaid, Barabbas. What then ſhall I do with JESUS? They all ſaid: * Let Him be crucified. *V.* We beſeech thee, let this man be put to death; for this man ſeeketh not the welfare of this people, but the hurt. Let Him be crucified. (S. Matt. xxvii. 17. 22. Jer. xxxviii. 4.)

ROMAN.

R. And there was darkneſs when the Jews had crucified JESUS: and about the ninth hour, JESUS cried with a loud voice, My GOD, My GOD, why haſt Thou forſaken Me? * And He bowed His Head and gave up the ghoſt. *V.* And JESUS cried with a loud voice, Father, into Thine Hands I commend My Spirit. And He bowed.

Lection 6.

But what ſo great thing, will ye ſay, did the thief, that after death he ſhould gain Paradiſe?—Shall I briefly tell you what he did? When Peter was denying below, he was confeſſing above. The Diſciple endured not the threats of a worthleſs maid-ſervant: the thief, beholding the multitude thronging around, crying out, caſting forth blaſphemies and reproaches, attended not them;—caſt not in his mind the preſent vileneſs of Him That was crucified; but, paſſing them all by with the eye of faith, and making nothing of theſe hindrances, acknowledged the LORD of Heaven; and proſtrating himſelf in mind before Him, LORD, remember me, ſaid he, when Thou comeſt in Thy Kingdom. Seeſt thou of what good things the Croſs was the cauſe? Tell me: thou ſpeakeſt of a Kingdom. What doſt thou behold of that ſort? What thou ſeeſt is the Croſs and the Nails. But that very Croſs, ſaith he, is the Symbol of a Kingdom. It is for this reaſon that I call Him a King, becauſe I ſee Him crucified. For it is the part of a king to die for His ſubjects. Himſelf ſaid, The Good Shepherd giveth His life for the ſheep. Therefore the Good King alſo giveth His life for His ſubjects. Since, then, He hath given His Life, I call Him King: LORD, remember me when Thou comeſt in Thy Kingdom.

PARIS.

R. And when the ſoldiers had ſcourged JESUS, they put on Him a purple robe, and a crown of thorns, and began to ſalute Him, Hail, King of the Jews: and * they ſmote Him on the Head with a reed, and did ſpit upon Him. *V.* I gave My back to the ſmiters, and My cheeks to them that plucked off the hair. I hid not My face from ſhame and ſpitting. They ſmote Him. (S. Mark xv. 16, &c. Iſaiah l. 6.)

ROMAN.

R. I have delivered My beloved into the hands of the wicked: Mine heritage is unto Me as a lion in the wood: the adverſary hath roared againſt Me, ſaying, Gather ye together, and make haſte to devour Him: they have laid Me in a wilderneſs, and all the earth mourneth for My ſake: * For there is none found to acknowledge Me, and to do Me good. *V.* Men without pity have riſen up againſt Me, and have not ſpared My Soul. For there.

NOCTURN III.

Lection 7.—From the Epiſtle of Bleſſed Paul to the Hebrews.†

Seeing then that we have a great High Prieſt, that is paſſed into the heavens, JESUS the SON of GOD, let us hold faſt our profeſſion. For we have not an

† The Roman lection commences a little further back.

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high priest which cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities; but was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin. Let us therefore come boldly unto the throne of grace, that we may obtain mercy, and find grace to help in time of need. For every high priest taken from among men is ordained for men in things pertaining to GOD, that he may offer both gifts and sacrifices for sins: who can have compassion on the ignorant and on them that are out of the way; for that he himself also is compassed with infirmity. And by reason hereof he ought, as for the people, so also for himself, to offer for sins.

PARIS.	ROMAN.
R. They took JESUS, and led Him away. * And JESUS, bearing His Cross, went forth unto a place which is called the place of a skull. *V.* And Abraham took the wood of the burnt offering, and laid it upon Isaac his son. And JESUS. (S. John xix. 16, 17. Gen. xxii. 6.)	*R.* They delivered Me up into the hands of the wicked, and cast Me out among the transgressors, and spared not My soul. The mighty men gathered together against Me: * and like giants they stood against Me. *V.* Strangers have risen against Me, and mighty men sought after my soul. And like giants.

Lection 8.

And no man taketh this honour unto himself, but he that is called of GOD, as was Aaron. So also CHRIST glorified not himself to be made an high priest; but he that said unto him, Thou art my SON, to day have I begotten thee. As he saith also in another place, Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec. Who in the days of his flesh, when he had offered up prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears unto him that was able to save him from death, and was heard in that he feared; though he were a Son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered; and being made perfect, he became the author of eternal salvation unto all them that obey him; called of GOD an high priest after the order of Melchisedec.

PARIS.	ROMAN.
R. They crucified JESUS, and the thieves, the one on the right hand, and the other on the left. Then said JESUS: * Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do. *V.* He was numbered with the transgressors, and He bare the sins of many, and made intercession for the transgressors. Father, forgive them. (S. Luke xxiii. 33, 34. Isaiah liii. 12.)	*R.* The traitor delivered JESUS to the chief priests and elders of the people. * And Peter followed afar off, that he might see the end. *V.* And they brought Him to Caiaphas, the Chief-Priest, where the Scribes and Pharisees were gathered together. And Peter.

Lection 9.

And they truly were many priests, because they were not suffered to continue by reason of death: but this man, because he continueth ever, hath an unchangeable priesthood. Wherefore he is able also to save them to the uttermost that come unto GOD by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them. For such an high priest became us, who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens; who

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needeth not daily, as thoſe high prieſts, to offer up ſacrifice, firſt for his own ſins, and then for the people's: for this he did once, when he offered up himſelf.

PARIS.	ROMAN.
R. He was wounded for our tranſgreſſions, He was bruiſed for our iniquities; • The chaſtiſement of our peace was upon Him, and with His ſtripes we are healed. *V.* He His own Self bare our ſins in His own Body on the Tree, that we, being dead unto ſin, might live unto righteouſneſs. The chaſtiſement. He was wounded . . . . healed. (Iſaiah liii 5. 1 Pet. ii. 24.)	*R.* Mine eyes are darkened with weeping: for My comforters are far from Me. Behold, all people, • if there be any ſorrow like unto My ſorrow. *V.* O all ye that paſs by, behold and ſee. If there. Mine eyes.

The beauty of theſe reſponſes, and eſpecially of thoſe from the Paris Breviary, is evident. Even in this inſtance, however, it may be doubted whether the latter are not too much didactic, and too little—which is the very eſſence of all Church ritual—dramatic. The rule which makes them always taken from Scripture is frequently fatal to effect. The truth of this remark is more eaſily ſeen on the feſtivals of martyrs or other ſaints, where their words, or the circumſtances of their paſſion, are, in other Breviaries, worked into the reſponſes. A ſtriking inſtance of the beauty of this occurs in the Feſtival of S. Agnes: we quote from the Benedictine Breviary, as the fulleſt.

After the *firſt* lection :—

R. Celebrate we the feaſt of the holy Virgin; how bleſſed Agnes ſuffered, let us recall to memory: in the thirteenth year of her age ſhe loſt death and found life: • becauſe ſhe loved the alone Author of Life. *V.* Reckoned by years, hers was infancy: but the old age of her mind was venerable. • Becauſe. II. [reciting the words of S. Agnes] *R.* He hath rounded my neck and my arms with precious ſtones. He hath given to my ears ineſtimable pearls: • and He hath endued me with bright and ſparkling gems. *V.* He hath ſet a ſign on my face, that I ſhould own no lover but Himſelf. • And he hath. III. *R.* CHRIST I love, into Whoſe bridal-chamber I ſhall enter: Whoſe Mother is a Virgin, Whoſe Father knows not woman, the melody of Whoſe notes already reſounds in my ear. • Whom, when I ſhall have loved, I am chaſte: when I ſhall have touched, I am pure: when I ſhall have received, I am a virgin. *V.* With the ring of His faith He hath plighted me to Himſelf: and hath adorned me with priceleſs jewels. • Whom, when. IV. *R.* Come, Bride of CHRIST, receive the Crown which the LORD hath prepared for thee for ever: for Whoſe Love thou haſt poured forth thy blood: • and thou haſt entered with Angels into Paradiſe. *V.* Come, My elect, and I will ſet thee upon My Throne, becauſe the King hath deſired thy beauty. • And thou haſt. Glory. And thou haſt.

Another uſe of theſe reſponſes is, that where the leſſons are ferial—or from the Common—they may be diverted, ſo to ſpeak, into the channel proper for the day. A thouſand beauties will

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thus exhibit themſelves in the ordinary lections, varying almoſt priſmatically according to the light thrown upon them from the reſponſes.

Thoſe for ordinary Sundays are for the moſt part taken from that portion of Scripture into which they are interwoven. Thus, in the Roman Breviary, the three firſt lections for the fourth Sunday after Pentecoſt, relate the fight of David with Goliath. The reſponſes are:—

I. *R.* Prepare your hearts unto the LORD, and ſerve Him only: * and He will deliver you out of the hands of your enemies. *V.* Turn unto Him with all your hearts, and put away the ſtrange gods from the midſt of you. * And He. II. *R.* GOD, Who heareth all, ſent His Angel, and took me from my father's ſheep: * and anointed me with the oil of His Mercy. *V.* The LORD, Which delivered me out of the paw of the lion, and out of the paw of the bear: * anointed. III. *R.* The LORD, Which delivered me out of the paw of the lion, and out of the paw of the bear: * He ſhall deliver me from the hands of mine enemies. *V.* GOD hath ſent forth His mercy and truth: and hath delivered my ſoul from the midſt of the lion's whelps. * He ſhall. Glory. He ſhall.

The manner in which the ferial reſponſes are, in the Roman Breviary, taken from thoſe of the Sunday, though ſet forth at length in the Rubrics, is too elaborate for explanation here. The Paris rule is ſimpler: "In the Ferial Office (Paſchal-tide "excepted) the reſponſes are taken from the preceding Sunday "(unleſs it be otherwiſe ordered, or there be proper reſponſes "aſſigned for the feria in queſtion). They are taken alternately "from the 1ſt and 2nd nocturn, in this order: Monday, Wed-"neſday, and Friday, from the firſt; Tueſday, Thurſday, and "Saturday, from the ſecond nocturn." The ground-work of the Roman rule is the ſame.

The reſponſes of the Saliſbury Breviary are, for the moſt part, where they are peculiar, of a very inferior deſcription. Very frequently they are in verſe: thus, on the Martyrdom of S. Thomas of Canterbury:—

R. I. Stupens livor Thomæ ſupplicio
Thomæ genus damnat exilio.
* Omnis ſimul exit cognatio.
V. Ordo, ſexus, ætas, conditio,
Nullus gaudet hic privilegio. Omnis.
R. II. Thomas manum mittit ad fortia,
Spernit damna, ſpernit opprobria.
* Nulla Thomam frangit injuria.
V. Clamat cunctis Thomæ conſtantia
Omne ſolum eſt forti patria. Nulla.

The ſame remark may be made of the York Breviary. Take, for inſtance, the reſponſes on S. Cuthbert's day:—

R. I. Cuthbertus puer bonæ indolis pervigil nocturnis inſiſtens hymnis * Aydani Epiſcopi animam in cœlum ferri videt ab angelis. *V.* Cum paſto-

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ribus ovium poſitus paſtor animarum Deo præelectus mente et vultu ſupernis intentus • Aydani. *R.* II. In ſanctis creſcens virtutibus almus vir Cuthbertus, deſpectis hujus caduci ſæculi rebus, venerabilis ac per cuncta digne laudabilis • factus eſt monachus. *V.* Corpore, mente, habitu, factiſque probabilibus, caſtris Dominicis aſſociatus. • Factus.

Both theſe examples are alſo inſtances of that kind of reſponſories which we may call the hiſtorical: *i. e.* where the life of the ſaint whoſe feſtival it is, is related in them, as well as in the lections, of which, indeed, they form a kind of *réſumé*.

The laſt reſponſe of the lections completed, or, in the Roman uſe, as we have ſeen, the laſt lection, follows, if it is to be ſaid, Te Deum. The Roman rule is this: it is ſaid on all Sundays of the year, except in Septuageſima and Lent; from Eaſter to Aſcenſion, daily (except on Rogation Monday), and on all feſtivals, whether of three or nine lections, except that of the Holy Innocents. Its omiſſion on that day ariſes from the ſame feeling which prompts, in ſome village churches, the ringing of a muffled peal on that day: *e. g.* in S. Giles, Leigh-upon-Mendip, Somerſetſhire. And this ſign of ſorrow on a feſtive occaſion may profitably be compared with the very ſingular cuſtom, now, or very lately, obſerved on Chriſtmas Eve, at All Saints, Dewſbury, Yorkſhire: towards evening, one of the bells is tolled after the manner of a paſſing bell; it is called the *Devil's knell*, and myſtically repreſents that Satan's power was deſtroyed by the Birth of our LORD.

There are, however, great varieties of uſe with reſpect to the Te Deum. In the Benedictine order it is ſaid on all Sundays both of Advent and Lent; at Lyons the caſe was the ſame, although it was altered at leaſt as long ago as 1780; while at S. Martin of Tours it was ſaid on the Holy Innocents till 1635; as, we believe, it ſtill is at Paris, Lyons, Vienne, Quimper, Chartres, Laon, and other places. At the verſe, *We therefore pray Thee*, down to *and lift them up for ever*, it is a very uſual practice to kneel.

Te Deum is immediately followed, in the Roman Breviary, by Lauds (except on Chriſtmas Day). In the Paris, and moſt other modern Breviaries, it is ſucceeded by the Sacerdotal Verſe, *e. g.* on S. John Baptiſt: "*V.* My mouth ſhall tell of Thy Praiſe. *R.* And of Thy Salvation all the day long." On Trinity Sunday: "*V.* GOD, even our own GOD, ſhall bleſs us. *R.* And all the ends of the world ſhall fear Him." And this was the uſe, as we learn from Durandus, of ſecular Breviaries generally. The Benedictine concludes differently. We have already ſeen that, on feſtivals of nine (or twelve) lections, the firſt of the third nocturn conſiſts of the beginning of the Goſpel for the day, followed

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by a homily on it. Te Deum finiſhed, the Benedictine order takes up the Goſpel from the beginning, reads it through and, after the reſponſe, *Amen*, the ſhort hymn, "Thee befits praiſe, Thee befits a hymn, to Thee be glory, GOD the Father, SON, and HOLY GHOST, world without end, Amen," is ſung. The collect for the day concludes the office of Matins. An approximation to the Benedictine uſe is found in the Paris Breviary, where, in churches "where it is the cuſtom," the genealogy of our LORD, according to S. Matthew, was ſung before the Te Deum on Chriſtmas Day; and that according to S. Luke on Epiphany. The Benedictine Breviary does the former, though, contrary to its uſual rite, *after* Te Deum. Moſt of the French Breviaries follow the Paris; ſome, as Dijon and Laon, make the rite imperative on all churches. At S. Maurice of Vienne, during the ninth reſponſe, the Archdeacon was robed with peculiar magnificence in the ſacriſty; and, preceded by two ſubdeacons in albs, bearing tapers, and two in tunics, one bearing the cenſer, the other the Goſpel—he went into the *jubé*, and there ſang the Genealogy. In an ancient ritual of Jargeau, near Orleans, inſpected by Le Brun, it is ſimply called the *Generatio*; and in the Saliſbury and York Breviaries, the ceremonial of the *Generatio*, both at Chriſtmas and Epiphany, was much the ſame as at Vienne.

It was a favourite queſtion among old ritualiſts, whether Lauds, the Orthron of the Greek, the Outreniia of the Slavonic, Church, were a ſeparate office or not, from Matins. However that may be, it is certain that now the two offices are almoſt always joined in one.

Lauds commence with the *O God, make ſpeed to ſave me*, with the Gloria and the Alleluia, as Matins. We may obſerve here, what we might equally well have remarked there, that Alleluia, according to Roman uſe, is not ſaid in Septuageſima, though, according to ſome Gallican rituals—ſuch *was* that of Lyons—it was ſaid up to the firſt Sunday in Lent incluſive. This was a nearer approach to the Mozarabic Ritual, which carries it on all through Lent; and that of the Eaſtern Church, which even multiplies it then.

The uſual Sunday office in the Roman Breviary, which is that of all mediæval Lauds, is this:—Pſalms 93 and 100 are ſaid; Pſalms 63 and 67 under one Gloria: Benedicite, the three laſt Pſalms, under one antiphon and one Gloria; the ſhort chapter, the hymn, the verſicle and reſponſe, Benedictus, and the collect for the day. The Pſalms, which may thus be conſidered either as five or ſeven, have, of courſe, given riſe to variety of myſtical explanations. The reaſon, certainly anything but ſelf-evi-

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dent, why the 63rd and 67th Pſalms are ſaid under one Gloria, is explained to be, that the firſt ſignifies love of GOD ("My ſoul is athirſt for GOD, even for the Living GOD"), the ſecond, love of our neighbour ("Let the people praiſe Thee, O GOD"), and that theſe two are in reality one. Or again, becauſe the firſt Pſalm repreſents the miſeries of this preſent world ("My ſoul is *athirſt*"), in which we cannot praiſe GOD as we would; we muſt therefore wait until that Life in which He ſhall, indeed, "have mercy upon us and bleſs us," and "ſhow the light of His countenance upon us" in the Beatific Viſion. The 63rd and 67th Pſalms, and the 148th, 149th, and 150th, never vary at Lauds, becauſe, ſay the interpreters, there never was a time in which the ſouls of the righteous did not "thirſt for the Living GOD," or in which the "LORD of Heaven" was not "praiſed in the heights;" and there never will be.

For the firſt Pſalm at Lauds, the 93rd, is on week-days ſaid the 51ſt, according to the ancient and the modern Roman rule. Inſtead of the ſecond Pſalm, namely the 100th, they recite the 5th on Monday, the 42nd on Tueſday, the 64th on Wedneſday, the 90th on Thurſday, the 143rd on Friday, the 92nd ("A Pſalm for the Sabbath Day") on Saturday. On all theſe days follow, as we have ſeen, the 63rd and 67th as one; and then, inſtead of the Benedicite, on Monday, the Song of Iſaiah, (chap. xii.); on Tueſday, of Hezekiah; on Wedneſday, of Hannah; on Thurſday, of Moſes (Exod. xv.); on Friday, of Habakkuk; and on Saturday, of Moſes (Deut. xxxii.); Benedictus and the three laſt Pſalms are always ſaid.

The rule of S. Benedict for Lauds, or, as he calls them, Matins, on Sunday is this; "At Matins on the LORD'S Day, let there firſt be ſaid the 67th Pſalm without an antiphon; after which the 51ſt with Alleluia; after that the 118th and 63rd; then the Benedictions and the Lauds (*i. e.* the Benedicite and the three laſt Pſalms); the lection from the Apocalypſe, by heart, the Reſponſory, the Ambroſian, (*i. e.* the hymn *Æterne rerum Conditor*,) the Verſe, the Evangelical Canticle, and it is over." The Evangelical Canticle is, of courſe, the Benedictus. The modern Benedictines (judging from the Augſburg edition of 1758,) have ſo far receded from this rule, as to ſubſtitute for the 51ſt and 118th Pſalms the 93rd and 100th, on all Feſtivals of Saints, and through octaves, and in all Paſchal-tide. The Cluniac Reform, however, of 1686, which, whatever be its other faults, (and we are not diſpoſed to controvert the remarks of Father J. B. Thiers, in his *Obſervations ſur le Bréviaire de Cluni*,) keeps cloſe to all points *ruled* by S. Benedict, reverts to the original rule of the order.

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On week-days, the 67th and 51ſt Pſalms were to be ſaid; modern Benedictines have dropped the firſt of theſe, but the Cluniac Reform retains it. The two next Pſalms were, on Monday, 6, 36; Tueſday, 43, 57; Wedneſday, 64, 65; Thurſday, 88, 90; Friday, 76, 92; Saturday, the 143rd only, becauſe the Song of Deuteronomy is divided into two parts, each with its Gloria. S. Benedict expreſsly ſpecifies that the Canticles are to be ſaid on the other days, "according to the Roman uſe."

According to S. Benedict's rule Lauds (and Veſpers,) were to conclude with the LORD'S Prayer, ſaid aloud, (inſtead of ſecretly; or ſecretly with the "*V.* And lead us not into temptation:" "*R.* But deliver us from evil;") in order that twice a day the clauſe "Forgive us our treſpaſſes" might compel an open expreſſion of forgiveneſs of others. S. Benedict only orders the Abbat to recite the prayers aloud; but Durandus ſeems to imply that all the monks recited it. He hints that ſuch perfect forgiveneſs could not be expected of them at the little Hours, and remarks that it ſufficed if the ſun did not ſet on their wrath.

The Saliſbury and York Breviaries agree pretty cloſely with the Roman, except that after the Benedictus on Sundays they add the 123rd Pſalm; and all the older Breviaries, of whatever nature, ſeem to have a very cloſe reſemblance in Lauds to the mediæval type, which the Roman Church has exactly retained.

The Paris has very widely departed from it. The beautiful rite of introducing into the Lauds of every day thoſe true Lauds, the three laſt Pſalms, is gone; the reaſon clearly being that, as the Pſalms were to be ſaid through every week, the repeating any of them more than once in that time was merely an additional lengthening of the office.

The Paris arrangement of Laudal Pſalms is this:—

Sunday, Pſalms 63, 70, 100, Benedicite, 148.
Monday, Pſalms 92, 136, in two, Song of Moſes, (Exod. xv.) [inſtead of which, on Feſtivals, Eccleſiaſticus 39, 15—20,] 135.
Tueſday, Pſalms 24, 85, 97, Song of Hezekiah, [inſtead of which, on Feſtivals, Eccleſiaſticus 36, 1—14,] 150.
Wedneſday, Pſalms 5, 36, 65, Songs of Iſaiah, (xii.) [inſtead of which, on Feſtivals, the Song of Tobiah, (xiii. 1—7,)] 147 (1—11).
Thurſday, Pſalms 80, 108, in two, Song of Hannah, [inſtead of which, on Feſtivals, 1 Chron. xxix. 10—13,] 147. (11—end).
Friday, Pſalms 51, 74, in two, Song of Habakkuk, [inſtead of which, on Feſtivals, Iſaiah xxvi. 1—12,] 146.
Saturday, Pſalms 17, in two, 57, Song of Deuteronomy, [inſtead of which on Feſtivals, Song of Judith,] 117.

The reſt of the Office is the ſame in arrangement as the Roman.

The French Breviaries follow the general arrangement of the

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Paris Lauds, though the particular Pſalms often vary. In ſome Breviaries, as that of Limoges, the Feſtal Canticles are not given ferially, but as proper in the ſeveral days when they are ſaid—in that of Sens, one of the three laſt Pſalms is always ſaid, as the *Pſalmus Laudum:* thus, on Sundays, Wedneſdays, and Saturdays, the 150th; Mondays and Thurſdays, the 148th; Tueſdays and Fridays, the 149th. The Cologne, a very mediæval Breviary, retains the ancient type.

Cardinal Quignon's Reform ſimply gives two Pſalms and a Canticle, with Benedictus.

We will here ſtop to remark how very improper it is in our own Office to ſubſtitute the Jubilate for the Benedictus, except where compelled by the unfortunate rubric preceding the latter. For exchanging the evenſong Evangelical Canticles for their ſubſtitutes there can never be any excuſe.

The Chapter for Laudson Sundays from the ſecond Sunday after Epiphany to Septuageſima, and from the third Sunday after Pentecoſt till Advent, is in the Roman Breviary, that verſe in the Apocalypſe, "Bleſſing, and glory, and wiſdom, and thankſgiving, and honour, and power, and might, be unto our GOD for ever and ever, Amen." At other times it varies with the ſeaſon. The Ferial Chapter during the ſame time is, "The night is far "ſpent, the day is at hand, let us therefore caſt away the works of "darkneſs, and let us put on us the armour of light. Let us walk "honeſtly, as in the day." This, in the Benedictine, and ſome few other Breviaries, is followed by a brief reſponſe on this ſort. "*R.* Heal my ſoul * For I have ſinned againſt Thee. Heal "my ſoul. *V.* I ſaid, LORD, be merciful unto me. For I have "ſinned againſt Thee. Heal my ſoul."

Of the Hymn which follows the Chapter, we do not intend, as we ſaid before, to ſpeak. Nor is there anything in the verſe and reſponſe that follow, nor in the Antiphon of the Benedictus which need detain us.

On Chriſtmas Day, according to the Paris Breviary, inſtead of Benedictus, the Song of Iſaiah, (chap. xxv.) is ſung, in which it is followed by one or two of the French offices: *e. g.* Chalons-ſur-Saône; the Breviary of Mirepoix ſubſtitutes the Song of Micah.

In moſt of the Breviaries the Collect for the day follows, and one of the antiphons of S. Mary concludes the office, unleſs Prime immediately ſucceeds. The *Prayers*, which follow on ſome occaſions, we ſhall better conſider under Prime.

In mentioning the Collect, we cannot help relating a piece of Proteſtant bigotry to which we were once witneſs. A gentleman took up a Breviary, and read a Collect, which ended, as

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uſual, thus, (ſay) "Ad cœnæ Tuæ convivium occurramus. Per." "*Per!*" he exclaimed; "PER! Poor benighted creatures! You ſee, inſtead of our LORD'S Name, they may inſert that of any ſaint they pleaſe!"

The old verſes, which give the proper concluſion, are:—

Per Dominum dicas: ſi Patrem Preſbyter oras.
Si Chriſtum memores: *per eundem* dicere debes.
Si loqueris Chriſto: *qui vivis* ſcire memento;
Qui tecum, ſi ſit Collectæ finis in ipſo.
Si memores Flamen: *ejuſdem* dic prope finem.

Theſe rules might not unreaſonably be recalled by thoſe whoſe office it is to compoſe "occaſional prayers" among ourſelves.

We now proceed to *Prime*. The Sunday Roman Office is this:—After the Pater Noſter, &c. and the Hymn, "Jam lucis orto ſidere," which never alters, three Pſalms are ſaid, the 54th, the 118th, and the thirty-two firſt verſes of the 119th, under two Glorias. After this, when the office is of the Sunday, the Athanaſian Creed; and this is followed by the ſhort chapter, and the verſicles and reſponſes;—"O CHRIST, SON of the living GOD, "have mercy upon us (twice). *V.* Thou That ſitteſt at the "right-hand of the FATHER. *R.* Have mercy upon us. "*V.* Glory be to the FATHER, and to the SON, and to the "HOLY GHOST. *R.* O CHRIST, SON of the living GOD, "have mercy upon us. *V.* Ariſe, O CHRIST, and deliver us. "*R.* And ſave us for Thy mercies' ſake." After this follow if they are to be ſaid, (which they are not on Doubles, nor within Octaves) the Preces or Suffrages, with the *Confiteor*, and the Collect, "Almighty GOD, Who haſt ſafely brought us to the beginning of this day, &c." with which Prime, properly ſpeaking, ends. It is followed by the office of the Chapter. This commences with the martyrology of the day, the "*V.* Right dear in the ſight of the LORD, *R.* is the death of His ſaints;" ſhort ſuffrages, the Collect, "O Almighty LORD, and everlaſting GOD," and after the "*V.* Sir, pray for a bleſſing," and the Benediction, "Almighty GOD order our acts and days in His peace," a ſhort lection, of which five are given for various ſeaſons of the year, and a benediction. The Ferial office is much the ſame, except that the ſhort lection is different, and that, inſtead of the 118th Pſalm, there are ſaid, one on each of the five firſt days of the week, the 24th, 25th, 26th, 23rd, 22nd. On Saturday none is ſubſtituted for it, and this is the caſe in all Feſtivals. The Athanaſian Creed is not ſaid. The variations of Prime being ſo ſlight, and the antiphon only varying with the ſeaſon, this hour is not alluded to in the *Proprium de Tempore*. Want of ſpace forbids us to dwell on the variations which the

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other Breviaries exhibit from this form: we ſhall only obſerve that the Paris Breviary, while it retains the hymn *Jam lucis* unchanged for every day, has varying Pſalms. The Officium Capituli there conſiſts of the Martyrology for the day, the Necrology, with the *De Profundis*, the Suffrages, and a Canon ſelected for every day, in a kind of continued ſeries: thus, in the Meaux Breviary; Sept. 1ſt has a canon on Reſidence, 2nd—18th on Zeal for Souls; 19th—30th, on the Love of Poverty. Oct. 1, 2, againſt Nepotiſm; 3rd, 4th, 5th, on the care of the Poor; 6—10, on the care of the Sick; 11—25, on Confeſſion and the Care of Death-beds; &c. &c. Theſe canons are, in the Paris Breviary, given in the regular courſe of the Proprium de Tempore; in other French Breviaries, though with the ſame arrangement, they are uſually printed at the end of the volume. The Meaux Breviary is ſingular in arranging the Canons as well as the lections, by the days of the year. In the Roman, inſtead, the Preces, and De Profundis are ſaid in Lent, and Advent, and Faſts, at the end of Lauds, to which we have previouſly alluded. The fulleſt ſpecimen which we know of the Laudal Preces occurs in the Liège Breviary, and we give them here, both for their extreme beauty, and becauſe they tend to illuſtrate the Primal Preces. They may be very profitably compared with the Greek Ectene.

V. I ſaid, LORD, be merciful unto me. *R.* Heal my ſoul, for I have ſinned againſt Thee. *V.* Let us pray for every ſtate of the Church. *R.* Let Thy prieſts be clothed with righteouſneſs, and let Thy ſaints ſing with joyfulneſs. *V.* For the peace and unity of the Church. *R.* Let there be peace in Thy might, and abundance in Thy towers. *V.* For our Biſhop. *R.* The LORD preſerve him, and keep him alive, that he may be bleſſed upon earth: and deliver not Thou him into the will of his enemies. *V.* For our King. *R.* O LORD, ſave the King; and mercifully hear us when we call upon Thee. *V.* For all Catholic people. *R.* O LORD, ſave Thy people, and bleſs Thine inheritance; govern them, and ſet them up for ever. *V.* For all our benefactors. *R.* Beſtow, O LORD, on all them that do good to us for Thy Name's ſake, eternal life. *V.* For them that travel. *R.* O LORD, give ſalvation; O LORD, proſper us now: bleſſed is he that cometh in the Name of the LORD. *V.* For the faithful that voyage. *R.* Hear us, O GOD of our ſalvation, Thou that art the hope of all the ends of the earth, and of them that remain in the broad ſea. *V.* For them that are in diſcord. *R.* And the peace of GOD, which paſſeth all underſtanding, keep your hearts and minds in CHRIST JESUS. *V.* For them that perſecute and calumniate us. *R.* LORD JESUS CHRIST, lay not this ſin to their charge, for they know not what they do. *V.* For them that are penitent. *R.* Turn Thee again, O LORD, at the laſt, and be gracious unto Thy ſervants. *V.* For them that are in affliction and captivity. *R.* Deliver Iſrael, O GOD, out of all his troubles. *V.* For the ſick. *R.* Send, O LORD, Thy word, and ſave them from their deſtruction. *V.* And for all the faithful departed. *R.* Eternal reſt grant unto them, O LORD, and light perpetual ſhine upon them. *V.* May they reſt in peace. *R.* Amen. *V.* For our ſins and negli-

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gences. *R.* And for the glory of Thy Name, O LORD, deliver us, and be merciful to our ſins, for Thy Name's ſake. *V.* For our brethren that are abſent. *R.* My GOD, ſave Thy ſervants that put their truſt in Thee. *V.* Send them, LORD, help from the ſanctuary. *R.* And ſtrengthen them out of Sion. *V.* Be unto us, O LORD, a ſtrong tower. *R.* From the face of the enemy. *V.* O LORD, hear our prayer. *R.* And let our cry come unto Thee.—*De Profundis.*

The three next hours, Tierce, Sexts, and Nones, are arranged on ſo preciſely a ſimilar plan, that they may all be comprehended in a few words. The office at each conſiſts of the Pater Noſter, &c. a hymn, (at Tierce, *Nunc Sancte nobis Spiritus;* at Sexts, *Rector potens verus Deus;* at Nones, *Rerum Deus tenax vigor;*) three Pſalms, *i. e.* ſix diviſions of the 119th Pſalm, under three Glorias, the ſhort chapter, varying with the ſeaſon of the year; verſe and reſponſe; and (when the preces have been ſaid before) the *Kyrie* and ſhort ſuffrages; the whole concluded by the Proper Collect.

S. Benedict's rule gives three diviſions only (each, of courſe, under its own *Gloria,*) of the 119th Pſalm, for Tierce, Sexts, and Nones, on Sunday and Monday, and the Pſalm is thus finiſhed on Monday at Nones. The nine Pſalms, from 120—129, are ſaid, three at each little hour, through every other day of the week.

The Paris and French Breviaries have, as we have ſeen, varying Pſalms here, as in the other hours. The way in which the Antiphons are regulated by thoſe of Lauds (where no expreſs rule is given to the contrary), is this: the firſt Antiphon of Lauds is ſaid for the Pſalms at Prime; the ſecond, for thoſe at Tierce; the third, thoſe at Sexts; the fifth, for thoſe at Nones; the fourth being omitted.

The only other remark we ſhall make on the little Hours is that the Liège Breviary has, on the greater feſtivals, proper collects for them; an arrangement which is very rare. Thus, on the Epiphany, it has at Lauds the ſame collect as the Roman and moſt other Breviaries, which is ſubſtantially the ſame with that of our own Prayer-book. But the Collect for Tierce is: "GOD, the Illuminator of all nations, grant that Thy people "may enjoy perpetual peace; and pour into our hearts that "ſhining light, which Thou didſt inſpire into the minds of the "Wiſe Men, Thy SON our LORD JESUS CHRIST, Who." At Sexts: "Grant to us, Almighty GOD, we beſeech Thee, "that Thy ſalvation, wonderful with a new light from Heaven, "which for the ſafety of the world, as on this day, ſhone forth, "may ever ariſe in our hearts, that thereby they may be renewed, "through Thy SON, JESUS CHRIST our LORD." At Nones: "Grant, we beſeech Thee, Almighty GOD, that the Nativity

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"of the SAVIOUR of the world, made manifeſt by the leading "of a ſtar, may ever be revealed, and increaſe in our hearts, "through." At the ſecond Veſpers: "Almighty and Ever-"laſting GOD, the Light of Souls, Who haſt conſecrated this "ſolemnity by the firſt-fruits of the election of the Gentiles, fill "the world with Thy glory, and, the people being ſubdued unto "Thee, make the brightneſs of Thy light to appear, through." (At the firſt Veſpers, the Collect had been: "Lighten, O "LORD, we beſeech Thee, Thy people, and evermore inflame "their hearts with the glory of Thy grace, that they may without "ceaſing acknowledge their SAVIOUR, and without error ap-"prehend Him, Thy SON, &c.")

We come to Veſpers. After the Pater Noſter, the ſecular Breviaries give five, the monaſtic four Pſalms, each under its own Antiphon, (except in Paſchal time, when all are ſaid under Alleluia;) then the ſhort chapter, which, on ordinary days, is, "Bleſſed be GOD, even the Father of our LORD JESUS "CHRIST, the Father of mercies, and GOD of all conſolation," &c.; a beautifully choſen leſſon after the fatigues of the day. Then the hymns, varying with the day of the week, the verſe and reſponſe; the Magnificat, with its proper Antiphon and the proper Collect. In Advent, Lent, and the Ember Days, the Preces and the 51ſt Pſalm are ſaid after the Magnificat. And here it is well to obſerve that the Sarum Breviary retained, while the Roman has dropped, the original cuſtom of ending every one of the Hours, on all days not Doubles, with Pſalm li.

The French Breviaries give varying ſhort chapters at Veſpers, according to the day of the week.

It is as Antiphons to the Magnificat that the famous O's are ſaid. On Dec. 17th, "O Sapientia;" 18th, "O Adonai;" 19th, "O Radix Jeſſe;" 20th, "O Clavis David;" 21ſt, "O Oriens;" 22nd, "O Rex Gentium;" 23rd, "O Emmanuel." The Engliſh Breviaries added, "O Virgo Virginum," and (on the 20th and 21ſt,) "O Thoma Didyme," beginning the O's on the 16th inſtead of the 17th of December, (as marked in our preſent Calendar.) Some of the French Breviaries, as that of Moulins, begin the O's on the 15th; having on the 21ſt, "O Speculum;" and on the 23rd, "O Rex Iſrael." The Liège begins them on the 18th, adding, on the 24th, "O Summe Artifex."

It now only remains to ſay a word about Compline. This commences with the *Jube Domine benedicere:* the Benediction, "Almighty GOD grant us a quiet night and a perfect end:" the Lection, "Be ſober, be vigilant," &c.: the Confiteor and the four Pſalms, 4, 30 (1—6), 91, 130, under one Antiphon. The Benedictine Breviary omits the 2nd of theſe, except on the laſt nights of Holy Week. Then the hymn, *Te Lucis ante ter-*

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minum, (which in the Engliſh Breviaries varied with the ſeaſon): the ſhort chapter from Jeremiah, "But Thou art in us, O LORD, "and Thy Holy name is called upon us: leave us not, O LORD "our GOD:" the verſe, "Into Thine hands I commend my "ſpirit," &c.: the Song of Simeon, the *Preces*, when they are to be ſaid, the beautiful Collect, "Viſita quæſumus," and an Antiphon and Prayer of the Virgin. The office is concluded with the LORD'S Prayer and Belief, that the Church's children may lie down to reſt with the faith of their Mother on their lips. By monaſtic rule, ſpeech was forbidden after Compline.

On the variations of this office we have not left ourſelves ſpace to dwell. The French Breviaries change the Pſalms with the day of the week, and ſome even appoint proper leſſons, thus utterly ſpoiling the beauty of this quiet ſervice, the monotony of which is expreſsly calculated for the laſt weary hour of the day.

Before we conclude, we wiſh to ſay a few words on the ſelection of Saints commemorated in the Breviary, becauſe certainly, in ſome of the modern uſes, a very great reform is needed here. We have no reaſon to complain that any religious order ſhould by preference commemorate its own Saints. Yet we do think that ſuch a liſt of greater Doubles, as the preſent Franciſcan Breviary gives,—we are quoting from the Mechlin edition of 1848,—can ſcarcely be tolerated. They are theſe: The Dedication of the two famous Franciſcan Churches of S. Mary de Portiunculâ and S. Francis at Aſſiſi (ſee Mr. Webb's Continental Eccleſiology, p. 455); the Transfiguration; the Exaltation of the Croſs; the Sacred Heart; the Betrothal, Seven Dolours, Viſitation, Heart, Name, Seven Dolours again, Patronage, Preſentation, Expectation, Roſary, of the Bleſſed Virgin Mary; the Feſtivals de Mercede, ad Nives, and under the title of "the Help of Chriſtians," the Tranſlation of the Houſe of Loretto, (ſurely this feſtival ſhould at once be put down by authority;) S. Michael, S. Gabriel, S. Joachim, both Cathedræ of S. Peter, S. Peter ad Vincula, S. John Port. Lat., Converſion of S. Paul, Decollation of S. John Baptiſt, S. Barnabas, and then the following liſt:—

	Beatified by	Canonized by
S. Fidelis a Sigmaringa, M. 1622.		
B. Lucius	Pius VI.	
S. Felix a Cantilicio	Urban VIII. . .	Clement XI.
S. Ivo	. . . . .	Clement VI.
B. John of Prado, M.	Benedict XIII.	
Tranſlation of S. Francis.		
B. Benvenutus.		
S. Iſabel of Portugal	. . . . .	Urban VIII.
Martyrs of Gorkom, 1572 . . .	Clement X.	

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	Beatified by	Canonized by
(At Rome.) The miraculous motion of the eyes in ſome images of the Bleſſed Virgin.		
B. Elzear.		
S. Agnes of Aſſiſi (ſiſter of S. Clara.)		
B. Leonard a Portu Mauricio . .	Pius VI. (who had known him.)	
Invention of S. Francis.		
B. Andrew de Comitiis	Innocent XIII.	
S. Joſeph a Leoniſſa	Clement XII. .	Benedict XIV.
B. Andrew de Strinconio, 1687.		
B. Joan of Valois (divorced wife of Louis XI.)	Benedict XIV.	
S. Conrad	Leo X. . . .	Paul III.
B. John of Parma	Pius VI.	
B. Angela of Fulgino.		

Now we do call it intolerable that Saints ſo completely local as many of the above ſhould be allowed to take precedence of thoſe whoſe fame is world-wide; ſuch as the Eight Doctors of the Church; as the Martyrs S. Agnes and S. Vincent; as S. Leo I., S. Ignatius of Antioch, or S. Mary Magdalene. This is to turn an order into a clique. The caſe is the ſame with other monaſtic Breviaries; and in particular, though not to ſuch an extent, with that of the Auguſtinians. That at leaſt three-fourths of the principal holidays of theſe late Breviaries ſhould have been appointed only within the laſt 250 years, is another remarkable phenomenon.

Although we ſaid, at the commencement of this paper, that we did not intend to treat of the Breviary except as a choral book, and had no purpoſe of entering into the queſtion of its ſolitary recitation, we cannot refrain from mentioning the *Breviarium Colbertinum*. The celebrated miniſter of France, Colbert, was in the habit, for many years, of reciting the Breviary daily. He at firſt employed the Roman, and then the Pariſian uſe; but finding much in both that was more appropriate for the choir than for private recitation, eſpecially when the reciter was a layman, he had the book in queſtion drawn up for his own devotions. It is a handſome 8vo. of about 780 pages, very much ſimplified; for inſtance, there is but one Antiphon to each hour,—the ferial Pſalms are always ſaid,—and there are no lections, becauſe Colbert read the Bible yearly through, after an arrangement of his own. There is a French preface, in copper-plate, written evidently after Colbert's death. Some of the hymns were compoſed on purpoſe for this Breviary. The Calendar is curious for calling the two Sundays after Chriſtmas the firſt and ſecond Sundays after Advent: and—as Quignon's Breviary alſo does—

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for naming the Sundays which occur either after Epiphany or before Advent, prima, ſecunda, &c. Dominica *Vagantium.*

Yet of one thing, in concluſion, it ſeems proper to remind the reader, leſt the glitter of ſo magnificent an array of ſevenfold devotion ſhould blind the eyes of any to the real ſtate of the matter. Except in monaſtic bodies, the Breviary, as a Church office, is ſcarcely ever uſed as a whole. You may go—we do not ſay from Church to Church, but from Cathedral to Cathedral of central Europe, and never hear—never have a chance of hearing—Matins, ſave at high feſtivals. In Spain and Portugal it is ſomewhat more frequent; but there, as everywhere, it is a clerical devotion excluſively. But anywhere, as we had occaſion to ſay in a previous number, "to find in a village church a Prieſt who daily recited his Matins publicly would be a phenomenon." Then, again, the leſſer Hours are not often publicly ſaid, except in Cathedrals, and then principally by aggregation, and in connection with Maſs. Veſpers is the only popular ſervice; and that, in connection with the Benediction, ſeems to be put forward by Engliſh Ultramontanes as *the* congregational ſervice of the Roman Church of the Future. Our readers will remember that ſome time ago we made a ſtatement characterized by many perſons at the period as "ſtartling," that "in no national Church under the ſun are ſo many Matin Services daily ſaid as in our own."* An Anglo-Roman Prieſt ſhortly afterwards ſtrongly and publicly remonſtrated about certain other ſtatements contained in the ſame number of the *Chriſtian Remembrancer.* But of this point he took no notice; and therefore, we may fairly preſume, allowed its truth. We feel it only right to dwell on this; becauſe, having had occaſion in the preceding pages to enlarge with ſo much admiration on the Roman theory, we are bound not to ſhut our eyes to Roman practice.

We thus conclude the very brief ſketch which alone our limits have allowed us to offer. It would be our wiſh to render it more perfect, by adding, at ſome future time, a few more remarks on the other contents of the Roman Breviary and of the Ritual, and an account of the Ambroſian and Mozarabic Rites.

* See this in the ſubſequent paper on "Daily Service."

Note referred to at p. 17.

[The reader will obſerve, that of theſe tropes, only one in the firſt batch forms a perfect hexameter without *eleiſon:* two in the ſecond: all in the third. I ſuppoſe this is to ſymboliſe the gradual advance to perfection from the Jewiſh to the Chriſtian, and thence to the Heavenly Church.]

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II.

THE COLLECTS OF THE CHURCH.*

"I HAVE been ſtudying," ſaid General Paoli to Dr. Johnſon, "the eccleſiaſtical writers of the Middle Ages." "Why, ſir," replied Johnſon, "they are very curious." The one and the other ſpoke of the purſuit as of ſomething which might occupy ſome ſix or eight weeks of a buſy man's leiſure time: and that was about the idea which the laſt century had formed of the various Church works and Church ſciences of the Middle Ages. Notice how completely ſuch books even as Wheatley's ignore all liturgical writers previous to the Reformation; how to him, and to ſuch as him, the Millennium, which elapſed between the time of Juſtinian to that of Luther, is a pure blank. How little could the men of that generation, ſo wiſe in their own conceit, ſo contentedly and equally anathematizing Rome on the one hand, and Methodiſm on the other, form an idea of the diſtinct and ſeparate ſciences, each of them not to be acquired by the labour of a life, which the narroweſt boundary of the term Eccleſiology muſt needs embrace! Art on the one ſide, Antiquarianiſm on the other. Art, with her ſeparate diviſions of architecture, muſic, painting, and the crafts and mechanical ſtudies that miniſter to all theſe; the precious works of the needle, in which England by the conſent of all ſtood firſt; the various ſchools of glaſs-painting, the work of the potter, the enamels of Limoges, the manipulation which could raiſe a Quentin Matſys to the very firſt rank of artiſts, and endue the flowers of the field with the cold metallic life of iron and braſs;—

* Ancient Collects and other Prayers, for the Uſe of Clergy and Laity; ſelected from various Rituals. By William Bright, M.A., Fellow of Univerſity College, Oxford, Theological Tutor of Trinity College, Glenalmond. Oxford and London: J. H. and James Parker.

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all this on the one ſide: on the other, the gradual compilation of Liturgy, Office, Sacramentary, the living kernel of devotion enſhrined in its art-ſhell, the breath of life, animating the otherwiſe worthleſs, though glorious, forms of mediæval ſkill. On which of theſe ſubjects might not volumes on volumes be written? On Hagiology? Let thoſe patient Fathers of Bruſſels, now in the third century of their labour, toiling on with the Bollandiſt October, anſwer the queſtion. Then we need a hiſtory of the Miſſal, tracing it out in its various European families. We want the wealth that can firſt amaſs a library full of thoſe invaluable Incunabula, printed according to the uſe of all the more celebrated Churches of Europe; from thoſe which Norway gave us, the Miſſale Nidroſienſe and Upſalenſe, to thoſe of Seville and Evora in the far ſouth, and thoſe of Dantzic, Strigonia, and Cracow, on the confines of the Eaſtern Church; glorious tomes bound in half-inch oak or cheſtnut, armed, and nobbed, and ſtudded with wrought braſs or ſilver, ſcaled, tortoiſe-faſhion, with metallic lappets, and bound together by the hogſkin back, relic of boars that had fattened themſelves plentifully in great foreſts of beech; thoſe volumes that have initials of ſuch marvellous ſplendour, with flowers and fruitage curling down the ſide of the page, or ſymboliſing in their very pattern the meaning of the Epiſtle or Goſpel which they prelude. All theſe books have to be collected, divided according to their families, need their hiſtories related, their various developments and corruptions ſet forth, till the outbreak of the Reformation on the one ſide, or the all-graſping, all-levelling interference of Rome on the other, drove them from the cathedral choir into the royal or municipal library. And if the Miſſal needs this hiſtory, equally ſo does the Breviary. Let the reader try, as the writer has done for nearly twenty years, and he will find that ſcarcely a third-rate town in France or Germany but will yield him, in its library, ſome ancient Breviary of a family hitherto unknown to him. We could ſpecify, at the preſent moment, between three and four hundred of a date anterior to the Reformation; and, in all probability, that amount is not the half that diligent examination could produce. What further are we to ſay of Hymnology, the hiſtory of which remains ſtill to be written? What of the endleſs *genera* of Antiphons and Reſponſes? What of Antiphonaries, Sequentiaries, Graduals, Proceſſionals, Benedictionals, and their countleſs varieties? Surely this, that the ſcience of Eccleſiology is truly infinite. Well may that noble deſcription in the Wiſdom of Solomon, conſequent on the "command to build a temple upon Thy holy "mount, and an altar in the city wherein Thou dwelleſt, a re-"ſemblance of the holy Tabernacle which Thou haſt prepared

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"from the beginning," be applied to the treaſures of art and learning laid up in the ſtorehouſes of the Catholic Church.

Of one ſmall diviſion of this great ſhrine it is our purpoſe now to ſpeak. From the *Lex Pſallendi*, which we treated in the laſt paper, we naturally turn to the *Lex Orandi*; and we now propoſe to ſay ſomething as to the character, hiſtory, and various modifications of actual prayers, whether Collects or Litanies, both in the Eaſt and Weſt. The ſubject is entirely new; and we muſt therefore entreat the reader's pardon if, in endeavouring to untwiſt a ſomewhat tangled ſkein, we ſhould ſometimes ourſelves become confuſed; if, where we have ſcarcely a guide to precede us, we ſhould be guilty of occaſional miſtakes.

The prayers to which we are about to direct the reader's attention may conveniently be divided into ſeven claſſes:—

1. Collects, properly ſo called.
2. Longer prayers, ſuch as have no diſtinctive name, but are the Euchai of the Eaſtern Church.
3. Litanies.
4. Illations.
5. Exhortations.
6. Reſponſory Prayers; the *Preces* of Lauds, Prime, and Veſpers.
7. Benedictions.

Each of theſe we will by turns conſider, and we will commence with the Collect. The derivation of the word is uncertain. It may be becauſe the ſubſtance of the prayer is *collected* from the Epiſtle and Goſpel which it accompanies; or much more probably, becauſe into that prayer the prieſt *collects* the wiſhes and ſupplications of the by-ſtanding faithful. This much better agrees with the Greek ſynonym, *Synapte*.

A Collect, then, is (1) a liturgical prayer; (2) muſt be ſhort; (3) embraces but one main petition; (4) conſiſts but of one ſentence; (5) aſks through the merits of our LORD; and (6) ends properly with an aſcription of praiſe to the Bleſſed TRINITY. It is a compoſition belonging to the Weſtern Church; for, as is well known, the Eaſtern Church has nothing reſembling it. In the Eaſt, 1. There is no varying collect for Sunday and Feſtival. 2. The prayers are almoſt all lengthy. 3. They form various ſentences, and embrace a variety of particulars; and 4, they do not, in ſo many words, baſe their requeſt on our LORD'S merits.

There is nothing more wonderful than the immenſe variety of the Collects ſaid, or that have been ſaid, in the Weſtern Church. Numerous as thoſe are which the Latin Communion ſtill poſſeſſes, a ſtill larger number have probably periſhed in the deſtruction and deſolation of Dioceſan Miſſals. Our own Prayer-book

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contains leſs than a hundred. It might not be difficult to find, without ſearching very far, a thouſand of equal beauty; and Mr. Bright, in the little book which has been mentioned by us, has done good ſervice in familiarizing the Engliſh reader with a few of theſe.

The conſtruction of Collects is on a plan which is tolerably unvarying. When fully developed, it conſiſts of five parts.

1. The Invocation.
2. The Antecedent Reaſon of the Petition.
3. The Petition itſelf.
4. The Benefit which, if it be granted, we hope to obtain.
5. The Concluſion.

Take an example.

1. Almighty GOD.
2. Who ſeeſt that we have no power of ourſelves to help ourſelves.
3. Keep us both outwardly in our bodies and inwardly in our ſouls.
4. That we may be defended . . . . hurt the ſoul.
5. Through JESUS CHRIST our LORD.

This, as we have ſaid, is the fulleſt verſion of a Collect, though the Petition may ſometimes conſiſt of two or more members. Frequently the fourth clauſe is omitted: ſtill more frequently the ſecond: rarely both.

Let us now, by way of underſtanding better theſe Collects, go through the more intereſting half of the Church's year,—from Advent to Trinity, with a compariſon of the Collect for the day in various uſes. We muſt remember that the one Engliſh Collect ſupplies the place of the Collect, the Secreta, and the Poſt Communio, of the Roman Church; all of them in like manner varying with the Feſtival: although the Collect, the Maxima Collecta, (the Oratio ſuper Sindonem of the Ambroſian rite,) is almoſt always the fulleſt and richeſt. We will take as a ſpecimen of the rites of various Churches—1. The Roman; 2. The Sarum; 3. Our own Engliſh Prayer-book; 4. As an example of a Mediæval German rite, the Liège; 5. The Aquilæan; and 6. The Modern Paris. To theſe we will add, as an example of that reform which it was intended at the revolution to carry out, the amended Collects propoſed in the Royal Commiſſion, but which were never preſented to Convocation, and which lay buried in the library at Lambeth till a Parliamentary vote the other day dragged them out to light. A diligent compariſon of documents ſo various, and yet all ſo illuſtrative of the times and circumſtances under which they were compoſed, cannot be without its advantage.

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It has always appeared to us that, in beginning the arrangement of the yearly Collects, the English Reformers had intended to deviate far more widely from the Sarum use, than they afterwards found it convenient to do. The Collects for the three first Sundays in Advent have no resemblance to those in the Missal and in the Prayer-book. The ancient Missals to which we have referred give it thus (and we may observe once for all that, where we quote the Roman alone, it is because the Sarum, Liège, and Aquilæan agree with it):—

Raise up, we beseech Thee, O LORD, Thy power, and cause that from the imminent perils of our sins we may merit through Thy protection to be delivered, and through Thy liberation to be saved.

Our Reformers, dismissing the ancient form, composed a fresh one from the Epistle; not without its own beauty, but at the same time containing an awkwardness in its arrangement which would at once prove it of later date.

That for the Second Sunday in Advent is as follows:—

Stir up, O LORD, our hearts to prepare the ways of Thy Only-Begotten Son, that, through His Advent, we may merit to serve Thee with purified minds.

Here, again, our Reformers have formed their Collect from the Epistle.

In like manner with the third.

We beseech Thee, O LORD, to bow down Thine ears to our prayers, and enlighten the darkness of our minds by the grace of Thy visitation.

So here, once more, our Reformers compounded their Collect from the Epistle, though with a glance here and there at the more ancient form.

In the fourth Sunday we find them for the first time translating from the old Collect, but so translating as to lose almost wholly its true spirit and emphasis. In the original it is addressed to GOD the SON; and with the dramatic effect which permeates every ecclesiastical office, calls upon Him,—as if the work of our redemption were not yet begun,—to raise up His power and succour us, to be born, as it were, for our sakes. In our version, this beautiful realization of the approaching festival is lost: the silver is become dross, the wine is mixed with water; the prayer is now addressed to GOD the FATHER, and ends, "through the satisfaction of Thy SON, our LORD," &c. In these Advent Collects, then, our Prayer-book falls short of its original; we shall find in many that succeed, that this is far from being the case. King William's Divines still further injured this Collect, merely transcribing the Epistle:—"O LORD, "Who hast given us cause of perpetual joy by the coming of

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"Thy SON, our Saviour, among us, raiſe up Thy power, we "pray Thee, and poſſeſs us with a mighty *ſenſe of Thy wonder-* "*ful love*, (!) that whereas through the cares of this life we are "ſore let and hindered in running the race," &c.

On Chriſtmas-day it has uſually been thought that our Prayer-book had adopted an original Collect. "The Collect for this "day," ſays Palmer, "is not directly tranſlated from the ancient "Offices of the Church." It is true that the Roman and Sarum uſes give a perfectly different prayer:—"Grant, we be-"ſeech Thee, Almighty GOD, that the new birth of Thine "Only-Begotten SON in the fleſh, may liberate us whom ancient "ſlavery held under the yoke of ſin." But we have noted ſome-thing like our own Collect in more than one German Miſſal: a fact which ought to be known to Engliſh liturgical ſcholars.

On S. Stephen's Day, our Prayer-book has, in our opinion, a clear advantage over its original. The Gregorian Prayer is ſomewhat lean and poor. "Grant to us, LORD, we beſeech "Thee, to imitate that which we celebrate, that we may learn "to love our enemies, becauſe we celebrate his birthday, who "could pray even for his perſecutors to our LORD JESUS "CHRIST." And the ſame remark may apply to that for S. John. The *Eccleſiam tuam benignus illuſtra* is but poor com-pared with its exquiſite development, "Merciful LORD, we "beſeech Thee to caſt Thy bright beams of light upon Thy "Church." If the reader wiſhes for a bathos, he has only to turn to King William's book:—"Merciful GOD, Who art light, "and in Whom is no darkneſs at all, enlighten our minds, we "humbly beſeech Thee, with ſuch a full underſtanding of the "doctrine taught by Thy bleſſed Apoſtle and Evangeliſt S. John, "that we, walking in the truth and in all holineſs and purity "of life, may have fellowſhip with Thee and Thy SON JESUS "CHRIST, by Whoſe blood being cleanſed from all our ſins, we "may at length attain to everlaſting life."

The firſt Prayer-book of Edward VI. gives the Collect for Holy Innocents from the original:—"Almighty GOD, Whoſe "praiſe this day the young Innocents, Thy witneſſes, both "confeſſed and ſhewed forth, not in ſpeaking, but in dying: "mortify and kill all vices in us, that in our converſation our "life may expreſs Thy faith, which with our tongues we do "confeſs, through JESUS CHRIST our LORD." So far as we know, our preſent compoſition is original; it ſeems no improve-ment on the old Collect. King William's Divines have, however, ſunk far beneath it:—"O moſt Bleſſed GOD, Who, having "ſent Thy SON in our nature, didſt preſerve Him in His Infancy "from the malice of Herod, by whom many other children were

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"ſlain, grant that in all dangers and adverſities we may put "our whole truſt and confidence in Thee, and do Thou by Thy "good providence preſerve us from the rage of unreaſonable "and wicked men, or ſtrengthen us by patient ſufferings to "glorify Thy Holy Name, through JESUS CHRIST our LORD. "Amen."

It were difficult to ſay why the Sunday in the Octave of Chriſtmas has no eſpecial Collect: its original one has certainly no ſmall beauty:—"Almighty, everlaſting GOD, direct our "acts according to Thy good will; that in the name of "Thine Only-Begotten SON, we may be fruitful in all good "works."

In the Circumciſion we have—what is not uſual—deep theological teaching ſlurred over for the ſake of a ſmoother prayer; and it is worth noticing how the ſame proceſs takes place in the Pariſian Miſſal as in our own. The Collect in the Roman and moſt other Miſſals is ſimply a prayer for the interceſſion of S. Mary: that which our compilers were imitating is a Gregorian Benediction "On the Octaves of the LORD:"—"Al-"mighty GOD, Whoſe Only-Begotten SON received corporal "circumciſion on this day, to the end that He might not deſtroy "the law which He came to fulfil, purify your minds by ſpiritual "circumciſion from all the incentives of vice, and pour upon you "His benediction." We ſee how our own Prayer-book poliſhes this Benediction, loſing at the ſame time ſome of its value: the Gallican compilers write thus:—"O GOD, Who being made "Man for our ſakes, didſt vouchſafe as on this day to be cir-"cumciſed, and to receive the name of JESUS: grant, of Thy "mercy, that we, renouncing the works of the fleſh, may obtain "the reward of eternal ſalvation by the invocation of Thy Holy "Name; Who with the Father," &c.

On the Epiphany, we have a mere tranſlation of the Sarum rite. The Pariſian agrees with it. King William's Commiſſioners do little more than dilute it, without any material change in the ſubſtance.

Firſt Sunday after Epiphany.—Our Prayer-book ſadly falls ſhort of the pithy vigour, and what the French would call *verve*, of the Collect from which this is taken:—"Ut et quæ agenda ſunt videant, et ad implenda quæ viderint convaleſcant:" where notice the admirable force of the laſt word, and eſpecially of its prepoſition, ſo feebly expreſſed by the "may alſo have grace and power." The Commiſſioners dilute it in the following faſhion:—"O GOD, Whoſe infinite mercies in our bleſſed Saviour encou-"rage us to call upon Thee: we beſeech Thee graciouſly to "hear us, and grant that we may both perceive and know what

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" is Thy good and acceptable and perfect will revealed in us, " and alſo," &c. We can find no variation in the ordinary Liturgies.

Second Sunday after Epiphany.—Again a literal tranſlation from the Sarum. All the books agree. The Commiſſioners:— " and ſo rule and guide us, that we may do our duties faithfully " in their ſeveral places and relations, conſtantly abhorring that " which is evil," &c. &c.; taking it, according to their uſual faſhion, from the Epiſtle.

Third Sunday after Epiphany.—Again a tranſlation: except that " in all our dangers and neceſſities," is an addition of the compilers. Notice how beautifully, in the original Office, the " right hand " of the LORD, ſtretched out in the Goſpel to heal the leper, prayed for in the Collect to be our own defence, is glorified in the "Offertory: "—" The right hand of the LORD " hath the pre-eminence; the right hand of the LORD bringeth " mighty things to paſs." The Commiſſioners, as uſual, inſert a large portion of the Epiſtle.

Fourth Sunday after Epiphany.—Here the famous expreſſion, " that by reaſon of the frailty of our nature we cannot always ſtand upright," is, probably, as good a tranſlation as can be made of " pro humanâ fragilitate non poſſe ſubſiſtere." By the Commiſſioners it is ſoftened down into " that in many things we offend all." There ſeems very little connection between this Collect and the Epiſtle; whether taken, as in our book, from the beginning of the thirteenth chapter of the Epiſtle to the Romans; or, as in the Sarum and Roman, from the eighth and following verſes. But it is worthy of notice, that there is a very ſtrong connection between our Collect and the Mozarabic Epiſtle,—the complaint of S. Paul in Romans vii., regarding the ſtruggle of the two natures. One cannot but think that the two were originally coexiſtent for this Sunday. The curious difference in the termination of the Sarum and our Collect, is not eaſily to be explained. Inſtead of " as may ſupport us in all dangers, and carry us through all temptations," the original has, " that the things which for our ſins we ſuffer, by Thy help we may overcome."

We will now go on to Septuageſima.—Here all the books ſeem to agree. The Commiſſioners introduce a long inſertion as to the Chriſtian race from the Epiſtle.

Sexageſima.—Here the more ancient books have, for the concluſion, inſtead of " mercifully grant that by Thy power we may be defended againſt all adverſity,"—" mercifully grant, that by " the protection of the Doctor of the Gentiles, we may be de- " fended againſt all adverſity;" a clauſe, which, from its very

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nature, is not of remote antiquity, and which, manifeſtly, has reference to the actions of S. Paul, as related in the Epiſtle. Quignon, who eliminates ſeveral paſſages of a ſimilar kind, allows this to remain. But in the Pariſian, inſtead of "Doctoris Gentium protectione," we have, "Gratiæ tuæ protectione."

Quinquageſima.—Here the compilers of our Prayer-book introduce a new Collect: and, it will ſcarcely be denied, to the manifeſt improvement of the Office. The key-note of the whole ſervice for Quinquageſima is, and ought to be; "The greateſt of theſe is charity:" but to that charity the Sarum Collect makes not the ſlighteſt reference. "We beſeech Thee, O LORD, "graciouſly to receive our prayers, and having freed us from "the chains of our ſins, to preſerve us from all adverſity;"— a mere repetition of what has occurred in previous prayers. Ours muſt be regarded as one of the moſt ſucceſsful of modern compoſitions in this line. The Commiſſioners leave it almoſt unaltered.

Aſh-Wedneſday.—Our Collect is rather a *reſumé* of that recited at the benediction of the aſhes, than a literal tranſlation of any. It is rather wonderful, that the Collect for the firſt Sunday in Lent was not tranſpoſed with this. At the ſame time, it ſhows the moſt venerable antiquity of theſe compoſitions, that faſting ſhould be for the firſt time mentioned, not on the Wedneſday, but on the Sunday: the four extra days being, as every one knows, of comparatively modern introduction. They were not introduced into the Mozarabic ritual till the reviſion of Cardinal Ximenes. And here, in entering on Lent, it is impoſſible not to bewail the ritual loſs we experience in the rejection of the daily varying Collects during that moſt holy time. That there is a certain amount of ſameneſs in them, may not be denied: but, ſurely, had it been thought not deſirable to retain all, every Wedneſday and Friday might at leaſt have been diſtinguiſhed by their own. We will give examples of theſe for one week, noting the variations in varying rituals. And for that purpoſe we will take the firſt week in Lent.

The Firſt Week, Monday.—The Roman and Sarum:— "Turn us again, O GOD of our ſalvation: and, to the end that "our faſt of forty days may profit us, inſtruct our minds with "Thy celeſtial diſcipline."

Pariſian:—"Grant, we beſeech Thee, O LORD, that our faſts "may be acceptable to Thee: that by purifying us, they may "make us worthy of Thy grace, and may bring us to eternal "glory." And this is the general Collect for the day in moſt of the modern French Breviaries, although ſome few, as the Rouen, agree with Rome.

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Let us turn to the Ambrosian. The first of the five at Lauds is the same as the Roman. The second :—"We beseech "Thee, O LORD, vouchsafe to hear, of Thy mercy, the morning "prayers of Thy servants; and to them that desire to attain to "Thee, let the door of Thy indulgence ever stand open." The third :—"GOD, Who sheddest forth light at the morning hour, "guard, we beseech Thee, of Thy mercy, our steps, that while "we walk in good works, the faith of believers may ever shine "forth in us." The fourth :—"Sanctify, O LORD, we beseech "Thee, our fasts; and, of Thy mercy, give us the pardon of "all our faults." The fifth :—"Stretch forth, O GOD, Thy "hand over us, and bestow upon us the help of celestial virtue."

From the Ambrosian, turn we to the Mozarabic. The Collects at Matins are as follows :—"Although, O LORD, the multitude "of our enemies may deny that there is any help for us in Thee; "yet the strength of our hope is mightily increased, because "Thou didst vouchsafe to undertake our cause. Wherefore the "mouth of them that speak lies shall be stopped, since perpetual "mercy surrounds them that put their trust in Thee." The second :—"O LORD, with Whom is the full salvation of righte-"ousness, and the perfection of incorruptible beatitude; grant "to us that we may pass the time in the meditation of Thy law "by day and night, and may forsake the way of sinners, and "the seat of the scornful; to the end that, like a tree which "bringeth forth his fruits in due season, planted by the rivers of "waters, we may be full of fruits, and beautified with grace." The third :—"Let Thy discipline both join us to Thee by holy "fear, and by fear, bring us to Thy joy: and, to the end that "we may not depart from the path of righteousness, restrain "us; and, to the end that we may attain to felicity, give us "faith in Thee."

Notice the marvellous difference between the brevity of the Roman, the quaint amplification of the Ambrosian, and the derivation from the Psalter, of the Mozarabic, rite. It helps to give one some idea of what the treasury of the Church really is, when one calls to mind these countless Collects, each composed, not for the sake of appearing in an Office, but as the real utterance of some soul in affliction or distress; composed at the expense of how much suffering, collected and arranged at the price of how much labour; starting from so many different points, twining themselves round so many passages of Scripture, employing so many varied forms of expression! Commentators admire, and rightly, the richness of our own Collects. But what, when instead of one a week, there are three or four for each Hour of the day? and what, still further, when we take the aggregate of

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all these Offices, and consider them as a whole? To us it is perfectly marvellous what multitudes of exquisitely beautiful prayers, once the daily heritage of thousands who have long since entered into their rest, are now absolutely lost; dead prayers, as it were, to be found in folios which but few scholars open, and they principally for antiquarian, rather than for religious, purposes. The two folios of the Mozarabic ritual, absolutely unused, except in a few Spanish churches; the Ambrosian, confined but to one province, and beyond that exercising no influence whatever.

We will proceed to the Tuesday.

Roman and Sarum:—"Look down, we beseech Thee, O "LORD, upon Thy family, and grant that our souls may through "Thy love be accounted glorious with Thee, forasmuch as they "chasten themselves by the mortification of the flesh."

The Parisian:—"Preserve, O LORD, Thy family, so as to "be ever instructed in good works; and so console it with Thy "present assistance, that Thou mayest of Thy mercy lead it on "to eternal joys."

Ambrosian. First Prayer, the same as the Roman. Second:—"Pour forth in our hearts, Almighty GOD, the pure and serene "light of Thy truth; that we may have no portion in the "darkness of sin, who have merited to know and to fear the "Eternal Light." The third:—"Hear us, O GOD of our sal-"vation, and exclude from the consent of our will all evil concu-"piscence; that, since we know Thee to be the True Light, we "may not be entangled by any chains of the world." Fourth Prayer:—"Let our prayers, O LORD, ascend to Thee, and "repel all wickedness from Thy Church." Fifth Prayer:—"Grant to us, LORD, we beseech Thee, to lay aside perverse "dispositions, and ever to love holy justice."

Mozarabic. First Prayer:—"Give, O LORD, fortitude to "Thy people against all adversities, and enrich Thy servants "with the gift of peace; that, according to the abundance of their "quiet, they may with one voice celebrate Thy praise in Thy "temple, and, forgetting the ills of their life, may ever offer glory "and honour to Thy Majesty." Second Prayer:—"Forgive, "O LORD, the wickedness of our hearts, for which every one "that is godly maketh his prayer to Thee in an acceptable "time; and give us understanding, through the prayers which "we offer, and instruct us in the path of this life, along which we "journey." Third Prayer:—"Pour forth, we beseech Thee, "O LORD, in the hearts of Thy servants, the joy of the righte-"ous which is in Thee, that Thy praise, which becometh well "the just, may expel all depravity from our senses."

These specimens may serve as an example of the infinite rich-

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neſs of ſuch ſupplications. We will now continue the ordinary courſe of the Sundays.

Firſt Sunday in Lent.—Our Collect is ſcarcely more than a diſtant imitation of the Roman and Sarum:—"GOD, Which "purifieſt Thy Church by the yearly obſervation of the forty "days' faſt, grant to Thy ſervants that the things which by "abſtinence they endeavour to obtain from Thee, they may "through good works achieve." Mr. Palmer quotes an Ambroſian Collect, which hardly bears a ſtronger reſemblance to that of our Prayer-book. We can find no variation in the French or German Liturgies. The Commiſſioners, beſides diluting the prayer, think fit to prefix what they call a ſermon or homily, containing about ten lines, and in which they ſay:—"It is moſt "earneſtly recommended to all perſons, but more particularly to "all Churchmen, to obſerve that time religiouſly, not placing "faſting or devotion in any diſtinction of meats, but ſpending "larger portions of their time in prayer," &c.

Second Sunday in Lent.—The Collect is almoſt a verbal tranſlation; in the Goſpel we follow the Sarum, which here curiouſly differs from the Roman, uſe. The latter reads the Transfiguration from S. Matthew; and ſome of the moſt ſtriking diſcourſes of Italian preachers have been delivered on this day. But it is remarkable that Durandus explains our Goſpel, and makes no alluſion to the Roman: ſo does Sicardus. And this alſo was the caſe in the greater part of the Churches of Germany.

Third Sunday in Lent.—Except that the epithet in "*hearty* "deſires" is added, and that the object of GOD'S defence, "againſt all our enemies," is ſubjoined, ours is a literal tranſlation of the Sarum Collect. This Sunday is, by Latin Liturgiſts, ſaid to ſet forth to us more eſpecially the doctrine and the duty of Confeſſion, its key-note being that paſſage in the Goſpel:—"When the devil was gone out, the dumb ſpake." In the Mozarabic Office, though both Epiſtle and Goſpel are entirely different, the idea is evidently the ſame; the raiſing of Lazarus involving the doctrine of abſolution in "Looſe him and let him go;" and the Benediction in Lauds brings out this idea very ſtrongly.

Fourth and Fifth Sundays in Lent.—Here again our Collects are almoſt verbal tranſlations of the Sarum. It may well be aſked why, when everything elſe on Paſſion Sunday directs us more immediately to the ſubject on which from that day forward our thoughts are to be employed, the Collect ſhould in no reſpect differ from thoſe of the other Sundays in Lent.

The Pariſian Miſſal ſubſtitutes another in its place:—"O "GOD, Who by the Paſſion of Thine Only-Begotten Son, and

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"by His humiliation, even unto death, haſt deſtroyed the pride "of the ancient enemy: grant to Thy faithful people that they "may both worthily remember that which He endured for us, "and may by His example patiently bear all adverſity; Who "liveth," &c.

Even the Commiſſioners of William the Third ſaw the propriety of a Paſſion Collect, as well as Epiſtle and Goſpel. "O "Almighty GOD, who haſt ſent Thy SON CHRIST to be an "High Prieſt of good things to come, and by His own Blood "to enter in once into the Holy Place, having obtained eternal "redemption for us; mercifully look upon Thy people, that "by the ſame Blood of our Saviour, Who through the eternal "SPIRIT offered Himſelf without ſpot unto Thee, our conſciences "may be purged from dead works, to ſerve Thee, the living "GOD, that we may receive the promiſe of eternal inheritance, "through JESUS CHRIST our LORD."

Palm Sunday.—The Collect is again a mere tranſlation; but it muſt be confeſſed that the arrangement of the Goſpels for the following week is the great blot in the ritual of our Prayer-book. Let us compare their arrangement in ours, the Roman, the Mozarabic, and the Ambroſian books.

ENGLISH PRAYER-BOOK.	ROMAN.	MOZARABIC.	AMBROSIAN.
Palm Sunday . S. Matt. xxvii. . .	The Paſſion from S. Matt.	S. John xi. 55 to xii. 13	S. John xi. 55 to xii. 11.
Monday . . . . S. Mark xiv. . . .	S. John xii. 1—9	No eſpecial Goſpel	S. Luke xxi. 34—38.
Tueſday . . . S. Mark xv. . . .	The Paſſion from S. Mark	No eſpecial Goſpel	S. John ii. 47—54.
Wedneſday . . S. Luke xxii. . . .	The Paſſion from S. Luke	S. Matt. xxvi. 1—16	S. Matt. xxvi. 1—5
Maundy Thurs. S. Luke xxiii. . . .	S. John xiii. 1—15 . . .	S. Luke xxii.	S. Matt. xxvi. 17 to end.
Good Friday . S. John xix.	The Paſſion from S. John	A kind of harmony of the Paſſion	S. Matt. xxvii.
Eaſter Eve. . . S. Matt. xxvii. 57.	S. Matt. xxviii. 1—7. .	S. Matt. 28	S. Matt. xxviii. 1—7.

In the ſame way let us now take the Epiſtles:—

ENGLISH PRAYER-BOOK.	ROMAN.	MOZARABIC.	AMBROSIAN.
Palm Sunday . Philip. ii. 1—11 .	Philip. ii. 1—11	Gal. i. 3—13	2 Theſſ. ii. 15 to iii. 5.
Monday . . . . Iſaiah lxiii.	Iſaiah l. 5—10	No eſpecial Epiſtle . .	Iſaiah l. 5—10.
Tueſday . . . . Iſaiah l. 5—10 . .	Jer.	No eſpecial Epiſtle . .	Jer. xi. 18—20.
Wedneſday . . Heb. ix. 16—28 .	Iſaiah liii.	1 St. John ii. 12—17	Is. lxii. 11 to lxiii. 7.
Maundy Thurs. 1 Cor. xi. 17—34.	1 Cor. xi. 17—32 . . .	1 Cor. xi. 17—34 . .	1 Cor. xi. 20—34.
Good Friday . Heb. x. 1—25 . .	Exodus xii. 1—11 . . .	1 Cor. v. 6 to vi. 11 .	Is. xlix. 24 to l. 11.
Eaſter Eve. . . 1 S. Pet. iii. 17—22	Col. iii. 1—14	Rom. vi. 1—11 . . .	Eph. iv. 1—6. (*)

It muſt not be thought, however, that the Roman is by any means the exact norm of the provincial uſes of the Weſtern Church in this week. Retaining the ancient uſe, it here has a Prophecy on the Wedneſday, on the Friday, and twelve on the Saturday. Many German Miſſals have a prophecy for every day of the week; the Aquilæan agrees with them.

As it may well be imagined, the Church ſeems to have, ſo to ſpeak, exerted herſelf that her prayers for Holy Week ſhould

* But the Epiſtle and Goſpel "In the Winter Church for the Baptized," are Romans i. 1—7, and S. John iii. 1—13.

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be worthy of the ſeaſon. Departing a little from the ſtrict claſſification with which we commenced, we will here give a few ſpecimens of ſome of the moſt beautiful. Unfortunately, the Mozarabic, Ambroſian, and Eaſtern rites are ſo completely ſealed books to moſt ſtudents, that we need not apologiſe for a few ſomewhat lengthened quotations; and truly glad ſhall we be if anything that we can ſay ſhall incline them to explore for themſelves thoſe treaſures of liturgical compoſition. We will venture to aſſert, that if the Chaplains of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury would condeſcend to give but one week's attention to ſuch books as theſe, we ſhould be ſpared the remarkable compoſitions which on every ſtate faſt or feſtival inundate the Engliſh Church.

How magnificent, for example, is this Collect from the Mozarabic Breviary, at Matins for Monday in Holy Week:—

Ariſe, O LORD, not from ſleep, not from place, not from time, O infinite and eternal Watch; that ſince many perſecute, many haraſs Thy little flock, Thou, our Redeemer and Defender, wouldeſt be preſent as our Hope in the ſtorm, our Shelter in the heat, and tread under foot the fierceneſs and the evil councils of them that riſe up againſt us, and ſcatter the collected thouſands of them that ſurround us.

Or again this, at Sexts, on the ſame day:—

CHRIST, the SON of GOD, Who, in the extremity of Thy Paſſion, hadſt gall and vinegar given Thee to drink by the Jews, grant to us that, by this the bitterneſs which Thou didſt taſte for us, we may be made joyful by drinking of the river of Thy pleaſures; to the end that both the bitterneſs of Thy death may increaſe the ſweetneſs of our love, and the power of Thy reſurrection may manifeſt to us in its perfect beauty the promiſed glory of Thy Face.

Or again: let us turn to the glorious Miſſa in the Miſſal of the ſame Church, for Eaſter-day:—

Let the heaven rejoice, and the earth be glad: let the ſea laugh, let the ſun ſhine out; calm weather has returned, the peſtilence is at an end; the tempeſt has ceaſed, the darkneſs has vaniſhed, the Croſs has purged the atmoſphere, the Blood has purified, the Sun has healed the earth; thus did crucified GOD redeem man. But if we regard the immutability of His Majeſty, it was by gifts, not by labour. Becauſe when He, deviſing the means of redemption, had grieved over our loſs, He aſſumed the body of our vileneſs, not becauſe He could in no other way aſſiſt us againſt the tyranny of our fallen adverſary, but to the end that the oracles of the Prophets might by this miracle of love be fulfilled. All the more certain knowledge, then, have they that are ſet free, that death wrought his work in the offence of the firſt tranſgreſſor, not through the weakneſs of man's frame, but through the exceeding vileneſs of ſin: that the cauſe of deſtruction was not frailty, but deliberate will: that the origin of puniſhment was the decay, not inherent in the work, but wrought by crime: that the condition of the

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guilt was brought to pass, not by sense but by consent (*non sensus statuit, sed consensus*): that the sin of the fall arose from the contumacy of the world, not from the negligence of the Creator. Let me ask thyself, now that the LORD has redeemed us, in what part of thy frame did the devil first destroy thee? Was there any flaw in it as it came from the hands of its Maker, which brought to pass its destruction? In thy members thou hadst certainly been stable, hadst thou not been unstable in keeping the commandments. The tempter obtained possession of thy soul, in which was the pre-eminence of thy dignity. Thou seest that it was the act not of thy LORD, but of thyself, that thou didst perish. I will say it, O Almighty GOD, confessing the depravity of the old man, yet not ungrateful for our present state of liberty; he could never have been subject to captivity, had he not been lord of his own liberty. And in this, then, O most merciful Judge, confessing both the pre-eminence of Thine own power, and the iniquity of our transgression, we pray and beseech that henceforth we may neither be able nor willing to sin any more.

This Missa is an excellent example of the antithetic style of the Mozarabic prayers: it is curious also to observe how the sentiments appear to have been influenced by the teaching of Faustus of Riez and others who, from the Augustinian party, received the name of Semi-Pelagians.

Take another example from the same book: it shall be the Illation for Easter Monday:—

It is meet and right that we should render thanks to Thee, Almighty FATHER, and to Thine only SON, our LORD JESUS CHRIST, Who, descending from heaven, ceased not to humble Himself until he found the fugitive servant whom He was seeking, not that having found, He might destroy him, but, setting him free from the chains of diabolical damnation, that He might re-create him as His own possession. Wherein the free will of Him That descended vouchsafed to endure a voluntary death, not an unavoidable necessity. For He was not unwillingly drawn down, Who descended into hell by the path which the descending Saviour trod. He rose then the third day, alive† from the dead, because He alone was found free among the dead. He accomplished the saying of the Prophet, uttered so long before, "After three days He will quicken us; the third day He will raise us up, and we shall live in His sight." According to which prefiguration, Jonah also, after his three days' imprisonment, was set free from the whale's belly; that the mystery of the TRINITY might be manifested as co-operating in that which the Person of the SON alone undertook. Yes: He arose alive from the dead, because He was not obnoxious to destruction Who was free from sin. Nor could death hold Him captive Who was not buried by the death of transgression. Yes: He arose alive from the dead, Who visited the place of death by the right of a Redeemer, not through the wickedness of a sinner. Death stood aghast at the Advent of the Almighty,—fearing his own death, and trembling with the terror of his own destruction; admired the LORD of Life, and feared Him as mighty whom it acknowledged as innocent; feared Him as the avenger, Whom it could not claim as a debtor. Because it is written, "O Death, I will be thy death; O Grave, I will be

† [We shall have occasion, in the paper on the Mozarabic Rite, to observe that "resurrexit *vivus* a mortuis," (and sometimes *victor*,) was a very ancient Spanish reading.]

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thy deſtruction." All theſe things, then, which were thundered forth of old time by the oracles of faithful Prophets, having been now accompliſhed, not only the heaven of heavens, with the whole army of bleſſed angels, but the love of Thy faithful people here in exile, exults together with the Seraphim in the hymn of due praiſe, ſaying: *R.* Holy, Holy, &c.

At the riſk of wearying our readers, we cannot refrain from quoting the Poſt-Pridie of the ſame Office, as one of the fineſt in the Mozarabic ritual.

This doing, Moſt Holy FATHER, we ſet forth the death of Thine Only-Begotten SON, by which we are redeemed, as He commanded us, till He Himſelf ſhall come. We have proclaimed that He died for our ſakes: do Thou beſtow on us the dignity of dying together with Him. We believe that He roſe again; do Thou grant that we may riſe from our daily falls. We believe and proclaim that He will come again to judge the world: do Thou grant us to have ſuch a converſation, that we may merit to find that terrible Advent propitious to us. And we humbly beſeech Thee that Thou wouldeſt accept and bleſs this oblation, as Thou didſt accept the gifts of Thy righteous child Abel, and the ſacrifice of our Patriarch Abraham, and that which Thy chief prieſt Melchiſedec offered to Thee. Here, we beſeech Thee, let Thy benediction inviſibly deſcend as of old time it deſcended on the ſacrifices of the Fathers. Let the ſweet ſmelling ſavour aſcend in the ſight of Thy Divine Majeſty from this Thy glorious altar by the hands of Thy angel, and let Thy HOLY SPIRIT come down upon theſe myſteries, and ſanctify both the oblations and the vows of Thy people that offer, that whoever may partake of this Body may receive ſpiritual medicine to heal the wounds of the heart, to expel every thought of vanity from the mind, to eradicate hatred, to implant perpetual charity, which covers the multitude of ſins.

Compare with theſe lengthened ſupplications the ſingularly ſhort, and, to modern apprehenſion, cold Collects in the Ambroſian rite: this for example at Sexts, on Good Friday:—"Grant, "we beſeech Thee, Almighty and merciful GOD, that, as the con-"demnation of Thy SON was the ſalvation of all, and the atone-"ment for the rebellious, ſo, through Thy mercy, a common "worſhip may be paid to it by all that believe. Through," &c.

Or again, at Veſpers on the ſame day:—"Almighty Re-"deemer, merciful GOD, grant that the temporal death of Thy "SON may, through our good works, become eternal life to "us. Through," &c.

Or again:—"Almighty, everlaſting GOD, Who doſt redeem "us through the bleſſed Paſſion of Thy CHRIST, preſerve in us "the works of Thy mercy, that through the obſervance of this "myſtery we may live in perpetual devotion."

Let the reader now compare with theſe ſome of the more ſtriking paſſages from the Greek Offices. O what an inexhauſtible treaſury of devotion is laid up in thoſe two quartos, the Triodion and the Pentecoſtarion! We have often thought that, if

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the poor overworked prieſt, compelled to prepare at odds and ends of time his two expected ſermons on Good Friday, with nothing but the old uſed-up materials, known almoſt by heart before uttered, would but turn for half-an-hour to the "Office of the Holy Sufferings," or ſome other of thoſe ſublime compoſitions, what life, what energy, what pathos it would impart to his diſcourſe! Collects, ſtrictly ſpeaking, as we have ſaid, there are none; nor can we ſay that the following prayer exactly ſupplies their place:—"GOD and LORD of powers, Artificer "of all creation, Who, through the mercies of Thine infinite "compaſſion, didſt ſend forth Thine Only-Begotten SON JESUS "CHRIST for the ſalvation of our race, and by His precious "Blood didſt blot out the handwriting of our ſins that was againſt "us, and didſt triumph over the powers of darkneſs on the "Croſs: do Thou, O LORD, and Lover of men, receive alſo "from us ſinners theſe our thankſgivings and interceſſions, and "preſerve us from every hurtful and blind fall, and from all that "ſeek to hurt us, our enemies, viſible or inviſible. Transfix our "fleſh with Thy fear; and let not our hearts be turned aſide "to words or thoughts of wickedneſs, but inflame our ſouls "with Thy love, that we, looking ever more intently to Thee, and "led by the light which is with Thee, and beholding Thee, "the unapproachable and eternal Splendour, may ſend up to "Thee ceaſeleſs praiſes and thankſgivings, the Unbegotten "FATHER, Thine Only-Begotten SON, and Thine all-holy "and good and quickening SPIRIT, now and ever and to ages "of ages."

It muſt be confeſſed that this prayer, though occurring at Sexts on Good Friday, has nothing at all to diſtinguiſh it from any every-day ſupplication, and is rather unworthy of the place which it holds. But, in point of fact, it is the Odes of the Eaſtern Church which are its true prayers, though caſt in a ſhape ſo widely differing from any Weſtern uſage.

Eaſter-eve.—The entire difference of the Roman Office from our own, the benediction of the Font, the twelve prophecies, the anticipatory nature of the whole ſervice, rendered a new Collect here indiſpenſable; the Roman Office contenting itſelf at Lauds with that for Good Friday. Ours, as is well known, was added at the Savoy Conference: it is partly taken, and very much improved, from that in Laud's book:—"O moſt gracious GOD, "look upon us in mercy, and grant that, now we are baptized "into the death of thy SON JESUS CHRIST, ſo, by our true "repentance, all our ſins may be buried with Him, and we not "fear the grave: that as CHRIST was raiſed up from the dead "by the glory of Thee, O FATHER, ſo we alſo may walk in

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" newness of life, but our sins never be able to rise up in judg-
" ment against us: and that for the merit of JESUS CHRIST,
" That died, and was buried, and rose again for us. Amen."

Easter-day.—Mediæval ritualists have inquired what is the connection between the Festival and the thing prayed for in the Collect, "That as by Thy special grace," &c. They generally refer it to those words of our LORD, "I have a baptism to be baptized with," &c., and other the like expressions of His earnest desire to accomplish the work for which He came into the world, compared with the "good effect" to which, on this day, that desire was brought: and this is the least far-fetched of the many explanations which have been given. There is no variation in the Western offices: the Mozarabic Collect is simpler:—
" To Thee we ascribe glory, O LORD our GOD; and we be-
" seech Thy *power*" [notice the substitution of this word for the more usual *mercy*, with reference to the stupendous miracle of power on this day], "that, as Thou didst vouchsafe to die for us
" sinners, and didst again appear on the third day, in the glory of
" Thy resurrection, so we, being absolved by Thee, may in Thee
" merit to obtain perpetual joy: in like manner as the Example
" of true resurrection has gone before us."

Easter Monday.—It is a great pity that, instead of a mere repetition of the Collect of Easter-day, the original prayer was not adopted:—"O GOD, Who by the Paschal solemnity hast
" given the medicine of the world: we beseech Thee to continue
" Thy celestial gift to Thy people; that they may both obtain
" perfect liberty, and advance to eternal life." And so, on the Tuesday, the Collect is,—here with reference to the newly baptized,—"O GOD, Who continually multipliest Thy Church by
" a new offspring: grant to Thy servants, that in their lives
" they may set forth the Sacrament, which by their faith they
" have received."

The arrangement of the Collects, &c., for Easter Week, in the Mozarabic ritual, is singularly happy. The prophecies are the Epistles to the Seven Churches, from the Revelation, most appropriate (if the reader will think them over) to that season, and acquiring an especial emphasis, for their promises "to him that overcometh." The reference too, on each day, to the especial work or character of that day, (as to the Passion on Friday,) taken in connection with Easter, is especially noteworthy. Take, for example, the *Alia Oratio*:—

Behold, O JESUS CHRIST, Mediator of GOD, and Redeemer and LORD of men, the man whom Thou, our GOD, with the FATHER and the HOLY GHOST, didst on the sixth day make in Thine image, Thou didst also visit in the sixth age by taking his flesh, and didst give him regeneration of heart

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by the truth of the Gospel. Wherefore, on this day, we offer to Thee the victim of this most excellent sacrifice, as well for the condition of the human race, as for the redemption which Thou didst bring to pass: on this day, in which Thou wast, for our salvation, nailed to the Cross; hadst vinegar given Thee to drink; in which Thy side was pierced with a spear; in which Thou didst, after death, descend into hell, which, by rising again, Thou didst spoil. For which mysteries and miracles, commending this day to Thy mercy with our sacrifices, we ask of Thee, O merciful Redeemer and LORD, that, calling to mind this day's mystery, and putting off from us the old man with his acts, Thou wouldst clothe us with the new man, which after the LORD is created in righteousness, and holiness of truth. Let the desires of carnal pleasures die in us; let the various passions of vice become extinct. Thou, Who didst bestow Thyself on us as a gift, suffer us no longer to be the cause of our own misery, that we, walking in newness of life, as we have been redeemed by Thy blood, so, being perpetually crucified to Thy Cross, we may both eschew the error which leads to perdition, and may without condemnation hold fast the liberty of that high calling, to which Thou hast called us. Amen.

Crabbed and difficult as this appears, (so do most of the Mozarabic Collects,) the more they are studied the more highly will they be appreciated, constantly reminding us, as they do, of the best parts of S. Leo and S. Fulgentius.

Low Sunday. The original Collect:—"Grant, we beseech "Thee, Almighty GOD, that we, who have accomplished our "Paschal Feast, may, through Thy mercy, make good the "same, in our conversation and in our life:"—a prayer in nowise remarkable, and certainly not equal to our own. The latter has generally been thought an original composition; but it can hardly be called so. In some of the German Missals, the Collect was as follows:—"Præsta, quæsumus, omnipotens sem-"piterne DEUS, ut qui nobis unigenitum FILIUM Tuum in "Victimam dedisti, ita populo tuo expurgare vetus fermentum, "ut nova sit conspersio, tribuas. Per."

The Collect for the Second Sunday after Easter does seem to be perfectly new. That in the Roman Office is:—"O GOD, "Who by the humility of Thy Son didst raise the fallen world, "grant to thy faithful people perpetual joy; that those whom "Thou hast delivered from the misery of everlasting death, "Thou mayest cause to have the fruition of everlasting glad-"ness." That in the French Breviaries is the same as ours for the Third Sunday after Easter. One cannot but lament, during this Paschal season, the utter disuse of the Alleluia, which gave so joyous a character to more ancient services. So deeply was this felt among every class of people, that one of the commonest of April flowers still retains, in Sussex, the name of Alleluia. The Farewell to Alleluia, in the Mozarabic rite, is touchingly beautiful. It here takes place on the first Sunday in Lent, the ancient commencement of the Fast. After that noble hymn, the

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Alleluia Perenne, the Capitula are as follows:—"Alleluia in "heaven and in earth; it is perpetuated in heaven, it is ſung in "earth. There it reſounds everlaſtingly; here ſweetly. There "happily; here concordantly. There ineffably; here earneſtly. "There without ſyllables; here in muſical numbers. There "from the angels; here from the people. Which, at the birth "of CHRIST the LORD, not only in heaven but the earth, did "the angels ſing; while they proclaimed glory to GOD in the "higheſt, and on earth peace to men of good will." *The Benediction*:—"Let that Alleluia which is ineffably ſung in heaven, "be more efficaciouſly declared in your praiſes. Amen. Un-"ceaſingly ſung by angels, let it here be uttered brokenly by all "faithful people. Amen. That it, as it is called the praiſe "of GOD, and as it imitates you in that praiſe, may cauſe you "to be enrolled as denizens of the eternal manſion. Amen." *The Lauda*:—"Thou ſhalt go, O Alleluia; Thou ſhalt have "a proſperous journey, O Alleluia. *R.* And again with joy "thou ſhalt return to us, O Alleluia. *V.* For in their hands "they ſhall bear thee up; leſt thou hurt thy foot againſt a "ſtone. *R.* And again thou ſhalt return to us with joy, O "Alleluia." So the French Breviaries, on this ſecond Sunday after Eaſter, celebrate the return of Alleluia. After the beautiful leſſon from S. Auguſtine, in his expoſition of the 110th Pſalm—"The days have come for us to ſing Alleluia. *Now* "theſe days come only to paſs away, and paſs away to come "again, and typify the Day which does not come and paſs away, "to which, when we ſhall have come, clinging to it, we ſhall not "paſs away"—they give for the reſponſes:—

V. Through the ſtreets of Jeruſalem, Alleluia ſhall be ſung. Bleſſed be the LORD Who hath exalted her. Let His Kingdom be for ever and ever. Alleluia, Alleluia.

R. Alleluia: ſalvation, and glory, and power to our GOD, for true and juſt are His judgments. Let.

We really beg the reader's pardon for digreſſing ſo often from our main ſubject; but it is difficult to paſs by theſe leſs known beauties of mediæval rituals, without ſtopping for a moment to point them out.

Our Collect for the Third Sunday after Eaſter is merely tranſlated from the Sarum. The Pariſian books, which have recited it on the preceding Sunday, on this employ that which the Roman Miſſal aſſigns to that. The Mozarabic Office of the Sundays in Eaſter-tide, appears very imperfect; its prayers and reſponſes are almoſt entirely borrowed from Eaſter Week, and there is no ſpecial ſervice for any Feria.

The Fourth Sunday differs in its Collects from the Sarum

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only by the ſubſtitution of "Who alone canſt order the unruly wills and affections of ſinful men," for "Qui fidelium mentes unius efficis voluntatis." The Collect in the Mozarabic is pretty enough:—"Let all the earth, O LORD, ſing to Thee a new "ſong, that earth which has been redeemed by the blood of Thy "SON JESUS CHRIST, our LORD; that we who are buried "together into His death, may enter with Him into infinite glad-"neſs."

The Fifth Sunday after Eaſter. "Being," as the Commiſſioners add, "Rogation Sunday."—Our Collect is a mere tranſlation of the Sarum. We cannot help obſerving how remarkably the Canon on the previous Saturday is choſen in the French Breviaries. It was one of thoſe of the Council of Cologne, in 1536; a Council which endeavoured to meet the innovation of Luther, by a true and holy reform, and which has always been held in bad odour by Ultramontanes. "Let not preachers dwell "too much on the hiſtories of the ſaints; but let the principal "part of their diſcourſe be employed in the explanation of the "Goſpel and Epiſtle. If the legend of the ſaint appears fabu-"lous, they ſhould not even allude to it; if only probable, they "may juſt touch upon it, gathering from it the points prin-"cipally worthy of imitation. Let them take care, alſo, not to "inſiſt too much on uncertain miracles; but only on thoſe which "are related in Holy Scripture, or by authors of eminent repu-"tation." Is it wonderful that, when a great German Council could ſpeak of ſound lections in the Breviary as allowedly and confeſſedly falſe, Quignon, and other enthuſiaſtic reformers, ſhould cut down the beauties, in order to vindicate the exact truth, of the Eccleſiaſtical Office?

There can be no doubt that the compilers of the Prayer-book had intended to give to the Rogation Days their own Collects, Epiſtles, and Goſpels, but that the general hurry of the compilation cauſed this intention not to be carried out. The Roman Collect for the Monday is,—"Grant, we beſeech Thee, Almighty "GOD, that we, who in our affliction do put our truſt in Thy "mercy, may ever be defended by Thy protection againſt all "adverſities." In that Miſſal we have no proper Collect for the Tueſday; but in the Pariſian it is as follows:—"Stir up, O "LORD, the wills of Thy faithful people, that, intent on Thy "holy doctrine, they may underſtand that for which they pray, "and by perſeverance in aſking, may obtain the ſame." The Commiſſioners rejected Collect, Epiſtle, and Goſpel, for Rogation Sunday, ſubſtituting in their place an Office with reference to the fruits of the earth, and one which might be ſuitable enough for Rogation Monday. The Epiſtle was Deut. xxviii. 1—9;

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the Goſpel, S. Matt. vi. 25, to the end. Convocation might ſurely, without much difficulty, recommend certain Collects for theſe three days, and might enjoin that the Litany ſhould always be ſaid on the Monday and Tueſday.

Our Prayer-book amplifies a little, and certainly improves, the Collect for Aſcenſion-day, the ſame in all Breviaries. The Commiſſioners tried their hands at a new Collect, but ſeem to have been diſpleaſed with their own work, and reverted to the original one.

We will not dwell on the Collects which remain, further than to remark, that the magnificent one for the Sunday after Aſcenſion is merely the Antiphon to Magnificat for Aſcenſion-day, very far ſuperior to the original Collect:—"Almighty, everlaſting "GOD, grant that we may always devoutly ſerve Thee with "our will, and may worſhip Thy Majeſty with a ſincere heart."

We have thus gone through the Collects of half the year: which, as ſpecimens of vernacular tranſlation from originals, the very pithineſs of which renders any verſion of them extremely difficult, can never be ſurpaſſed. We can but wiſh that the number were double what it is; and, above all things, that the *Orationes ad diverſa*, or many of them, had found a place in our Prayer-book. Take a few examples. *For Rain:* (and compare that with the clumſy prayer on the ſame ſubject in our Book:)—"O GOD, in Whom we live, and move, and have "our being, give us, we pray Thee, a ſufficient rain; that our "temporal neceſſities being ſupplied, we may with the more "confidence deſire Thy eternal promiſes." Or, again: *For the Murrain among Animals:*—"O GOD, Who haſt appointed that "even the brute beaſts ſhould aſſiſt in the labours of men, we "beſeech Thee that they, without whom our wants cannot be "ſupplied, may not by periſhing be loſt to our ſervice." One more: *For beloved Friends:*—"O GOD, Who by the grace of "the HOLY GHOST didſt pour the gifts of love into the hearts "of Thy faithful people, beſtow upon Thy ſervants, and on Thy "handmaidens, for whom we deſire to pray, health, both of body "and mind; that they may both love Thee with their whole "ſtrength, and may with all love do ſuch things as are agree-"able to Thee." Again; for which of the following ſubjects ſhould we not be thankful to have a form of prayer? For our enemies: for thoſe that travel: that are on a voyage: for the ſick: for one in priſon: forthoſe that are tempted: againſt evil thoughts: for love: for patience: for the gift of tears: for continence: in any tribulation. Collects on theſe ſubjects, with permiſſion at any time to uſe them in the Communion Office, would indeed be a great benefit to the Engliſh Church.

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Let us turn from Collects, properly so called, to those longer Prayers in which the Eastern Church delights, but which have never found much favour in the West. We said, at the beginning, that a Collect might be defined as consisting of the following members :—

O God { Who, as at this time / forasmuch as / Who art always

Grant, we beseech Thee, { to us Thy servants / that we

And to the end that

Give us

Through

And that this is the fullest norm of any; more frequently some one or more of these clauses being omitted. Thus the longest of these compositions never occupies more than a few lines, eschews all manner of epithets and common-places, and gives in the pithiest and most compressed manner what modern devotion would spin out into pages. The Eastern Church has nothing whatever of this kind. Take, as a very good contrast of the two, the prayers in time of plague. The Roman Missal :—

Grant to us, LORD, to receive the effects of our supplications; and turn away from us, of Thy goodness, pestilence and famine, that the hearts of men may acknowledge that such chastisements arise from Thy anger, and cease through Thy loving-kindness.

The Eastern Church prays as follows:—

Let us make our supplications to the LORD. Almighty LORD, of long-suffering, of great mercy, easily to be propitiated, Lover of men, All-good, exceeding kind, All-powerful, CHRIST, our GOD: Thou, through the superabundance of Thy goodness alone, didst bring our nature into being from non-existence. Thou didst breathe into us a rational soul and wisdom, and didst honour us with Thine image, and didst vouchsafe to us the delights of Paradise, and divine education, and companionship with the Divinity. Thou, when we had set at nought Thy commandment, and had been brought under the deceit and guile of the devil, and had fallen away from Thy glory, and had changed life for death, and the kingdom for bitter slavery, didst not overlook us, through the ineffableness of Thy long-suffering and goodness, but didst in divers manners, by the Fathers and the Prophets, visit us. Thou didst set over us angels, as guides and guards, teaching us, and leading us by the hand, as if to the discovery of the better state. But when we had shown that all these things were empty and vain by our measureless bias to iniquity, Thou Thyself didst in the latter times of the world ineffably devise the second workmanship and re-creation of our nature, and didst in a fearful manner unite our whole man to Thy whole Divinity, and didst consecrate flesh by flesh, and soul by soul, and didst by death and sufferings free us from

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the death and ſufferings which were contrary to our original nature, and didſt vouchſafe to us eternal life through the keeping of Thy commandments. But we, again tranſgreſſing Thy commandments, and yielding ourſelves to our own deſires and wills, eagerly purſue all ſin in each luſt, ſlander, blaſphemy, malice, perjury, falſehood, impure words, guile, ſtrife, envy, and every lawleſs and baſe deed, both prompted by nature, and contrary to nature, and which we could not even find in irrational animals; our days are paſſed in vanity: we are ſtripped of Thy help, we are made a deriſion and a laughing-ſtock to all thoſe that are round about us, we have cauſed that Thy moſt holy and adorable Name ſhould through us be blaſphemed among the heathen, &c.

The above, which is not quite a quarter of the whole prayer, is a very fair example of theſe lengthened compoſitions, certainly not without their beauty, but, to Weſtern taſte at leaſt, very lengthy, and open to the charge of tautology. They would appear for the moſt part to have been compoſed between the year 600 and 1000; or, to ſpeak more generally, between the Patriarchate of Thomas I. and that of Michael Cerularius: though ſome are even later than the laſt-named prelate. The length of theſe prayers ſometimes begets a minuteneſs which is ſcarcely without poſitive abſurdity. Thus, the "Prayer of the holy Martyr Tryphon, which is ſaid over gardens, vineyards, and plantations," begins in this way:—"When I was in the "village of Lampſacus, and tending and feeding my geeſe, the "wrath of GOD came down, not on that place only, but alſo on "all the villages round about." It proceeds:—"GOD, Who "hears them that put their truſt in Him, Himſelf ſends His "Angel out of His prepared dwelling-place, that He may deſtroy "every tribe and race of animals that injure the vines, the olives, "and the gardens of the ſervant of GOD: and knowing clearly "the names of theſe animals, I will thence tell them:—Cater-"pillar; Worm; Worm-Caterpillar; Scantharus; Wingleſs-"Locuſt; Locuſt; Apple-Caterpillar; Caligaris; Longlegs; "Ant; Louſe; Woodlouſe; Flea; Burning-Worm; Mildew; "Cockleworm; Razor-Worm; and if there be any other thing "which deſtroys the fruit or the vine, or of other herbs," &c. Indeed, the titles of the Prayers themſelves ſeem intended to provide for all poſſible diſaſters. Thus, we have a prayer, "If it happens that any filthy thing falls into a jar of wine or honey:" "For a polluted veſſel:" "For polluted corn or barley:" "For the foundation of a houſe:" "On entering a new houſe:" "For a houſe haunted by evil ſpirits:" "Over the ſowing:" "Over ſalt:" "For thoſe that bring the firſt-fruits of autumn:" "For the threſhing-floor:" "Over round cakes:" "Over the young vines:" "Over the ripe grape:" "For bleſſing wine:" "At the change of the grape on the 6th of Auguſt:" "Over a plan-

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tation or vineyard which is hurt by caterpillars:" "For bleſſing a flock:" "For bleſſing eatables on Eaſter Day:" "For bleſſing cheeſe and eggs:" "For bleſſing nets:" "For digging a well."

It is needleſs to dwell any longer on this kind of prayer. Modern prayer-writers—thoſe who compoſe a courſe of Family Prayers for four weeks, Family Altars, Steps to Family Devotion, the Altar and the Tent, &c. &c.—may plead ſome kind of palliation for their length, in the forms of prayer to which we have been alluding. But, be this remembered;—the Greek Prayers, however to Weſtern ideas ſpun out and lengthy, are, nevertheleſs, not without their beauty, are full of matter, and are at all events of one texture: not like the compoſitions of our modern authors, a number of Collects ſtrung together with or without connection. In more lengthened prayers we cannot do better than follow the uſual Weſtern practice: a ſeries of Collects, without any termination by way of Doxology; that concluſion being reſerved till the termination of the laſt.

We are bound, however, to acknowledge the very great beauty of ſome of theſe longer prayers in the Ambroſian and Mozarabic Offices. Take the following as an example:—

By what tears, O LORD JESUS CHRIST, can we reply to Thy Croſs? By what lamentations, to the ſhedding forth of Thy Blood? What rewards, what vows can we offer unto Thee? Behold, Thou art now taken from us to be crucified, with pangs which Thou didſt not merit. Thou art taken to be ſpit upon; Thou art ſpit upon to be ſcourged; Thou art ſcourged to be crucified; Thou art crucified to be derided; Thou art derided to have vinegar given Thee to drink; Thou haſt vinegar given Thee to drink to accompliſh all things; Thou accompliſheſt all things to riſe again marvellouſly. Spare us, O CHRIST, our LORD. Spare us, we beſeech Thee, by the admirable virtue of Thy holy Paſſion and Reſurrection. And, as Thou didſt render the Thief a citizen of Paradiſe, thus by the Victory of the Croſs, free the world from all evil; and redeem all the creation of man. That us, whom the darkneſs of our conſcience has covered with grief, the brightneſs of Thy Reſurrection may raiſe to glory.

Hundreds of ſuch examples lie buried in the receſſes of theſe Miſſals and Breviaries. We wiſh God-ſpeed to the man who, for the benefit of the Engliſh Church, will endeavour to dig out and to offer to her theſe more than Californian treaſures. Take one more example—the *Alia Oratio* for Eaſter-day:—

Bleſs the LORD, O my ſoul; and let all CHRIST'S faithful people rejoice and congratulate each other. Ancient deſpair hath loſt his rebuke, death his ſting; the priſoner is ſet free from the dungeon, the condemned hath eſcaped from the chain. Let not our rebel fleſh ariſe againſt us to injure us; let not parricidal concupiſcence arrogate to itſelf, by right of its crime, the domination over us. Man it was who loſt; GOD was made man, and He

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redeemed. Our calamity, O LORD, hath obtained from Thee greater mercy than the unbridled licence of our firſt-formed parents had loſt. Then it was ſaid that they ſhould be ſervants; now it is ſtipulated that they ſhall be ſons. Then immortality was promiſed to the obedient; now, in addition to immortality, glory. Then a portion was to be poſſeſſed in a region of delight; now communion is to be enjoyed with the angels. Then they were to live with the creature; now we are to reign with the Creator. Then the devil was to be avoided; now we know that he is to be ſubdued. Then there was an admonition for the obſervance of the commandments; now there is an exhortation concerning the terrors of the judgment. Then fear was propoſed, as the ſafeguard of the law; now the will is touched and influenced. Then paradiſe was loſt through ſin; now we may hope for heaven through grace. Better, therefore, far better is the condition which we have obtained after our ruin. Wherefore, moſt humbly and unceaſingly, we beſeech that, until Thou ſhalt have accompliſhed Thy cure in us, Thou wouldeſt not withdraw Thy medicine from our wounds. Amen.

We will now proceed to Litanies. There is, as every one knows, but one, authorized for public ſervice,—authorized, we mean, in the fulleſt ſenſe of the word, by the Roman Church—that on the Feaſt of S. Mark, on the Rogation Days, and on one or two other occaſions. But of thoſe which are partially authorized, the number is almoſt countleſs, and the beauty is frequently exquiſite. Moſt of our readers are probably acquainted with a number of theſe in the *Paradiſus Animæ*. Others of nearly equal beauty are given in the *Golden Manual*. Firſt among them is the Litany of the NAME of JESUS, whether the compoſition of S. Bernard or not. The Litanies of the HOLY GHOST, of the Holy Infancy, of the Paſſion, (which well deſerves to be called the Silver Litany,) are remarkably touching. Few things are more ſtriking than to hear a vernacular Litany recited by a poor congregation in a Continental church. We remember, one ſtormy June morning, hearing the fiſhwives at Eu, chanting one,—if it could be called chanting—for their huſbands, with the patois reſponſe *Piez pour nous*. Some ten or a dozen ſuch ſcenes we have, hung up in the picture gallery of our eccleſiological recollection. One in a village church in Champagne, on the afternoon of Aſcenſion-day; the girls and boys who had that day made their Firſt Communion, kneeling on the oppoſite ſides of a venerable Romaneſque nave, and reciting the Litany of the Infancy: another,—five or ſix Siſters, the poor remains of a once flouriſhing Spaniſh convent, filling the dark dim aiſle of a church in Palencia with the Litany of the HOLY GHOST and their plaintive *Ruega por nos-otros*. Another:—a ſchool, coming in proceſſion with their rude banners and croſſes up a narrow, rocky lane to a little Caſtilian church, the weſtern ſun juſt gilding the devices and images, as it ſhot out from under a heavy ſtorm-cloud, that ſwept away into the

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vaſt and diſtant Paramos of Caſtile; the Litany of the Bleſſed Sacrament. Oh, how many beautiful little pictures of this kind may they ſee in a foreign tour, who have eyes to obſerve them! But to return to our ſubject.—Our Litany has tolerably well preſerved the norm of all ſuch compoſitions. Beginning with the Kyrie Eleiſon, the quadruple invocation of the Trinity, they proceed to that of the Saints with the *Ora pro nobis*, the deprecations with the *Libera nos*, the Petitions with the *Te rogamus audi nos*; the triple *Agnus Dei*, the *Pater Noſter*, the Pſalm, if one be ſaid, the Verſicles, and the Collects. That in our Prayer-book recedes from the original pattern by the greater length of its ſuffrages, by the omiſſion of any Pſalm and of one *Agnus Dei*, by the inferior importance and length both of the Reſponſes and Collects. But if we look at the Litanies of the Univerſal Church, we ſhall find that they may be conveniently divided into three families:—

1. The Roman Litany, as deſcribed above.

2. The Greek Ectene—which ſeems generally known to Engliſh ſcholars (but ought not to be) under its Slavonic form of *Ectinia*.

3. And the Ambroſian and Mozarabic *Preces*: which, though the name employed by thoſe rituals, muſt not be uſed by us: the word *Preces*, according to all Engliſh uſe, applying to the ſeries of Verſes and Reſponſes ſaid at the end of Prime and other ſervices.

The norm of the Greek Ectene is as follows: it may ſafely be attributed to the fourth century:—

In peace let us make our ſupplications to the LORD.—*R.* LORD, have mercy. (And ſo at the end of every ſuffrage.)

For the peace that is from above, and the ſalvation of our ſouls, let us make our ſupplications to the LORD.

For the peace of the whole world, the ſtability of the holy Churches of GOD, and the union of all, let—

For this holy habitation, and for them that with peace, piety and fear of GOD enter into it, let—

For our Archbiſhop, N., the venerable Preſbytery, the Diaconate in CHRIST, all the Clergy and Laity, let—

For this holy dwelling, for all the city, and country, and thoſe that dwell in them in faith, let—

For good temperature of the air, abundance of the fruits of the earth, and peaceful times, let—

For them that ſail, that travel, that are ſick, that are in heavineſs, that are in bondage, and their ſalvation, let—

That we may be delivered from all tribulation, anger, danger, and ſtraits, let—

Aſſiſt, preſerve, pity and protect us, O GOD, by Thy grace.

Commemorating the all-holy, ſpotleſs, excellently laudable and glorious lady, the Mother of GOD, and ever-Virgin Mary, with All Saints, let us com-

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mend ourſelves and each other and all our life to CHRIST our GOD.—*R.* To Thee, O LORD.

For all glory, worſhip, and honour befits Thee, FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST, now and ever, and to ages of ages.

This, we ſay, is the general norm of the Eaſtern Ectene: the proper reciter of which is the Deacon, and not the Prieſt, who merely gives the final clauſe. Notice, that the expreſſion "CHRIST our GOD," ſo conſtantly occurring in the Eaſt, is almoſt unknown in the Weſt, except in the Mozarabic rite, an indelible ſtamp of the more tremendous ſtruggle which Arianiſm there carried on with the Catholic Faith. Every Ectene commences in the ſame faſhion, and then breaks off to its own peculiar ſubject: as, for example, that of the Bridal Coronation:—

For the ſervants of GOD, M. and N., now joined together in community of marriage, let—

For a bleſſing on this marriage as on that of Cana in Galilee, let—

That the gift of modeſty may be beſtowed on them, and the fruit of the womb, as may be expedient for them, let—

That they may be made glad by the ſight of their ſons and daughters, let—.

And ſo in all the Offices and rites of the Greek Church, a correſponding Ectene finds its place. That, in a ſomewhat different form, which occurs in S. James's Liturgy, is well known to all who are acquainted with Biſhop Andrewes's Private Devotions.

The Mozarabic Litanies, again, not only differ from thoſe of the Roman and Eaſtern Churches, but have a much greater variety among themſelves. They will be referred to in the next eſſay.

Here is a Spaniſh compoſition which ſeems to hold a midway place between a Litany and a "Farce:" (our readers may remember that, in a previous page, we entered at ſome length into the ſubject of Farces):—

V. Be mindful of us, O CHRIST, in Thy kingdom, and make us worthy of Thy reſurrection.—*R.* With deſire I have deſired to eat this Paſſover with you before I ſuffer.

V. Go and prepare the Paſſover for us, that we may eat.—*R.* Before I ſuffer

V. Behold, as ye enter into the city, there ſhall meet you a man bearing a pitcher of water: him follow into the houſe whereinto ye ſhall enter; and ſay ye to the good man of the houſe,—*R.* With deſire I have deſired.

V. The Maſter ſaith, My time is at hand: where is the gueſt-chamber, that I may keep the Paſſover with my diſciples?—*R.* Before I ſuffer.

V. And he ſhall ſhow you a large upper-room, furniſhed: there make ready.—*R.* Before I ſuffer.

V. And the diſciples went into the city, and found as JESUS had told them, and they made ready the Paſſover.—*R.* With deſire I have deſired.

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V. And when even was come, JESUS ſat down and the twelve with Him, and He ſaith unto them :—*R.* With deſire I have deſired.

V. For I ſay unto you, that I will not eat it henceforth, until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of GOD.—*R.* With deſire I have deſired.

And ſo this curious Prayer, Litany, Recitative, or whatever elſe it may be called, goes through the Laſt Supper to its concluſion.

We now come to another branch of our ſubject, namely, Illations; or, as they have been variouſly called, Prefaces, Conteſtations, or Prayers of the Triumphal Hymn.

It would ſeem that the Roman Church, at the commencement, poſſeſſed a rich ſtorehouſe of theſe. Two hundred and forty, at leaſt, have been preſerved; eleven only are now uſed. The Mozarabic has one for every Sunday and principal feſtival; the Ambroſian additionally for every day of the week. Our own Prefaces, as every one knows, have been reduced to five. And, ſurely, one of the firſt improvements that ſhould be made in our Prayer-book would be the addition of others for the more marked ſeaſons, ſuch as Epiphany, Lent, Paſſion-tide, the Feſtivals of Martyrs, &c. On the other ſide, widely differing from, and, in this point, far inferior to, Weſtern ritual, the Eaſtern Liturgies have, without an exception, only one Preface, let the time of the year be what it may.

The norm of all the Weſtern Prefaces is preciſely the ſame. Commencing from the "It is very meet, right," &c., glancing at the various events of our LORD'S Life and Paſſion, and dwelling on the Saint or ſubject of the day, they cloſe by ſpiritual union with Angels and Archangels in the Triumphal Hymn, "Holy, Holy, Holy!"

Let us now take ſome examples of theſe, commencing from the Eaſt, and ending with the Gallican and Spaniſh Churches. We would hope that with thoſe magnificent and ecſtatic forms of devotion, the Illations of the great primitive Liturgies, the reader is acquainted. Nothing can be more grand, nothing more truly worthy of an Apoſtle, than thoſe of S. James, S. Clement, and S. Mark. But even in later times, and among heretical Churches, the ſame ſpirit remains: and in thoſe Liturgies of the wonderful mediæval ages of Central Aſia,—thoſe ages which we can ſo little realize,—when from China to the Perſian Gulf, from Cape Comorin to Siberia, the great Sacrifice was offered with primitive and apoſtolic rites, the Illations were not unworthy of the Myſteries which they accompanied. Let us take an example or two which are not ſo likely to be known to the reader. Here is that of John of Baſſora, perhaps of the eleventh or twelfth century:—

It is verily meet and right, and due from every creature, to glorify

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Thee, to bleſs Thee, to perſevere in perpetual thankſgiving to Thee, as do thoſe intellectual powers and incorporeal natures which exceed earthly beauty: thoſe ſpirits void of matter, who from the antiquity of their exiſtence poſſeſs their dignity, and perpetually, at every hour, ſtand before the infinite throne of Thy glory. Their only food is to glorify Thee, to honour Thee, to praiſe Thee and to magnify Thee in hymns, which cannot be expreſſed by the tongue, nor comprehended by the underſtanding. But we, children of the earth, are made rich by the miniſtry of the Sacraments: but that this material figment, this creature endued with ſenſe, might not be deprived of the ſame ſpiritual ſplendour, as if it had nothing in common with it, and would after a ſhort time periſh, Thou haſt made me a rational being, conſiſting of an intelligent ſoul and a material body, mortal and immortal, one undivided nature out of two contraries; to the end that by the ſpiritual relationſhip of the intellectual nature with that heavenly beauty, a path might be opened, even to thoſe celeſtial habitations, for this figment of clay. Wherefore, hearing in the ears of our heart the hymns of perpetual praiſe, and beholding with the eyes of our underſtanding thoſe heavenly legions, that which pertains to Angels and Archangels, the honour and dignity of the Virtues, the array of the Powers, the miniſtry of the Principalities, the adoration of the Dominations, the ſtability of the Thrones, we approach to the ſame hymns which are there ſung, to the teachings, uſeful and ſalutary to ſouls, to the bleſſed and moſt wiſe tradition of the unceaſing and divine worſhip of the Seraphim, which with incorporeal tongues they offer to Thee, O our GOD; to Thee Who art one Beginning, one Nature, and one Subſtance, Who art acknowledged in three Perſons, by which the whole infinity of GOD is embraced, and without Whom was not anything made that was made: by Whom and by each of Whom, by it and to it, GOD is united in ſubſtance of nature, as to the LORD, and in very deed, according to the very ſelf-ſame Divinity, not by communication alone nor introduction. For the FATHER, the SON, and the HOLY GHOST, are one ſubſtance and one nature of Divinity in their operation and according to the truth, not according to the imagination and fiction of the human mind; which nature we diſtinguiſh trinely, but undividedly, we believe to exiſt onelily, not by effuſion; and the hymn which exceeds human comprehenſion, we offer to Thee as the teſtimony of fear, the ſame, namely, which all the principalities of the orders of the heavenly hoſt, the many-eyed Cherubim and the Seraphim of ſix wings, ſing to Thee with triumphal voice, glorifying Thee indefinently:—*R.* Holy, &c.

Or take another example from the Litany of Ignatius Bar-Wahib, patriarch of Antioch, of a ſtill later date:—

Thou art worthy of praiſe, Thou art worthy of thankſgiving, Thou art worthy of adoration from all the celeſtial hoſt and all men on earth, and all things which Thy eſſence has created, whether ſenſible or inſenſible, or between the one and the other: becauſe Thou art to be praiſed and glorified with Thy SON and with Thy HOLY SPIRIT. For Thou art He, O LORD, of Whoſe praiſes the heaven and the earth are full, and all that therein is; Who by Thy power preſerveſt heaven and earth, which Thy Majeſty has created, and ordained to the glory of Thy eſſence: which although ſilent in their own nature, yet honour Thee. The Angels who are illuminated by the light of Thine eternity, glorify Thee, through the mediation of the Archangels. The Archangels rejoice before Thee, enlightened by the ſplendour of Thine eſſence, through the mediation of the Principalities. The Principalities honour Thee, irradiated by the glories of Thy hidden

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nature, through the mediation of the Powers. The Powers celebrate Thee, kindled by the flame of Thy might, through the mediation of the Thrones. The Thrones exalt Thee, inflamed by the fire of Thy Divinity, through the mediation of the Dominations. The Dominations laud Thee, set on fire by the brightness of Thy power, through the mediation of the Virtues. The Virtues venerate Thee in their hymns, filled with Thy fear, through the mediation of the Cherubim. The Cherubim bless Thee, inspired by the brightness of Thy majesty, through the mediation of the Seraphim. The Seraphim, which, without any intermediation, are illuminated from the very sanctuary of the seat of Thy glory, hallow Thy name: with one triumphal voice, flying the one to the other, alternating the song between the inferior and the superior order, with tongues more polished than sharp swords, with mouths breathing forth burning flame, with tremulous but exulting voices, beyond the comprehension of earthly minds glorify Thy Majesty which hath given existence to all.

Thus much for the florid Illations of the mediæval East: the Arabesque imitations, if one may use the metaphor, of glorious Middle-Pointed compositions, like S. James's and S. Mark's, and the Clementine Liturgies.

Let us now turn to the Gallican ritual. It is very singular that this, which, on the whole, and in its chief peculiarities, symbolises with the East and not with Rome, should, in the matter of Illations, differ from the former more widely than does the latter. The East, as we have reminded the reader, in all its varying Liturgies, knows but one Illation. The Gallican has a different Illation for every principal festival. Here is one, which, without hesitation, we would ascribe to the third or fourth century:—

It is meet and right that we should render thanks to Thee, O LORD GOD, through JESUS CHRIST, Thy SON, Who being Eternal GOD, vouchsafed to become Man for our salvation. O singular yet manifold mystery of the Saviour! that one and the same perfect GOD and perfect Man, chief High Priest, and most sacred of all Victims, according to His Divine power created all things: according to His human condition gave liberty to man: according to the virtue of His sacrifice expiated sin: according to the right of His Priesthood reconciled offences. O singular and only mystery of redemption! in which a new medicine healed for the LORD those ancient wounds; and the privileges of our salvation cut down the evil inflicted upon us by the first man. The one was frenzied by the goad of concupiscence, the other pierced by the nails of obedience: the one extended, in his lust, his hands to the tree; the other fitted them, in his patience, to the Cross: the one, attracted by pleasure, satisfied his appetite; the other was afflicted by the agony of a misery which He had not deserved. And therefore worthily does the punishment of innocence become the absolution of guilt; and rightly are those debts forgiven to the debtor, for which He Who owed nothing had paid. Which singular mystery not only men in earth, but angels also adore in heaven. To Whom worthily Angels and Archangels ascribe glory and honour, saying,—*R.* Holy, &c.

Compare the freshness and rough beauty of a preface like the above with the worn-out epithets and gorgeous tinsel of those

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Aſiatic Illations. Juſt as with Chriſtian art, ſo with Chriſtian devotion: the young, rude life of the Church burſting forth in thoſe hitherto uncultivated Gallican regions; the ſame life, but ſwamped and choked by luxury, ready to expire in the enervating and luxurious indolence of the Eaſt. Here is another, which we are diſpoſed to aſcribe to the ſame date:—

It is meet and right, Almighty FATHER, to render thanks to Thee always, to love Thee above all things, to praiſe Thee for all things, by whoſe gifts the dignity of Thy image is given to all men in nature: the enjoyment of eternity is vouchſafed in the ſoul; freedom of will is beſtowed in life: the happineſs of baptiſm is offered in grace: the heritage of the kingdom of heaven is promiſed in innocence: the benefit of a remedy is preſerved in penitence: the pardon of goodneſs does away with the puniſhment of iniquity: ſo that the loving-kindneſs of GOD abounding to all men, ſhould neither allow them whom it made, to periſh in wretchedneſs; nor them whom it taught, in ignorance; nor them whom it loves, to remain in puniſhment; nor them whom it has redeemed, to fall ſhort of the kingdom. Before whoſe preſence the Angels ceaſe not to cry and to ſay,—*R.* Holy, &c.

An Illation of A.D. 176, we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to tranſlate. We will now give an example (ſo far as we know, it is the only one) of an Illation in verſe: the reader muſt excuſe us if our lines are almoſt as rude as thoſe of the original. They bear a great reſemblance to the poem of S. Proſper, and not improbably proceeded from his pen:—

Worthy it is and meet that we ſhould raiſe
To Thee, Almighty GOD, the hymn of praiſe;
Who giv'ſt the omnipotent decree, and ſtraight
Each form is fixed, each creature animate.
Nature at once obeyed the law decreed;
Worlds ſprang to light,—Thy voice their only ſeed:
Thy SPIRIT ſtretched the ſky and decked the pole,
O'er its appointed bed bade ocean roll:
And when Thy image fell, o'erthrown by ſin,
And Death and Satan's empire entered in,
Thou, Ruler of the world, didſt deign to dwell
Unknown, rejected in that humble cell:
Hence was the fierce decree that Herod ſpake
Againſt the infant army for Thy ſake,
Who in their tiny limbs had ſcarcely room
To own the glorious wounds of martyrdom:
Oh new, unheard-of fate, decreed on high!
Thus to be born that they might only die;
And in the firſt and laſt of all their days,
Martyrs in deed, not will, to ſpeak His praiſe.

And ſo it goes on for a good many verſes more, with more religion than poetry.

And now it is worth while to examine a little more cloſely the two branches into which the Gallican Liturgy divided itſelf, the Mozarabic and the Ambroſian; ſo far as their Illations are

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concerned. We shall find those of the former by far the longer, generally by far the more beautiful; but sometimes degenerating into wordiness and false antithesis, from which the latter, with its greater brevity and pithiness, is always free. We will give some examples of each.

The Fifth Sunday in Advent. Ambrosian :—

Through JESUS CHRIST our LORD, the power of whose Divine Nativity was begotten by the unbegotten magnitude of Thine own might. Whom we proclaim to have been ever the SON, and generate before all worlds, because, in its fullest and completest sense, the name of Eternal FATHER was ever Thine; and Whom we confess in honour, majesty, and power equal to Thee with the HOLY GHOST, while we own one equal majesty in the Three Persons whom Angels praise, Archangels venerate, Whom Thrones, Dominations, Virtues, Principalities, and Powers adore; to Whom Cherubim and Seraphim, &c.

Mozarabic :—

It is meet and right that we should render thanks to Thee, Holy LORD, Eternal FATHER, Omnipotent GOD, through JESUS CHRIST, Thy SON, our LORD. Whose Incarnation was the salvation of the world, Whose Passion was the redemption of man so long since begotten. May He therefore, we beseech Thee, omnipotent FATHER, lead us on to the reward Who redeemed us from the darkness of Hell. He purge our flesh from sin Who assumed it of the Virgin. He restore us unhurt to Thy Majesty, who reconciled us to Thee by His blood. He justify us in the examination of the Second Advent, who bestowed on us the gift of His grace in the first. He come to judge in mercy Who of old time appeared in humility. He in the judgment manifest Himself as most gentle, Who, in former times, came in secrecy; to Whom, as is meet, Angels and Archangels cease not to cry daily, thus saying, &c.

On S. Stephen's Day. Ambrosian :—

Eternal GOD: Who hast called Stephen to be the herald of the Levites: he first dedicated to Thee the name of martyrdom: he began first to pour forth his blood: he merited to see the heaven opened, and the SON standing at the right hand of the FATHER. On earth he adored the Man, and in heaven he proclaimed the SON of the FATHER. He repeated the words of his Master; for that which CHRIST said on the Cross, that Stephen taught in the blood of his death. CHRIST on the Cross sowed the seeds of pardon; and Stephen made supplication to the LORD for them that stoned him. Therefore with Angels, &c.

Mozarabic :—

It is meet and right and sufficiently laudable that we should sacrifice to Thee, in the day of Thy holy martyr, Stephen, the circuit of the year having gone about, the oblation of praise, that we should pay our solemn offering. Whom the grace of our LORD, Thy SON, JESUS CHRIST, thus elected, His doctrine thus taught, His power thus confirmed, that among the Levites he should hold the reward, among the disciples the kingdom, among the martyrs the principality. Who confidently opposing the word of truth to those that were in error, endeavoured to prove the truth of that side on which he knew that

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the victory lay. That blaming the Jews to their faces for their impiety, if he could not correct them when they erred, he might not fear them when they were enraged. Knowing that either way, the preaching of righteousness would be profitable to him; whether they repenting, should accept the wholesome doctrine set before them, or, excited to fury, should be the means of his own passion. In such a resolve was there the love of CHRIST and of his neighbour; either to hope for joy from the amendment of his countrymen, or to expect a reward from the infliction of his own punishment; he sought not his own honour if purchased by another's crime; but he saw that from either alternative he must reap glory. But if by preaching the truth he himself gathered others into the Church, or was slain for the truth by any persecutor, he knew his place, he remembered his office: for he knew that he himself was an altar, and prepared himself as a sacrifice. Full of the HOLY GHOST, he manifested the sacraments, ready to drink of the cup which he preached to others. He stood among those people who had learnt by the death of the LORD not to spare the servant, or who rather had by the death of the servant advanced even to the death of the LORD. O marvellous desire of the LORD's love! For what else is it to desire to be slain for the LORD, and to confess with fearless devotion the love of Him That was slain, even among His murderers? He knew that by death he would rejoin that LORD from Whom, by surviving Him, he was disjoined. He held fast the precepts of the Master, which he had learnt, that the disciple was not worthy of Him, who did not take up his Cross and follow Him. He desired to arrive where that Master was, who was willing to take up what that Master had commanded: nor was he deceived in his opinion, who was ready for its result. Behold, they who had stumbled at CHRIST as at a stone, rushed upon Stephen with stones. That was thrown by their fury, on which their error had cast them. He Who to them was made a stone of stumbling, to Stephen became the Crown of Martyrdom. To Whom, as is meet, among the glorious Angels and the celestial Virtues he unceasingly proclaims the hymn of due praise, and saith, Holy, &c.

Let us take another beautiful example from the Mozarabic Missal, first giving the corresponding Illation from the Ambrosian —that for the Third Sunday after Easter.

The Ambrosian:—

Through CHRIST, our LORD: Who pitying human error, vouchsafed to be born of a Virgin; and by the passion of death delivered us from eternal death, and by His resurrection hath bestowed eternal life on us: the same CHRIST JESUS, our LORD: Whom, together with Thee, &c.

The Mozarabic:—

It is meet and right, very just and salutary, that we should render thanks to Thee, Holy LORD, Omnipotent GOD, through JESUS CHRIST, Thy SON, our LORD, the Eternal King, and joint Monarch with Thee: Who vouchsafed to bear so much and such grievous sufferings for our salvation. Judged was He by the Jews, Who shall judge the quick and the dead. Before the tribunal of the governor He stood, Whose tribunal is Heaven itself. He condescended that His face should be spit upon, Who, a little while before, had touched with his spittle the eyes of the man born blind. He condescended to be crowned with thorns, by Whom the martyrs merited to be decorated with celestial diadems. He condescended to have vinegar and gall given Him to drink, Who, out of the hard rock, had caused the people to be

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satisfied with honey. He endured that His side should be wounded with a spear, by Whose sword hell was conquered. He vouchsafed that His hands and His feet should be pierced with nails, Whose hands made the fabric of the heaven. Taken down from the Cross, He willed to be buried, at Whose word the dead were in a moment raised to life. He gave commandment that He Himself should be offered for us, that no longer the blood of bulls and goats should be poured forth upon the altar. He vouchsafed to be the Priest and the Victim, by Whom all that believe should inherit eternal life. Wherefore, all the Angels and all the Saints cease not to cry to Thee thus, saying: Holy.

Let us now give an example of some of the shorter Illations of the Ambrosian Office. In this ritual, the Sundays after Trinity can, at the outside, only be fifteen in number; for let Easter fall as early as it may, the sixteenth Sunday must be the first after the Decollation of S. John Baptist. There are, then, five Sundays after Decollation, the last of which does not occur when the Sunday letter is A, B, or C. The first Sunday in October has its own festival of S. Mary; the second Sunday is that before the Dedication of the great Church; the third is The Dedication of the great Church, namely, the predecessors of the wonderful cathedral of Milan: after which there may follow three Sundays after Dedication, and then begin the six Sundays of Advent. The first Sunday in Advent is that which immediately follows S. Martin's Day: when the Sunday letter is A, this, in point of fact, involves seven Sundays before Christmas; but the office of the seventh, which then falls on Dec. 24, is entirely of the Vigil. This is a great improvement on the Mozarabic Calendar, which gives only six Sundays after Trinity, and the rest are made up by repetition, so that more than a third part of the year has no proper Dominical office. With this brief explanation, we will proceed to give the Illation for the Sunday before Dedication:—

Eternal GOD: beseeching Thy clemency that Thou wouldest vouchsafe to direct those who are sustaining the labour of the Divine warfare. And, because it is ordained that of him to whom much is given, of him should the more be required, do Thou of Thy mercy guide our actions: that we may not be enfolded in our own errors, and may be delivered from those of others.

Third Sunday after Decollation:—

Eternal GOD: And humbly to implore Thy Majesty that JESUS CHRIST, Thy SON, our LORD, may protect us and preserve us by His grace: and, because we can do no good thing without Him, that we may receive of His gift the power of pleasing Thee for evermore.

We may now take our leave of Illations, merely observing that some of those in the Ambrosian book are comprised in two

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or three lines, and that the longeſt with which we are acquainted is that for the Feſtival of S. Vincent, in the Mozarabic, which occupies exactly two folio pages.

We have next to conſider thoſe ſo-called Collects, which are indeed addreſſed to the people rather than to GOD. Theſe principally occur in the Mozarabic Office, where in the Liturgy they have the name of "Miſſa." Take, for example, the following for Eaſter Saturday:—

Ye, who having been adopted by the grace of the ſevenfold SPIRIT, celebrate the ſolemnity of the Reſurrection of CHRIST, it befits you to venerate this ſeventh day, illuſtrious for the LORD'S reſt, by the like obedience. For in this, of old time, GOD Himſelf, having created and accompliſhed all things which are contained in the fabric of the univerſe, reſted from His work. He reſted when He had accompliſhed thoſe things which He created; He reſted after death in the ſepulchre, for the redemption of man. In the one He ceaſes from work; in the other, being buried, He gives to His work perpetual reſt. This is the end of His labours; this is the ſalvation of His redeemed. This is conſecrated by the very number ſeven; this is commanded to be kept holy by the precept of the ancient law. In this we are commanded to avoid ſervile works; in this we are alſo enjoined to keep a Sabbath holy to the LORD. Whence, ſtirred up by the SPIRIT of the grace which has been imparted to us, let us beſeech, beloved brethren, our great and wonderful Shepherd, JESUS CHRIST, ſo to grant us to avoid the ſlavery of the work of ſin on this day, that, ſtrengthened by the quiet of its holineſs, we may rightly celebrate the feaſt of the LORD'S Reſurrection by our tears of love, and by our gift of ſacrifices.

Theſe, then, prayers though they may be called, are diſtinct ſermons attached to the Euchariſtic office. No theological work of the kind could be more valuable than one which ſhould trace theſe Miſſæ back to their original ſources, ſpecifying the changes and omiſſions which have been made in order to fit them for Divine Service. Several of theſe compoſitions are extracted from the works of S. Auguſtin, one or two from S. Fulgentius, three or four from S. Iſidore, and others from other Fathers. No doubt a ſearch, ſpecifically directed to this object, would diſcover the origin of very many more. Probably alſo the brief ſermons actually delivered by the Archbiſhops of Toledo were, when thought eſpecially excellent, inſerted in the Office: for it is to be noticed that, though at ſome little diſtance from it, the *Miſſa* follows the Goſpel (the Creed in the Mozarabic ritual is placed, ſtrangely enough, immediately after the Conſecration). Thus the Miſſa not only reſembles in character, but, to a certain extent, in place reſponds to, the ſermon. Now, take another example from the Office for Whitſunday:—

Let us, beloved brethren, with as much faith, attention, virtue, joy, exultation, devotion, obedience, purity, as we can, ſpeak of the Gifts of the

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HOLY GHOST promiſed to us by the SON of GOD, and to-day made good. Let our hearts be thrown open; let the minds of them that believe be purged; and let every ſenſe and receſs of the ſoul be ſpread wide. For no narrow breaſt can ſuffice to narrate the praiſes and the advent of that infinite SPIRIT. For He, conſort with the FATHER and the SON; He, of one and the ſame Subſtance, the third in Perſon, but the ſame in glory; He Whom the heaven of heavens contains not, becauſe it cannot circumſcribe nor incloſe Him, to-day enters into the narrow tabernacle of our breaſt. And who of us, beloved brethren, can ſee in himſelf one worthy of ſuch a Gueſt? Who can beſtow on Him, when He comes, a meet reception, when He is the life of angels and archangels, and of all the celeſtial virtues? And therefore, becauſe we acknowledge that we are unworthy of ſuch an inhabitant, let us beſeech Him to prepare for Himſelf an habitation in us.

We now come to the ſixth diviſion of our ſubject, namely, Reſponſes and Verſicles: that form of prayer which is called the "Preces" in moſt Weſtern Breviaries. In our own Prayer-book a faint trace of them remains in the Verſicles which precede the firſt Collect. In the Sarum Breviary there is one peculiarity which well deſerves attention in the ordinary *Preces* at Prime. The uſual Office of moſt Churches has, after the verſe, "Holy GOD, Holy and Mighty, Holy and Immortal," the ſimple reſponſe, "Have mercy upon us." The Sarum gives it thus: "O LAMB of GOD, That takeſt away the ſins of the world, have mercy upon us;" a change which cannot but remind ſcholars of the alteration made in the Triſagion, by Peter the Fuller, which has given riſe to ſuch repeated reclamations on the part of the Eaſtern Church: "Holy GOD, Holy and Mighty, Holy and Immortal, Thou That waſt crucified for us, have mercy upon us." The Reſponſes at Prime are virtually the ſame in all Breviaries; though here and there one or two more or one or two fewer verſes of the 57th and 118th Pſalms may be employed. For verſes and reſponſes on particular occaſions, the various monaſtic uſes will afford the richeſt variety, and theſe more eſpecially in the Benedictions, which will form our laſt and concluding head. The verſes for the Benediction of the Table uſually take this form:—

V. He hath diſperſed abroad, He hath given to the poor.
R. His righteouſneſs remaineth for ever.
V. I will bleſs the LORD at all times.
R. His praiſe ſhall ever be in my mouth.
V. My ſoul ſhall make her boaſt in the LORD.
R. The humble ſhall hear thereof and be glad.
V. O magnify the LORD with me.
R. And let us exalt His name together.
V. Bleſſed be the Name of the Lord.
R. From this time forth for evermore.

We have ſeen, however, ſingular variations in ſome of the

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German Breviaries. One of the moſt remarkable of theſe was in an Erfurdt book. Here, at the concluſion of the above Reſponſes, the Superior, cenſing the image of S. Chriſtopher, proceeded with the well-known verſe :—

V. Chriſtofori Sancti ſpeciem quicumque tuetur
R. Illo nempe die nullo languore gravetur.
V. Sancte Martyr Chriſtofore,
R. Memor eſto noſtri pie.
V. Apud Deum omni horâ
R. Nos tuere ſine morâ.

In a Breviary which belonged to the Church of Cavaillon, in ſouth-eaſtern France, we have ſeen—what we never ſaw elſewhere—a ſeries of varying Verſicles and Reſponſes before and after dinner, for the chief feſtivals of the year. In the ſame book, the Preces at Prime varied in a ſimilar manner; and on ſome of the moſt remarkable occaſions were forty or fifty in number. An inexorable railway prevented our tranſcribing what would not have been without its intereſt to ritualiſts.

The Preces of the Ambroſian Breviary, though not the ſame as the Roman, are of the ſame nature. On ordinary occaſions they are as follow :—

V. (*After the Creed.*) The reſurrection of the body.
R. And the Life everlaſting.
V. O let my ſoul live, and it ſhall praiſe Thee.
R. And Thy judgments ſhall help me.
V. I have gone aſtray like a ſheep that is loſt.
R. O ſeek Thy ſervant, for I do not forget Thy commandments.
V. Bleſſed are they, O LORD, that dwell in Thy houſe.
R. They ſhall be praiſing Thee for ever and ever.
V. O ſtabliſh my ſteps according to Thy law.
R. That my feet may not be moved.
V. I cried unto Thee, O GOD, for Thou ſhalt hear me.
R. Incline Thine ear unto me, and hearken unto my words.
V. From ſuch as reſiſt Thy right hand, O LORD, keep us as the apple of an eye.
R Protect us under the ſhadow of Thy wings. Alleluia. Alleluia.

In the Mozarabic Breviary, the Preces appear under ſeveral different forms. Thus, the Matutinarium, the Lauda, and the Sono,* have all of them ſomething of the ſame character; occupying, as it were, a midway poſition between the Preces and the ſhort Reſponſes of the uſual Roman Hours. Here is the Sono for the Third Sunday in Advent :—

Alleluia. Ye that make mention of the LORD, keep not ſilence, and take no reſt, till He eſtabliſh, and till He make Jeruſalem
R. A praiſe upon the earth.

* [Notice, even as early as the time of S. Iſidore the modern Spaniſh uſe of Ablative for Nominative and Accuſative.]

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V. For as the earth produceth her flowers, and as a garden cauſeth the things that are ſown in it to ſpring forth: thus the LORD will cauſe righteouſneſs to ſpring forth,

R. A praiſe upon the earth.

V. O Thou that evangeliſeſt to Zion, get thee up into the high mountain; ſay unto the cities of Judah,

R. Behold, the LORD GOD will come with ſtrong hand.

V. The LORD, even the moſt mighty GOD, hath ſpoken, and called the earth.

R. Behold, the LORD GOD will come with ſtrong hand.

Here is an example of the Lauda for Eaſter Eve:—

V. Alleluia. I am the Firſt and I am the Laſt, and I was dead,

R. And, behold, I am alive again, for ever and ever. Alleluia.

V. Thou art worthy, O LORD, to receive the book, and to looſe the ſeals thereof, for Thou waſt ſlain, and haſt redeemed us to GOD by Thy blood, out of every kindred and tongue.

R. And, behold, I am alive again for ever and ever. Alleluia.

V. Alleluia. The Angel of the LORD deſcended from heaven.

R. And he came and rolled away the ſtone from the door of the ſepulchre. Alleluia, Alleluia.

V. The ſtone which the builders rejected, the ſame is made the head of the corner.

R. And he came, and rolled away the ſtone from the door of the ſepulchre.

V. His countenance was like lightning, and his raiment white as ſnow.

R. And he ſaid unto the women, Fear not ye!

V. O give thanks unto the LORD; for He is gracious: for His mercy endureth for ever.

R. And he came and rolled away the ſtone, and ſat upon it.

V. This is the True Bread of GOD, which cometh down from heaven, and giveth life unto the world: whoſoever eateth of this ſhall live for ever. And the Bread which I will give, is My fleſh, which I will give for the life of the world.

R. He that believeth in Me ſhall never hunger nor thirſt. All. All.

V. Behold, I appoint unto you a kingdom, as My Father hath appointed unto Me: that ye may eat and drink at My table, in My kingdom.

R. He that believeth in Me ſhall never hunger nor thirſt. All. All.

V. Glory and honour be to the FATHER, and to the SON, and to the HOLY GHOST.

R. He that believeth in Me ſhall never hunger nor thirſt. All. All.

One of the moſt remarkable ſeries of Preces, however, occurs in the ſame ritual, at the reconciliation of the penitents, on Good Friday.

The Archdeacon ſaith:—

Silence. Penitents, pray. Bend your knees to GOD. Let us beſeech our LORD GOD, that He would vouchſafe to give us indulgence of our crimes, and remiſſion of our ſins.

Riſe. Pray: bend your knees to GOD. Let us beſeech the LORD GOD that of His clemency He will ſtretch forth His hand to the fallen, and beſtow the ſafeguard which is requeſted of Him. Riſe: Pray: bend your knees to GOD. Let us beſeech our LORD GOD, that we, remembering the

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tranſgreſſions that we have committed, may henceforth avoid the ſnares of the Enemy: that thoſe whom the allurements of the devil had cauſed to leave the Altar of GOD, plenteouſneſs of tears, their patrons with Him, may recall. Riſe: our prayer is finiſhed. Let us all, with one voice, aſk indulgence from the LORD.

We fall on our faces for prayer.

O, O, O, O, O, O, O, O, O, O, O, O, O,—*three hundred times.*

R. Thou, O Good Shepherd, doſt give Thy life for the ſheep—*three times.*

Now the Archdeacon ſaith:—

V. We pray Thee, LORD, for—*R.* Indulgence.
V. Let there proceed from the Moſt High—*R.* Indulgence.
V. Let us, wretched ſinners, be aſſiſted by—*R.* Indulgence.
V. Let all ſins be pardoned by—*R.* Indulgence.
V. Let there be given to the penitents—*R.* Indulgence.
V. Let it be the portion of all;—*R.* Indulgence.
V. Let it correct thoſe that err in the faith;—*R.* Indulgence.
V. Let it raiſe from ſin thoſe that are fallen;—*R.* Indulgence.
V. We pray Thee, O GOD, for—*R.* Indulgence.

Then follows a long and beautiful prayer for pardon: and thus ends the "Firſt Indulgence." The "Second Indulgence" is of preciſely the ſame nature, except that here the O, O, O, O, are only ſaid two hundred times. The Preces here are:—

V. We pray Thee, O LORD, for—*R.* Indulgence.
V. Let us be reconciled to the FATHER by—*R.* Indulgence.
V. Let it confirm us in the grace of CHRIST;—*R.* Indulgence.
V. Let it conform us to the HOLY GHOST;—*R.* Indulgence.
V. Let it purge away famine and peſtilence;—*R.* Indulgence.
V. Let it give healing to the ſick;—*R.* Indulgence.
V. Let it reſtore captives to their country;—*R.* Indulgence.
V. Let it temper the changes of the atmoſphere;—*R.* Indulgence.
V. We beſeech Thee, O LORD, for—*R.* Indulgence.

The "Third Indulgence" is of the ſame character, the O, O, O, O, being, however, ſaid only one hundred times.

Theſe Preces are among the moſt curious that any ritual can ſhow; and, as ſuch, it may not be diſpleaſing to the reader to have had them preſented to him.

But we haſten to a more important ſubject, that of Benedictions; and here we have chiefly to ſpeak of thoſe in the Mozarabic Offices. In the Liturgy of that Church, every ſeparate maſs has its benediction, varying with the occaſion, divided into three clauſes, as ſymbolical of the Bleſſed TRINITY. Thus, for example, on Maundy Thurſday:—

CHRIST, the LORD, Who vouchſafed to be betrayed for the ſalvation of all, Himſelf* enrich you with the gift of His grace.—*R.* Amen. And He,

* The peculiar uſe of *Ipſe* in the Mozarabic prayers, in places where it retains in only a very modified ſenſe its original force, reminds one of the ſimilar employment of αὐτὸς in the Greek Liturgies; where it can hardly be tranſlated.

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Who by the morſel of bread betrayed His betrayer, cauſe you to be well pleaſing to Him by the participation of this bread.—Amen. And He, Who vouchſafed to-day to waſh the feet of the diſciples, cleanſe you from all iniquity, and give you a portion among His ſaints.—Amen. Through thy mercy, O LORD GOD, Who liveſt and reigneſt, world without end.

Or take another example, that on Eaſter-day :—

The LORD JESUS CHRIST, Who, after He had died for the ſalvation of the world, roſe again from the dead on this day, mortify you by His reſurrection from all guilt.—*R.* Amen. And He Who, by the tree of the Croſs, deſtroyed the dominion of death, give you an inheritance in life eternal.—*R.* Amen. That ye, who celebrate in the preſent world the day of His reſurrection with great joy, may merit the companionſhip of the Saints in the heavenly region. Through Thy mercy.

Or again, take the Aſcenſion Benediction :—

JESUS CHRIST the LORD, Who, when about to return to heaven, bequeathed peace to His diſciples, preſerve that peace whole and undefiled in you.—*R.* Amen. And give to you to be your guard, the holy angels whom He choſe to be His own eſcort.—*R.* Amen. That, He being your guide, ye may thither aſcend by faith, where ye hope to be carried for your eternal reſt.—*R.* Amen. Through Thy mercy.

There are examples, however, in which the Benediction conſiſts of five, inſtead of three members. Such is the following for Eaſter Monday :—

Let GOD ariſe amidſt you, and let all your enemies be ſcattered.—*R.* Amen. So that ye, putting off the garment of the old man by the putting away your crimes, may put on newneſs of ſpirit with beauty of virtues.—*R.* Amen. And He Who conquered death by His own death, defend you from the power of the ſecond death.—*R.* Amen. And He Who by His reſurrection gave life to the world, deliver you from preſent and from future evil.—*R.* Amen. That ye, who have received the hope of reſurrection by CHRIST the Victor, may alſo inherit, through the gift of the ſame, an eternity of beatitude.—*R.* Amen. Through Thy mercy.

The Benedictions in the Mozarabic *Breviary* are of the ſame form. Take, for example, this,—on Wedneſday in the firſt week of Advent :—

V. Our Redeemer and LORD, Who, by being born in the fleſh, took away from us the yoke of the law, accompliſh in us the benefits of His goodneſs.—*R.* Amen.

V. And He Who took from us that which might agree with His own Divinity, give us, of His own, that which He may reward in us.—*R.* Amen.

V. That we all, who welcome theſe joys of His Firſt Advent with happy devotion, may, in the time of His Second Advent, rejoice with all His ſaints.—*R.* Amen.

Through Thy mercy, &c.

And now, before we conclude, let us claſſify the varying Collects of the Roman, Mozarabic, Ambroſian, and Gallican Litur-

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gies, ſo far as they are capable of being paralleliſed with each other. With theſe we may as well take the other changeable portions of the Service, ſo as to make our table the more complete.

ROMAN.	AMBROSIAN.	MOZARABIC.	GALLICAN.
Introitus	Ingreſſa	Ad Miſſam . . .	Antiphona.
Collect	Oratio ſuper Populum. . .	Oratio	Prefatio.
Sometimes Prophecy	Prophecy	Prophecy. . . .	Prophecy.
	Pſalmellus	Pſallendo . . .	Pſalmus Reſponſorius.
Epiſtle	Epiſtle	Epiſtle	Epiſtle.
Gradual, (*ſometimes* Sequence) . .	Alleluia, or Cantus. . . .		
Goſpel	Goſpel	Goſpel	Goſpel.
	Antiphona poſt Evangelium .		
	Oratio ſuper Sindonem . .		
	Offertory		
Nicene Creed . .	Nicene Creed.		
Offertory. . . .	Oratio ſuper Oblata . .	Sacrificium.	
		Miſſa.	
		Alia Oratio.	
			Ante Nomina.
Secreta	. . . . .	Poſt Nomina . .	Poſt Nomina.
		Ad Pacem.	
Prefatio	Prefatio	Illatio. . . .	Conteſtatio.
		Poſt Sanctus . .	Poſt Myſterium.
		Poſt Pridie.	
Communio . . .	Confractorium	. . . . .	Ante Orationem Dominicam.
	Tranſitorium	Ad Orationem Dominicam.	
			Poſt Orationem Dominicam.
Poſt Communio .	Poſt Communio		
		Benediction . . .	Benediction.
Prayer		Prayer.	

We have thus, according to the beſt of our ability, given a ſhort account of the theory of Collects, and of the other prayers which form ſo prominent a part of Church ritual. The reader muſt remember in this, as in former papers on kindred ſubjects, that treatiſes, each of which might well fill a volume, have here to be compreſſed into the limits of a ſhort paper. The briefeſt poſſible notice has to be taken of details which, if purſued at length, would be far more intereſting, as well as far more inſtructive. In fact, we wiſh rather to point out to the reader what is worth his ſtudy, than profeſs to lay before him the reſults of our own.

We are bound to acknowledge the great aſſiſtance which in this and other papers we have derived from the invaluable library of the Rev. W. J. Blew; without which it had been impoſſible for us to ſtudy many of the rare books which in the courſe of our inveſtigations it has been neceſſary for us to quote. The value of the library itſelf can only be exceeded by the courteſy with which its contents are placed at the diſpoſal of ſcholars.

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III.

THE BOLLANDISTS.*

IT was the ſeventeenth Sunday after Trinity, and a glorious autumn afternoon. The faſhionable world of Bruſſels was airing itſelf in the Rue Royale; the bells of ſome of the pariſh churches were chiming for veſpers; when the writer of the preſent article rang—he confeſſes, with ſomewhat of a trembling hand,—at the outer door of the Convent of S. Michel, and inquired whether Father Tinnebroek were at home. The anſwer was in the affirmative; and in another minute he found himſelf in the Bollandiſt Houſe.

What theological ſcholar is there, who, on entering for the firſt time an eccleſiaſtical library, does not almoſt inſtinctively run his eye along its goodly battalions of folios and quartos, to ſee if the fifty-ſeven volumes of the Bollandiſts find a place among them? What theological ſcholar is there to whom that quaint frontiſpiece, the little angel tearing a roll from the mouth of Time, Truth kindling a torch by her mirror, and Erudition pointing upwards to the Church, who ſmiles as ſhe receives another volume of the Acts of the Saints,—to whom thoſe two rivers of Italic print, divided and meted out by capital margin letters, as by mileſtones,—to whom the concatenated ſide notes, as intereſting as a hiſtory, and as brief as an index, do not recur, when we ſpeak of the Bollandiſts? What theological ſcholar is there to whom the names of Papenbroch† and Henſchenius, of Stiltinck and Sollerius, are not familiar as houſehold words?

But how and where that enormous work, that everlaſting heritage to the Church, was carried on day after day, year after

* Etudes ſur la Collection des Actes des Saints, par les RR. PP. Jéſuites Bollandiſtes. Par le R. P. Dom Pitra, Moine Benedictin de la Congregation de France. Paris, 1850.

† Properly Papenbroek: but we follow the uſual ſpelling.

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year, century after century, few that have uſed it have perhaps troubled themſelves to inquire: and few that have inquired have been able to obtain any ſatisfactory anſwer to their queſtions.

Dom Pitra, the well-known Benedictine Scholar of Soleſme, has given a ſketch of the progreſs of the work in the volume now before us. It is brief indeed, for of the 340 pages which compoſe his ſketch, a third part is taken up with an account of previous hagiographies. Nor are the hiſtorical details well arranged or clearly ſet forth. Still, the importance of the ſubject, and the learning of the writer give a deep intereſt to the volume. We propoſe briefly to relate the annals of the Bollandiſt undertaking, availing ourſelves of our author's labours as we go along.

Towards the end of the ſixteenth century, Heribert Roſweyd, a Prieſt of the great Company then in the height of its reputation, conceived in the Library of the reformed Monaſtery of Notre Dame-de-Lieſſies the idea of a complete ſeries of the Acts of the Saints. Of an iron conſtitution both in body and mind, he would juſt finiſh a few trifling works on which he was then engaged,—his *Lives of the Fathers*, his *Lives of the Virgins*, his *Hermits of the Thebais*, his editions of Tertullian, Lactantius, Minucius Felix, and Arnobius; not more than four or five folios, and a few octavos; and when he had completed his controverſies with Caſaubon, Scaliger, and one or two other literary giants, —then he would really ſet about his great undertaking. It was to conſiſt of ſeventeen volumes folio. They ſhowed the proſpectus to Bellarmine. "What is the man's age?" aſked the Cardinal. "Perhaps forty." "Does he expect to live two hundred years?" was the queſtion that followed. Two hundred and forty-five years have paſſed ſince then,—

> And ſtill he lives in fame, though not in life:

ſtill he lives in his continuators, thoſe patient monks who, even as we write, are in their library at Bruſſels, toiling on at the fifty-eighth volume of the *Acta*, and the 24th day of October. Like Columbus, Roſweyd was the diſcoverer of a new world; like Columbus, his name is not that by which the region diſcovered by him is known. He began his gigantic toil in 1629. He had ſcarcely commenced it when Bois-le-duc was taken by the Dutch army,—the Jeſuits expelled,—and their precious library expoſed to ruin. Roſweyd flew to the ſpot. He expoſed himſelf to the autumn malaria, and while weakened in his health was called to aſſiſt a ſufferer in the laſt ſtage of typhus. And thus, inſtead of writing the Acts of the Saints, he went, as we may piouſly believe, to ſhare their glory.

The ſpirit of Elijah reſted upon Eliſha. John Bollandus, by

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birth a Limburger, had earneſtly entreated a place in the China Miſſion, and had aſpired to a fellowſhip in the China Martyrdoms. He was reſerved for another toil. In the thirty-fourth year of his age, he was preſented by the Company with the materials, and ordered to undertake the work, of Roſweyd. He began to ſee ſomething more than his predeceſſor of the magnitude of the undertaking. The enormous maſs of correſpondence,—the expenſe of procuring the Proper Offices of every Church of Chriſtendom,—the ranſacking the archives of every monaſtery in Europe. But he was not terrified. "When I have finiſhed the work," ſaid he, "then I ſhall give ſome account of the Doctrine of the Saints."

He determined, however, to begin with an entirely new plan: to incorporate the original Acts with the notes,—to follow the order of time, not of dignity, and to take the Roman Martyrology as his guide. He laboured ſingly and courageouſly for ſix years: and then he called for help. GOD ſent the means. The Jeſuits' Houſe at Antwerp, where Bollandus wrought, was poor. Dom Luytens endowed it with eight hundred florins for the income of a ſecond hagiographer. Bollandus's choice was ſoon made. It fell on Godfrey Henſchenius, a cool, calm, penetrating Jeſuit. Afterwards, as if by inſpiration, he induced Daniel Papenbroch, then a lad of fourteen, to enter the ſame Society, and devote his life to the ſame purpoſe.

As January was then thought to be nearly complete, Bollandus requeſted his coadjutor to commence with the Life of S. Amandus, for the ſixth of February. In time it was finiſhed, and its completion is a Bollandiſt epoch. Eighty-eight folio pages of cloſely printed double columns; a previous commentary in twenty-two chapters, unravelling the obſcure annals of the ſeventh century with an acuteneſs almoſt ſuperhuman, and a labour almoſt heroic; five original lives, ſome inedited, collations, and notes, ſix appendices,—the whole field of each page ſpotted with dates, as a meadow with daiſies, and above all the pleaſant ſtream of marginal notes curling along the ſide of the page, and refreſhing the weary eye,—it was beyond all that Bollandus had conceived poſſible! What the pupil had done, the maſter determined to equal. *He recaſt the whole of January;* an act of humility as well as of labour that rendered him worthy to give his name to the work.

Sixteen years of continued toil, and, in 1643, January appeared, in two volumes. Europe rang with the praiſes of its 1170 ſaints. The great Voſſius had denied the verity of the acts of S. Antony. He read, and, Proteſtant as he was, was convinced, and promiſed to retract in his next volume. And right faithfully and ſcholarly he kept his word. Chriſtina of

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Sweden, still a Lutheran, read of S. Anschar, the Apostle of the North, and was delighted. Cardinal Bona besought GOD to lengthen the life of Bollandus to the extreme limits of human existence. Fifteen years more, and February came forth in three volumes, with 1310 saints. And thenceforward, till the temporary suppression of the Jesuits, through good report, and (as we shall see) through evil report also, the Bollandists held on their way through fifty-one volumes. We give their names in a note,* correcting some obvious errors of Dom Pitra.

In the meantime, as if almost by inspiration, Bollandus had

* FIRST SERIES.

NAMES.	Birth.	Commencement of Labours.	Cession from Labour and Death.	Collaboration. Years.	Vols.
JOHN van BOLLAND . .	1596	1631	+1665	34	8
GODFREY HENSCHEN .	1600	1635	+1681	46	24
DANIEL van PAPENBROEK .	1628	1659	+1714	55	19
Daniel Janninck . .	1650	1679	+1723	44	13
Francis Baerts . . .	1651	1681	+1719	38	10
JOHN BAPTIST du SOLLIER	1669	1702	+1740	38	12
John Pien . . .	1678	1714	+1749	35	14
William Cuypers . .	1686	1720	+1741	21	11
Peter van den Bosch . .	1689	1721	+1736	15	7
JOHN STILTINCK . .	1703	1737	+1762	25	11
John Limpen . . .	1709	1741	1750, + ?	9	3
John van de Velde . .	?	1742	+1747	5	2
Constantine Suyskene .	1714	1745	+1771	26	11
John Perier . . .	1711	1747	+1762	15	7
Urban Stycker . . .	1717	1751	+1753	2	1
John Clé	1722	1753	1760+1800	7	3
Cornelius de Bye . .	1727	1772	1789+1801	17	6
Ignatius Huben . . .	1737	1772	+1782	10	4
James de Bue . . .	1728	1776	1794+1808	18	6
Joseph Ghesquiere . .	1731	1792	1794+1802	2	6

SECOND SERIES.

John Baptist Fonson
Can. Reg.
Anselm Berthod — Work suspended in 1794.
Benedict.
Siard van Dyck
Præmonst.
Cyprian van de Goor
Præmonst.
Mathias Stalz
Præmonst.

THIRD SERIES.

Joseph van der Moere—Retires 1847.
Joseph van Hecke
Benjamin Bossue
Victor de Buch
Antony Tinnebroek

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fixed his eyes on Daniel Papenbroch, who thenceforth gave up himself and his whole property, which was considerable, to the work. Bollandus himself laboured at it for thirty-four years; Henschen for forty-six; Papenbroch for fifty-five. And with the latter it was that the travels, correspondence, controversies, and persecutions of the Bollandists began. For the complete formation of the whole agency by means of which every monastery in Europe sent up its own legends, Papenbroch may claim the chief praise; and in this sense the verse is true—

Quod Rosweydus prepararat,
Quod Bollandus inchoarat,
Quod Henschenius formarat,
Perfecit Papenbrochius.

Let us describe the present Bollandist Library as we saw it on that Sunday afternoon. There were three not very large rooms, of which the central one contained the greatest treasures and formed the chief workshop. Round the walls, every known biography of a Saint; hundreds of the rarest missals and breviaries, hymnals, and martyrologies. Then in the centre of the room a large counter-like erection, serving as a table, but also fitted with drawers, each drawer numbered with one day of the then unfinished Bollandist year, beginning from October 17. When any of the Bollandists happens to meet with a passage which may be useful in the history of a future Saint, he makes a reference on a separate piece of paper, and puts it into the drawer of the day on which that Saint will occur. Thus we remember that, while we were running over a proof-sheet of the fifty-sixth volume with Father Tinnebroek, a reference to Saint Cecilia occurred. Immediately he took one from the file of papers provided for the purpose, made a reference to the page, and put it into the drawer for Nov. 22. Twenty years hence the then Bollandists will make use of it.

In 1660, Henschenius and Papenbroch set forth on their first literary journey. Catholic and Protestant librarians vied in doing them honour. They gleaned a life here, a sequence there, a proper office in this church, a passion in that: at Wurzberg they beheld the Gospel tinged with the blood of the martyr S. Kilian; at Bamberg they venerated S. Henry of Germany, and his Virgin Empress S. Cunegunda; at Eichstadt, they listened to the legend of the Irish S. Walpurga, at Augsburg to that of the glorious penitent, S. Afra; at Eiligen they visited the tomb of S. Hildegard; at Munich, Peutinger the librarian, welcomed them as brothers; at Aschaffenburg, they revelled eight days in the three halls full of charters which Father Garmaus had heaped together: at Saint Goar, and Bamberg, and Worms, they supped at the

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electoral table. Papenbroch in his letters gives the moſt perfect picture of enjoyment conceivable, (the fiery trial was for after years;) he luxuriates, he revels, he runs riot in his deſcription;—nothing comes amiſs; he tells how proud the Sacriſtan of Mayence is of the duſt of the Cathedral, becauſe it was older than the Reformation; how they dined with a very apoſtolical dean, where there were thirty-ſix covers, and twelve men ſervants, and where they drank Bollandus's health in hock 120 years old; how they teaſed Henſchenius by making him ſleep in Luther's bed at Worms; how very ſurpriſingly venerable Papenbroch looked in the chaſuble of S. Witegiſus at Mayence; how Henſchenius, who had never ſeen a mountain, was frightened out of his wits in the deſcent of the Alps, and lay like a heap at the bottom of the carriage.

And at laſt they came to Italy. They revelled, by turns, in the libraries of Verona, Padua, Venice, Ferrara, Bologna; and ſo they advanced on their pilgrimage to Rome. Alexander VII. received them as brothers. Orders and briefs opened every door, and unrolled every MS. Shortly after their arrival, one who had the greateſt means and the beſt will to help them, Luke Holſtein, librarian of the Vatican, was called from the world. Short as had been his intimacy with Henſchenius, he it was whom the venerable ſcholar choſe to receive his confeſſion, and to aſſiſt him in his agony; and his laſt words were, *Padre Henſchenio!* But the other chiefs of eccleſiaſtical literature, Kircher, and Ughelli, and Ciampini, ſupplied his place. For nine months they employed ſix amanuenſes. Papenbroch ſometimes purſued his taſk from two in the morning till nightfall. Ughelli gave the Bollandiſts two folio volumes of notes, deſtined for his *Italia Sacra*. The Oratorians entruſted them with the MSS. of Baronius. Ecchelenſis tranſlated the Syriac Acts of the Saints. The Abbé Albani, afterwards Pope Clement XI, played the part of a humble copyiſt; better ſo employed than in the compoſition of the Unigenitus. The ſame triumphal progreſs attended them everywhere. To Naples, to Monte Caſſino, the Abbey of Abbeys, to Florence. Thence over the Alps to the Grande Chartreuſe, Cluny, Citeaux, Dijon, Paris, and ſo to Antwerp. That was the firſt hagiological journey of the Bollandiſts. Janning and Baerts afterwards in Auſtria and Hungary, Cuypers in Spain, laboured in the ſame cauſe, and with the ſame ſucceſs.

Yes,—it was all for that noble library,—the glory of the Latin Church. There is a view of the façade in the firſt volume of March. There were then twelve caſes, each in thirty ſubdiviſions, the former the months, the latter the days. Theſe were for the

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acts, printed or MSS; the reſt was for general hiſtory. There, as a century rolled by, came in the great works of the hiſtorians of the Church, Baronius and Raynaldus and the Calviniſtic tomes of the Magdeburg Centuriators; and Ughelli's Italia, and Henry Warton's Anglia Sacra; and the Gallia Chriſtiana of the Sammarthani, and the Germania Sacra of Hanſiz; and the Franciſcan Annals of Luke Wadding, and the Benedictine Hiſtory of Yepez, and the Origins of the Canons Regular of Pennotti, and Caſtillo's Dominican Order, and the countleſs Hiſtories of Abbeys, of Biſhoprics, of hoſpitals. But more glorious ſtill was the collection of Miſſals and Breviaries, of Hymnals and Paſſionals, of Martyrologies and Lectionaries, of Sacramentaries and Rituals, of Graduals and Sequentiaries, of Antiphonaries and Sanctorals. There were thoſe glorious folios; rough in their yellow hogſkin, and clamped and knobbed with wrought iron, and dotted down the face with the well-thumbed finger-holds; with their illuminated initials, and flowing margins, their quaint abbreviations and lovely letters: there were the ſcarcely leſs valuable *incunabula*—as the Germans call the printed books of the fifteenth century;—there were the productions of printers ſuch as John Scheffer at Mayence, or Peter Lichtenſtein at Venice, or Wynkyn de Worde in Weſtminſter, or Conſtantine Fradin at Narbonne, or William Merlin at the ſign of the Savage Man at Paris, or George Stuchs at Nuremberg. Europe poured in her treaſures from every primatial uſe: Toledo for Spain, Vienne for France, Braga for Portugal, Sarum for England, Aberdeen for Scotland, Spalato for Dalmatia, Cracow for Poland, Cologne and Salzburg for Germany, Upſala for Sweden: the Ambroſian rite and the Milaneſe commentators,—the Mozarabic office and its Spaniſh rubricians, all haſtened as into a treaſury for the glory of the Saints, all went to ſwell the twelve thouſand volumes of the Bollandine Library. There Bollandus, after correcting a proof, was ſtruck with palſy;—there Henſchenius died in the midſt of his labours: there Papenbroch, blind, and in the eighty-fifth year of his age, ſtill prayed and laboured and directed.

But the Bollandiſts had been unworthy to write of the glory, had they not been called to a ſhare in the ſuffering, of the Saints. Of all their controverſies, that with the Carmelites was the moſt dangerous: it perilled their honour, it impugned their veracity, it threatened their very exiſtence. Papenbroch wrote, and proved, that the Prophet Elijah was not the founder of the Carmelite religion. The order flew to arms. The Acts were denounced at Rome. Papenbroch combated by learning, Janning by his preſence in the Papal Court. In 1695, the Spaniſh

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Inquiſition condemned the whole work: and earneſtly as Papenbroch prayed and laboured for its reverſal, there, on the very doors of the Bollandiſt library, hung the decree, declaring the Acta offenſive to pious ears, ſuſpected of hereſy, and even heretical. Clement XI. was appealed to by the memory of his early labours in the Vatican to interfere. He did interfere, but too late. Papenbroch died, ſtigmatized by the inquiſition as a heretic, in 1714, and the condemnation was retracted in 1715.

Yes, and the later Bollandiſts had a glorious revenge: ſuch a revenge as befitted the Annaliſts of the Saints. The Carmelites had cruelly perſecuted them, and they, in the 54th volume, the firſt of the New Series (1847) devoted ſix hundred folio pages to the glory of the Carmelites, S. Thereſa. Van de Moere began and ended his labours on that one Saint.

Henſchenius and Papenbroch ſlept with their fathers; and for ſixty years after the death of the latter, the Bollandiſts purſued their labours. It cannot be denied that the plan increaſed and altered as it went on. For example, the thirty-one days of January had been compriſed in two volumes; in the latter part of the ſeries, three or four days were frequently found enough for one. Again, freſh diſcoveries and more extended reſearches detected miſtakes, new collaborators brought new opinions; and on ſome points of no ſmall importance, for example, the foundation of the See of Antioch, the Acta twice altered their ſentiments. And now the work had reached the fifty-firſt volume, and the beginning of October, when on the 20th of September, 1773, it was put an end to by the Bull of Clement XIV. for the ſuppreſſion of the Jeſuits. Clé, the retired leader of the Bollandiſts, was confined for two years.

A committee was appointed to diſcuſs the queſtion of the continuance of the work. At length, Maria Thereſa accepted the offer of the Abbat of Caudenberg, and the perſecuted hiſtorians of the Saints transferred themſelves and their precious library thither. But an Imperial Order forbade them to add any commentary to the Acts, compelled the publication of a volume yearly, and commanded the completion of the work in ten years. The Abbey of Caudenberg was ſuppreſſed in 1780, by the Eraſtian Joſeph; and the ſurvivors of the Bollandiſts were transferred to Bruſſels. Finally, Buæus, with the poor relics of the library, was received in the Abbey of Tongerloo;—and there he formed five new Hagiographers, Fonſon, Berthon, Van Dyck, Van de Goor, and Stalz: one a Canon Regular, one a Benedictine, three Præmonſtratenſians. The French Revolution broke out; infidelity was poured over Europe: but this, the ſecond ſeries of Bollandiſts, purſued its labours for ſeven

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years, and produced two volumes. The fifty-third appeared in May, 1794; and on Dec. 6, 1796, the Abbey of Tongerloo was ſuppreſſed. The five hagiographers were driven forth like their brethren, and, to human eyes, the work ſeemed at an end.

In 1800, Napoleon ſet on foot a commiſſion to inquire into the poſſibility of continuing the *Acta*. In 1810 a report appeared, ſtating the deſirableneſs of the continuation, but naming two ſlight difficulties;—the want of Acts, and the want of Hagiographers. It was ſuppoſed that the unique library had periſhed, and that the printed portion and MS. of the fifty-fourth volume were irreparably loſt. It was not ſo. The peaſants of Tongerloo had been their faithful guardians; and in 1825, William I. King of Holland, diſcovered and ſeized them. Here again we trace the finger of God. The King divided the library in two; the printed works, which, however valuable, might be replaced, went to the Proteſtant Hague: the MS., ineſtimable, and unique, remained in Catholic Bruſſels.

The Belgian revolution broke out. Belgium became independent. The chambers voted the *Acta* a national work; decreed them to the re-eſtabliſhed Jeſuits; and in January, 1837, the company accepted the charge. It is pleaſant to think that one of the ancient Bollandiſts, Cyprian van der Goor, lived to ſee the work re-undertaken and proſpering, before he uttered his *Nunc dimittis*. It took ten years to create the library, and the correſpondence, and in fact, the ſcience. The fifty-fifth volume, containing the fifteenth and ſixteenth days of October, appeared in 1847, two hundred and two years after the publication of the firſt. It contains, as we have already ſaid, the moſt elaborate biography that has yet appeared in the Acta, the life of S. Thereſa.

The preſent Bollandiſts are fathers Joſeph van Hecke, Benjamin Boſſue, Victor de Buch, and Antony Tinnebroek; father Joſeph van de Moere, the author of the life of S. Thereſa, having retired. The laſt volume which they have publiſhed is the 58th—the 10th for October. This is the fourth volume iſſued by the New Bollandiſts.

There, then, we leave theſe pious hiſtorians to their labour. Sixty-eight days ſtill remain for them. We may truſt that now, unreſtricted by war and revolution, the work will proceed to its cloſe; but the grandfathers, ſay the Bollandiſts, are not yet born of the men who ſhall ſee the final completion of the *Acta Sanctorum*.

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IV.

KALENDARS.

WE are about to ſpeak of Church Kalendars; as we have lately done of the greateſt commentators on the Kalendar. Now we propoſe to enumerate the different diviſions of Feſtivals in various branches of the Church, and we will begin with the Eaſt.

In the Conſtantinopolitan Church, Feſtivals are divided into three claſſes—Great, Middle, and Little.

Great Feſtivals are divided into three ſections—

1. Eaſter, which ſtands by itſelf.

2. Twelve principal Feaſts; namely, Chriſtmas Day, Epiphany, Purification, Annunciation, Palm Sunday, Aſcenſion, Pentecoſt, Transfiguration, Repoſe of the Mother of GOD, Nativity of the Mother of GOD, Exaltation of the Holy Croſs, Preſentation of the Mother of GOD.

3. Feſtivals called Adodecata, or, in Slavonic, Nedvanadeſiatiia, as not being equal in honour to *the* Twelve. Theſe are: Circumciſion, Nativity of S. John Baptiſt, SS. Peter and Paul, Decollation of S. John Baptiſt. All theſe are marked with ⊕.

Feſtivals of the Second Claſs are divided into two ſections—

1. Thoſe in which the Office is not entirely of the day, but which have at Lauds an additional canon, in honour of the Mother of GOD. Theſe days are—January 30, SS. Baſil, Gregory, and Chryſoſtom; April 23, S. George; May 6, S. John the Divine; November 13, S. John Chryſoſtom; Dec. 5. S. Sabbas; Dec. 6, S. Nicolas of Myra. Theſe are marked ⊕.

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2. Middle Feſtivals of the Second Claſs have the Polyeleos (Pſalm cxxxvi.) at Lauds. Theſe are the days of the Apoſtles, except as above: great doctors or wonder-workers, and certain "God-bearing" fathers, as S. Simeon Stylites. They are marked +.

3. Little Feſtivals have two claſſes.

1. Thoſe which have the Great Doxology (as have all the preceding) at Lauds, and are called Doxologiſed Feaſts. They are marked .·.) in red ink.

2. Thoſe which have not the Doxology: they are marked thus, .·.) in black ink.

It is not neceſſary to dwell at any length on the Armenian Diviſion of Feſtivals. Briefly, it conſiſts of four claſſes—

1. Eaſter and Epiphany. It is well known that the Armenian Church has no ſuch Feſtival as Chriſtmas.

2. Thoſe which form the remainder of great Feſtivals in the Orthodox Church, together with the days of S. Gregory the Illuminator, the Apparition of the ONLY-BEGOTTEN SON at Etchmiadzine; the Martyrdom of S. Hripſime; that of S. Gaiane; and perhaps one or two others.

3. This is almoſt the ſame as the ſecond Eaſtern Claſs; and,

4. As the Third.

But we muſt remember that the various Saints of the Conſtantinopolitan Faſti are named, not in the mere formal proſe of the weſt, but each in a ſtichos of two or more verſes; and theſe uſually contain "a pun, punnet, or pundigrion," to adopt Southey's claſſification of paronomaſiæ. They are to be found in the Menæa, after the Sixth Ode of the Canon for the Day, and before its Menology. In the year 1727, it pleaſed a Leipſic ſcholar, by name Urban Godfrey Siberus, to make a collection of theſe ſtichoi, and to accompany them with a moſt barbarous Latin verſion. The book, which is not very common, makes a convenient Breviate of Eaſtern Saints, for thoſe who are not deſirous of going very deeply into the ſubject.

Little as ſuch punning verſes ſeem to promiſe, they are frequently not without their beauty. It is difficult, from their very nature, to tranſlate them in a way which ſhould be intelligible to any but to him who can equally well comprehend the original Greek. But, in ſome inſtances, ſuch a verſion may be poſſible. Let us take an example or two—

> CHRIST came that He might kindle fire on earth:
> And in that fire was Xene's heavenly birth. (Jan. 18.)
>
> That Mayſimas, in Syrian hymns who ſung,
> Now ſings with Angels in the Angels' tongue. (Jan. 23.)

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Thy *Polycarp*, O WORD, who dies by fire,
Brings forth *much fruit* to Thee upon the pyre. (Jan. 26.)

The tyrant, Chares, may cut off thy feet:
But not the less thou hast'st thy LORD to meet. (Jan. 28.)

Amid the sheepcotes Blasius dwelt of old:
His home is now within the heavenly fold. (Feb. 3.)

Lo! Baptus and Porphyrius yield their life,
Baptized with *purple* in the Martyrs' strife. (Feb. 10.)

Eulogius finds the Monarch of the skies,
And greets Him with the Martyr's *eulogies*. (Feb. 13.)

Not water doth Eudocia,* as of yore,
To Thee, O SAVIOUR!—but her life-blood pour! (Mar. 1.)

This may suffice as a specimen; but many of these compositions are of a yet far inferior kind. That our LORD, for example, was Ruler of the πόλος, while He vouchsafed to ride on the πῶλος. (The English reader may conceive the wretchedness of the pun, by a like play on the words *pole* and *foal*.)

We now proceed to the Western arrangement of Feasts.

The Roman classification of Festivals is this:—

Double of the First Class.	Double.
Double of the Second.	Semi-double.
Greater Double.	Simple.

The Parisian disposition is as follows:—

Annuals.	Lesser Doubles.
Greater Solemns.	Semi-doubles.
Lesser Solemns.	Simples.
Greater Doubles.	

Thus adding another class to the Roman.

Of different Mediæval arrangements we may principally notice these:—

A. That which prevailed in many early Kalendars of Religious Orders, though afterwards by the same Orders dropped.

Triple.	Lesser Double.
Lesser Triple.	Simple.
Double.	

In which, Triple nearly answered to the Roman Double of the First Class, and Lesser Triple was somewhat more confined than Double of the Second. We have seen this arrangement in early Cistercian, Carthusian, and Præmonstratensian books. One of the most glorious Kalendars we ever saw, at Nantes, which had belonged to Premontré, was thus arranged.

* The woman of Samaria.

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B. Again, and this ſeems to have been uſual in Northern Churches, the following :—

Principale.	Minus Duplex.
Majus Duplex.	IX. Lectionum.

III. Lectionum.

C. And ſome Kalendars of this kind inſerted Triplex between the Principale and the Majus Duplex.

D. A favourite German diviſion was as follows (thus we have ſeen books of Cologne, Ratiſbon, Würzburg, Freiburg, Magdeburg, Salzburg, and others) :—

Summum (others call it Dominicale).	Simplex IX. Lectionum.
Duplex.	Officium.

Collecta.

The two latter titles meaning that on the day ſpecified by them in the one caſe, Collect, Introit, and Poſt Communion, in the other Collect alone, were *of* the Feſtival.

Before we proceed, we cannot but expreſs our ſurpriſe that no work has ever yet been devoted to a Claſſification of Mediæval Miſſals and Breviaries after their families. Now that every part of Europe is ſo eaſily acceſſible, ten or fifteen years' labour might accompliſh that which, in former centuries, could hardly have been brought to paſs by the devotion of a life.

Now, taking the Pariſian and Roman Kalendars as our model, let us examine which Saints' Days form their higheſt claſſes.

Roman.	*Paris.*
DOUBLES OF THE FIRST CLASS.	ANNUALS.
Chriſtmas.	Eaſter.
Epiphany.	Whitſun Day.
Eaſter Day.	Chriſtmas.
(Maundy Thurſday till Eaſter Tueſday incluſive).	Aſſumption.
	Patron Saint.
Aſcenſion.	GREATER SOLEMNS.
Whitſun Day.	
Whitſun Monday.	Aſcenſion.
Whitſun Tueſday.	Corpus Chriſti.
Corpus Chriſti.	Dedication.
S. John Baptiſt.	Epiphany.
SS. Peter and Paul.	Purification.
Aſſumption.	Annunciation.
All Saints.	Nativity B. V. M.
Dedication of the Church.	All Saints.
Feaſt of the Patron Saint.	SS. Dionyſius and Ruſticus.

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Doubles of the Second Class.	Lesser Solemns.
Every Feſtival of an Apoſtle.	Trinity Sunday.
S. Mark.	The Secondary Patron.
S. Luke.	Circumciſion.
Purification.	S. John Baptiſt.
Annunciation.	SS. Peter and Paul.
Nativity.	**Greater Doubles.**
Conception.	Eaſter Monday.
Viſitation.	Eaſter Tueſday.
Circumciſion.	Whitſun Monday.
Name of Jesus.	Whitſun Tueſday.
S. Stephen.	Low Sunday.
Holy Innocents.	Octave of Aſcenſion.
S. Joſeph.	Corpus Chriſti.
Holy Trinity.	Feſtivals of Apoſtles and Evangeliſts
Invention of the Croſs.	S. Michael.
S. Lawrence.	
S. Michael.	

It will be proper to make ſome obſervations on theſe Saints' Days.

And, in the firſt place, the Roman comes nearer to the Primitive Calendar than even the Pariſian, in excluding Candlemas, the Nativity of the Bleſſed Virgin Mary, and the Annunciation from the higheſt claſs of Feſtivals; for (manifeſtly) the Pariſian *Annuals* and *Greater Solemns* together make up the Roman Doubles of the Firſt Claſs. In the latter, S. John Baptiſt, SS. Peter and Paul, Aſſumption, and All Saints, are the only feſtivals of ſaints which occupy ſo high a place.

S. John Baptiſt. Let us compare the various offices of this Great Saint. In the Gregorian Miſſal, there were two Maſſes on this Feſtival; * and, it ſeemed, in the former of theſe *Alleluia* was not ſung, with reference to the Nativity having taken place under the old law; in the ſecond Maſs it was employed to ſignify the commencement of the new Kingdom by the Saint. The Roman Epiſtle is Iſaiah xlix. 1—7. They point out how "ſharp" a "ſword" John indeed was, when he uttered that proclamation, "O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come?" And then, "That hath formed me from the womb to be thy Servant," well agrees with the ſanctification of John, even from his mother's womb. But ſeveral of the German Miſſals had the Goſpel of our own Prayer-book, "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people;" and this was the Gallican uſage. The Mozarabic Prophecy is the Roman Epiſtle: *its* Epiſtle we do not ſo well underſtand—Galat. i. 11-24—

* Durand. lib. iii. cap. 38. S. Alcuin. de Divin. Offic. cap. 30. Hug. de S. Vict. lib. iii. de Offic. Eccles. cap. 6.

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unleſs it be from the mere phraſe, "GOD, who ſeparated me from my mother's womb." The Goſpel is everywhere the ſame: the hiſtorical narrative from S. Luke. The Creed is not ſaid; and that with the beautiful ſymbolical reaſon, "He that is leaſt in the Kingdom of Heaven is greater than he."

If we turn to the Breviary, we find the firſt three Roman leſſons from Jeremiah i. 1 to end; the ſecond three from the homily of S. Auguſtine (20) on the ſame Feſtival; the third three, from the commentary of S. Ambroſe on the Goſpel. The firſt ſix, in the greater part of the German Breviaries, are from a homily of S. Maximus: the laſt three from the commentary of V. Bede on the Goſpel. The firſt ſix in the Aberdeen from a homily, we know not of what ſaint; the laſt three as the Roman. In the Pariſian, the firſt three from "the occurring Scripture;" the next three, a ſermon of S. Auguſtine (not that in the Roman); the laſt three as the Roman.

Now we think that we can ſcarcely give a more uſeful praxis on the various theories of Reſponſe, than by a compariſon of thoſe from the leſſons.

ROMAN AND GERMAN (generally).	ABERDEEN.	PARIS (modern).
1. R. There was a man ſent from GOD, whoſe name was John; * the ſame came for a witneſs, to bear witneſs of the Light, that he might prepare a perfect people for the LORD. V. John was preaching in the wilderneſs the baptiſm of repentance. The ſame.	1. As Roman.	1. R. Elizabeth conceived and hid herſelf three months, ſaying: * Thus hath the LORD dealt with me in the days wherein He looked upon me, and took away my reproach from among men. V. My age ſhall be exalted in rich loving kindneſs. Thus hath.
2. R. Elizabeth, the wife of Zachariah, bare a mighty man, John Baptiſt, forerunner of the LORD, * who prepared for the LORD a way in the deſert. V. There was a man ſent from GOD, whoſe name was John. Who prepared.	2. R. The Angel Gabriel appeared to Zachariah, ſaying: A ſon ſhall be born to thee: his name ſhall be called John. * And many ſhall rejoice at his birth. V. For he ſhall be great in the ſight of the LORD, and ſhall drink neither wine nor ſtrong drink. And many.	2. R. Mary entered into the houſe of Zachariah, and ſaluted Elizabeth, * and when Elizabeth heard the ſalutation of Mary, the babe leaped in her womb. V. Thou didſt prevent them, O LORD, with the bleſſings of goodneſs. And when.
3. R. Before I formed thee in the womb I knew thee, and before thou cameſt out of the belly I ſanctified thee, * and gave thee for a prophet to the Gentiles. V. A man beloved by GOD, and honourable among men. And gave. Glory. And gave.	3. R. Thou, Child, ſhalt be called the Prophet of the Higheſt; for thou ſhalt go before the face of the LORD * to prepare His ways. V. To give knowledge of ſalvation unto His people for the remiſſion of their ſins. To prepare. Glory. To prepare.	3. R. Elizabeth was filled with the HOLY GHOST, and cried with a loud voice, Whence is this to me, that the Mother of my LORD ſhould come unto me? * Behold, † the babe leaped in my womb. V. Now I know that GOD hath bleſſed me for thy ſake. Behold. Glory. The babe.

NANTES.

R. 1. The LORD * formed me from the womb to be His ſervant, that I might bring back Jacob to Him. *V.* GOD that maketh things that are not, as though they were. Formed.

R. 2. I am glorified in the eyes of the LORD, and * my GOD is my ſtrength.

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V. When Elizabeth heard the ſalutation of Mary, the babe leaped in her womb. My GOD.

R. 3. Let me find grace in Thy ſight: * now I know that the LORD hath bleſſed thee for my ſake. *V.* Elizabeth cried: When I heard the voice of thy ſalutation, the babe leaped in my womb. Now I know. Glory. Let me find.

ROMAN AND GERMAN (generally).	ABERDEEN.	PARISIAN.
4. R. The Angel of the LORD came to Zachariah and ſaid, Receive a ſon in thine old age. * And he ſhall be called John. V. This child ſhall be great in the ſight of the LORD; for the Lord alſo is with him. And he.	4. R. His name ſhall be called John; he ſhall drink neither wine nor ſtrong drink. * And many ſhall rejoice in his birth. V. He ſhall go before the LORD in the ſpirit and power of Elias. And many.	4. R. They made ſigns to his father, how he would have him called. And he aſked for a writing table, and wrote, ſaying, * His name is John · and they marvelled all. V. He ſhall be called by a name which the mouth of the LORD ſhall name. His name.
5. R. This is the beloved Forerunner and the Light that ſhone before the LORD. * This is John, who both prepared the way of the LORD in the deſert, and alſo preached of the Lamb of GOD, and illuminated the eyes of men. V. He ſhall go before Him in the ſpirit and power of Elias. This is John.	5. R. He ſhall go before Him in the ſpirit and power of Elias, * that he may convert the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the unbelieving to the wiſdom of the juſt, to make ready for the LORD a perfect people. V. He ſhall be great before the LORD, and ſhall be filled with the HOLY GHOST. To make ready.	5. R. And immediately the mouth of Zachariah was opened, and he was filled with the HOLY GHOST, and propheſied, ſaying, Thou, Child, ſhalt be called the Prophet of the Higheſt, for * thou ſhalt go before the face of the LORD to prepare His ways. V. Say not, I am a Child, ſaith the LORD, for whitherſoever I ſhall ſend thee thou ſhalt go. Thou ſhalt go.
6. R. They made ſigns to his father how he would have him called: and he aſked for a writing table, and wrote, ſaying, * His Name is John. V. The mouth of Zachariah was opened, and he propheſied, ſaying. His Name. Glory. His Name.	6. As in Roman.	6. R. The child increaſed, and waxed ſtrong in ſpirit, * and † he was in the deſert until the day of his ſhowing to Iſrael. V. And the child grew, and the LORD bleſſed him, and the SPIRIT of the LORD began to move him. And he was. Glory. He was.

NANTES.

R. 4. I will give thee hidden things and concealed treaſures *, that thou mayeſt know that I the LORD who call thy name am the Holy One of Iſrael. *V.* They beckoned to his father how he would have him called, and he aſked for a writing table, and wrote, ſaying, His name is John. That thou mayeſt.

R. 5. The LORD declared His ſalvation *. He hath remembered His mercy and truth towards the houſe of Iſrael. *V.* And immediately the mouth of Zachariah was opened, and he ſpake and bleſſed GOD. He hath remembered.

R. 6. I will proceed to do a marvellous work among this people *, even a marvellous work and a wonder. *V.* And all they that heard it laid it up in their hearts, ſaying, What manner of child ſhall this be?—And the hand of the LORD was with him. Even a marvellous. Glory. I will proceed.

ROMAN.	ABERDEEN.	PARIS.
R. 7. The LORD's Forerunner cometh, of whom He Himſelf teſtifieth: * Among them that are born of women there is not a greater than John Baptiſt. V. This is the Prophet, and the more than Prophet, of whom the SAVIOUR ſaith. Among.	R. 7. They made ſigns to his father how he would have him called, and he called for a writing table, and wrote, ſaying, * His name is John. V. The mouth of Zachariah was opened, and he propheſied, ſaying, His name.	R. 7. There was a man ſent from GOD whoſe name was John. * He was not that light, but was ſent to bear witneſs of that light, that all might believe through him. V. He ſtood up as fire, and his word burned like a lamp. He was not.

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ROME.	ABERDEEN.	PARIS.
R. 8. Gabriel the Angel appeared to Zachariah, and ſaid, A ſon ſhall be born to thee, and his name ſhall be called John * and many ſhall rejoice in his birth. V. He ſhall be great in the ſight of the LORD, and he ſhall drink neither wine nor ſtrong drink. And many. Glory. And many.	R. 8. As Roman 7.	R. 8. John bare teſtimony, and cried, ſaying: He that cometh after me is preferred before me, for He was before me, * and of His fulneſs have all we received. V. I awakened up laſt of all, as one that gathered after the grape gatherers. And of His.
	R. 9. Among them that are born of women there hath not ariſen a greater than John the Baptiſt, * who prepared the way of the LORD in the deſert. V. There was a man ſent from GOD whoſe name was John. Who. Glory. Who.	R. 9. He that ſent me, the ſame ſaid to me, * Upon whomſoever thou ſhalt ſee the Spirit deſcending and reſting, † He it is that baptizeth with the HOLY GHOST. V. The LORD that formed me from the womb to be His ſervant faith. Upon. Glory. He it is.

Let us now take another example: it ſhall be the Feaſt of All Saints.

And firſt, let us obſerve what Durandus ſays as to this Feſtival. After relating how, on the dedication of the Pantheon, by Pope Boniface, into the Church of All Martyrs, the firſt of May was fixed as the Feſtival of *Santa Maria ad Martyres*, and that this ſolemnity was afterwards removed to the other half year, the firſt of November, when the harveſt had been got in,—he continues thus:—

Now, however, this Feſtival is general to All Saints—its office is accordingly varied. For the firſt Antiphon and the firſt Lection, and the firſt Reſponſory, are of the Trinity, becauſe this is the Feaſt of the Trinity; the ſecond of S. Mary, the third of the Angels, the fourth of the Prophets, the fifth of the Apoſtles, the ſixth of the Martyrs, the ſeventh of the Confeſſors, the eighth of the Virgins, the ninth of all together. Therefore, the greateſt perſon in the Church reads the firſt leſſon, the Biſhop, if he is preſent, or the Dean, or anyhow a prieſt; and ſo, by gradual degrees, down to the boys. One of the boys always reads the eighth leſſon concerning the Virgin; the laſt is read by the greateſt perſon again. In many Churches, the eighth reſponſory is ſung by five boys having candles in their hands, before the altar of S. Mary, to repreſent the five prudent Virgins, who went forth to meet the Bridegroom.

Sicardus tells us the ſame thing, only adding that in ſome Churches, the firſt leſſon is that from Iſaiah, "I ſaw the LORD ſitting upon His throne"—which it is in the Roman Church at this day. We will now give ſome examples of the Leſſons and Reſponſories; and it will be found that Engliſh Rituals ſtood, as always, moſt faithful to the mediæval pattern.

In the Leſſons, the Aberdeen Breviary appears to retain the old form, and gives a ſhort homily, firſt on the Bleſſed Trinity; ſecondly on S. Mary, &c.; and ſo down to the end. The Benedictions alſo accord to this; we give them here:—

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I. In caritate perfecta confirmet nos Trinitas Sancta. *Lectio Prima de Trinitate: et legatur ab excellentiori persona.*
II. Per interceſſionem ſuæ matris benedicat nos Filius Dei Patris.
III. Ad Societatem Civium Supernorum producet nos Rex Angelorum.
IV. Patriarcharum merita nos ducant ad regna celeſtia.
V. Apoſtolorum interceſſio nos jungat angelorum conſortio.
VI. Martyrum conſtantia nos ducat ad regna celeſtia.
VII. Sancti Evangelii Lectio ſit nobis ſalus et protectio.
VIII. Chorus Sanctarum Virginum intercedat pro nobis ad Dominum.

[And then follows the rubric: Let this Lection be read by one boy only in a ſurplice. And, in the meanwhile, let five boys go forth from the veſtry in ſurplices, with covered heads and albs, and carrying lighted tapers in their hands, and let them ſing the Reſponſe.]

IX. Sanctorum meritis mereamur gaudia lucis.

The Mediæval German Breviaries, while they agree with the Aberdeen in their lections, have no ſuch arrangement of Reſponſes. We may obſerve that the obſervation of Durandus, with reſpect to the ninth Reſponſory of the Roman rite, ſhows that at that time it had not been obliterated by the Te Deum. Now let us give the Reſponſes according to different rites, taking the Aberdeen as our pattern:—

ABERDEEN. (1)	ROMAN.	PARISIAN.
R. 1. To the Supreme Trinity One GOD, be one Divinity, equal Glory, coeternal Majeſty, to FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST, * who ſubdueth the whole world to His laws. V. The Bleſſed Deity of FATHER, and SON, and Kind SPIRIT, give us grace. Who.	R. 1. I ſaw the LORD ſitting upon the throne, high and lifted up, * and His train filled the Temple. V. The Seraphim ſtood above it, each one had ſix wings. And His train.	R. 1. We render Thee thanks, LORD GOD Almighty, which is and was and is to come, * Becauſe Thou haſt taken to Thee Thy great power, and haſt given reward to the Saints. V. All Thy works ſhall praiſe Thee, O LORD, and Thy Saints ſhall give thanks unto Thee. Becauſe.
(1) Theſe Aberdeen Reſponſes are nearly, but not verbally, the ſame as thoſe in the Reſponſoriale, publiſhed by Thomaſius. (Tom. iv. p. 276.)		
R. 2. For Bleſſed art thou, holy Virgin Mary, and moſt worthy of all praiſe. * Since out of Thee hath ariſen the Sun of Righteouſneſs, CHRIST our GOD. V. Pray for the people, propitiate for the Clergy, intercede for the devout female ſex: let all feel thy help, who celebrate thy celebrity. Since.	R. 2. Bleſſed art thou, Virgin Mary, Mother of God, who didſt believe in the LORD: the things are accompliſhed in thee which were ſaid of thee: behold, thou art exalted above the Choirs of the Angels. * Intercede for us to the LORD our GOD. V. Hail, Mary, full of grace, the LORD is with thee. Intercede.	R. 2. Then was given unto the Angel much incenſe, that he ſhould offer it with the prayers of all Saints upon the golden altar which was before the throne. * And the ſmoke of the incenſe aſcended up before GOD out of the Angel's hand. V. The eyes of the LORD are over the righteous, and His ears are open unto their prayers. And the ſmoke.
R. 3. Thee, Holy LORD, all the Angels praiſe on high, ſaying, * Praiſe and honour be to Thee, O LORD. V. Cherubim and Seraphim, cry, Holy, and all the heavenly orders ſing, Praiſe. Glory. Praiſe.	R. 3. Before the gods will I ſing praiſe unto Thee, * and I will worſhip toward Thy holy Temple, and will praiſe Thy name, O LORD. V. Becauſe of Thy mercy and loving-kindneſs and truth, for Thou haſt magnified Thy name and Thy word above all things. And I will. Glory. And I will.	R. 3. Sing praiſes unto our GOD, all ye His ſervants, and ye who fear GOD, both ſmall and great. * For the LORD GOD omnipotent reigneth. † Rejoice in the LORD, O ye righteous, for it becometh well the juſt to be thankful. For. Glory. Rejoice.

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ABERDEEN.	ROMAN.	PARISIAN.
R. 4. Among them that are born of women, there hath not arisen a greater than John the Baptist, * who prepared the way of the LORD in the desert. V. There was a man sent from GOD whose name was John. Who.	R. 4. The forerunner of the LORD cometh, of whom He Himself testifieth. * (1) Among them that are born of women, there hath not arisen a greater than John the Baptist. V. This is the prophet, and the more than prophet, of whom the Saviour saith. Among.	R. 4. All these attained a good report through faith. * Wherefore we also being compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us run with patience the race that is set before us. V. All these were honoured in their generations, merciful men, whose righteousness hath not been forgotten Wherefore.

(1) Observe, while both the Aberdeen and Roman keep up the symbolism of Durandus, and make the fourth Response typical of the prophets, and of John Baptist as their head, how much finer is the Roman Response, introducing him, as it were, in a procession; the idea is nobly followed out in that hymn, *Sponsa Christi quæ per orbem:* as indeed by the Aberdeen, in R. 5.

R. 5. These the fellow-citizens of the Apostles, and the domestic servants of GOD, advance to-day, * carrying torches in their hands, and illuminating their country to give peace to the Gentiles, and to set free the people of the LORD. V. Hear the prayers of us suppliants, who ask the rewards of eternal life, ye who bear in your hands the sheaves of righteousness, and who joyously come forward to-day. Carrying.	R. 5. These are they who, living in the flesh, planted the Church in their blood. * They drank the cup of the LORD, and became the friends of GOD. V. Their sound is gone out into all lands, and their words into the ends of the world. (1) They drank.	R. 5. There was given unto them white raiment, and it was said unto them, that they should yet wait a little time * until their fellow-servants and brethren should be fulfilled. V. Bring my soul out of prison that I may give thanks unto Thy name, which thing if Thou wilt grant me, then shall the righteous resort unto my company. Until.

(1) It is this verse which fixes the whole Responsory as belonging to the Apostles, rather than, which might have been the case with the former part, to any other Saints.

R. 6. O laudable constancy of the Martyrs, O inextinguishable love, O invincible patience, which, although it seemed despicable among the tortures of the persecutors, * should be found to praise and glory and honour † in the time of retribution. V. We pray, therefore, that they, thus honoured by our FATHER, which is in Heaven, may help us, and that their merits. Should be found. Glory. In the time.	R. 6. O ye my Saints, who, while ye were in the flesh, fought the good fight, * I will render to you the reward of your labour. V. Come, ye blessed of my FATHER, inherit the kingdom. I will. Glory. I will.	R. 6. The LORD GOD shall call His servants by another name, * for the former miseries shall have passed away. V. There shall be no more death, neither sorrow nor crying. For. Glory. For.
R. 7. Let your loins be girded, and burning lamps in your hands, * and ye yourselves like men that wait for their LORD, when He shall return from the wedding. V. Watch, therefore, for ye know not at what time your LORD shall come. And ye yourselves.	R. 7. The same as Aberdeen.	R. 7. GOD, who is rich in mercy, for the great love wherewith He has loved us, hath quickened us, * and hath made us sit together in CHRIST JESUS, that He might show us the abundant riches of His grace. V. The meek also shall increase their joy in the LORD, and the poor among men shall rejoice in the HOLY ONE of Israel. And hath made.
R. 8. I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Come to Me, O ye wise virgins. * Lay up oil in your vessels until the Bridegroom shall come. V. At midnight there was a cry made, Behold, the Bridegroom cometh; go ye out to meet him. Lay up.	R. 8. At midnight there was a cry made, * Behold, the Bridegroom cometh; go ye out to meet him. V. O ye prudent Virgins, trim your lamps. Behold. Glory. Behold.	R. 8. We have been filled with Thy mercy, O LORD, and we have been glad and rejoice in Thy salvation. * We have been comforted for the days wherein Thou hast plagued us, and for the years wherein we have suffered adversity. V. Our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory. We have been.

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ABERDEEN.	ROMAN.	PARISIAN.
R. 9. Grant to us, O LORD, pardon of our ſins, and at the interceſſion of the Saints, whoſe ſolemnity to-day we celebrate, * give us ſuch devotion * that we may merit to attain to their ſociety. V. May their merits aſſiſt us, whom our own ſins fetter: may their interceſſion excuſe us, whom our own actions accuſe. Grant. Glory. That.	R. 9. None.	R. 9. Thou haſt redeemed us to GOD by Thy Blood, out of every kindred and tongue and nation. * And † Thou haſt made us a kingdom and a prieſthood to our GOD, and we ſhall reign. V. Thou ſhalt bring them in and plant them in the mountain of Thine inheritance. And. Glory. Thou haſt made.

Thus we have gone through one of the moſt remarkable ſeries of the Reſponſories in the Weſtern Offices. The Aberdeen, as we ſaid, keeps cloſe to the original theory; but, probably, there are very few who will not think that the partial change in the Roman is a great improvement; and we ourſelves are not aſhamed to confeſs that the Pariſian is yet more to our taſte.

We muſt remember that it was a long time, even in the Weſt, before any were admitted to the title of Confeſſors, except thoſe who had actually confeſſed Chriſt in torture, and come off with life. While, at the preſent time, all thoſe Saints in the Weſtern Church who are not Martyrs, are dignified with the title of Confeſſors, S. Martin being the firſt who obtained this honour, the Homologetes of the Eaſt is much more nearly confined to its original ſignification. At the ſame time, the various claſſes of Saints in the Oriental Church are far more minutely characterized than thoſe in the Weſt. Here, for example, we have Iſapoſtle as well as Apoſtle. This title is given to biſhops of Apoſtolic conſecration; to holy women, fellow-labourers with the Apoſtles, as S. Mary Magdalene and S. Priſcilla; to the firſt preachers of the faith in any country—as we ſpeak of the Apoſtle of Bavaria, or Belgium, or Northumberland; and to the Princes, like Conſtantine or Vladimir, under whoſe auſpices Chriſtianity became eſtabliſhed in their country. Then we have the *megalo-martyr*, for thoſe who were more eſpecially illuſtrious by their ſufferings; the *hiero-martyr*, for thoſe who were prieſts as well as martyrs; the *hoſio-martyr*, for the religious of both ſexes who obtained that crown; and the *thaumaturgos* or wonder-worker, attributed to Saints of all deſcriptions who were more eſpecially conſpicuous for the gift of miracles.

On ſuch a ſubject as that on which we are ſpeaking, nay, on each branch of it, whole volumes might be written. But we muſt next turn our attention to the occurrence and concurrence of one Feſtival with another; the treatment of which difficulty forms one of the moſt ſtriking advantages poſſeſſed by the Weſtern over the Eaſtern Church.

In caſe any of our readers ſhould be unacquainted with theſe

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technical terms, he muſt obſerve: one Feſtival *occurs* with another when the two feaſts fall on the ſame day; as if Holy Thurſday happened on May 1, SS. Philip and James. One Feſtival *concurs* with another, when its vigil falls on that other; S. Mark would concur with Eaſter, if Eaſter were on the 24th of April.

Every ſuch difficulty is arranged by means of two little tables: but this is a late invention; and the earlier miſſals, ſuch as the Incunabula, and thoſe of the firſt thirty years of the ſixteenth century, have very long and laborious rules for explaining what ſervice is to be ſaid in caſe of occurrences. At the longeſt, however, they were nothing to compare for length with the *typicon* of the Greek, the *ouſtaff* of the Ruſſian Church.

Each of theſe is compriſed in a thick folio volume; and nothing can be more puzzling than the directions ſo given. But here we may obſerve the greater flexibility of the Weſt. The Weſtern Church, when two important Feſtivals occur, can tranſlate the one: the Eaſtern knows no ſuch arrangement; neither in the Oriental Church is a Feſtival ever omitted. Take, therefore, ſuch an extreme caſe as the Annunciation occurring with Good Friday; the ſervice is of both; and to a Weſtern ſtudent the effect is extremely jarring and unpleaſant. Eaſtern ritualiſts, however, admire the junction of the two, as one of the chief beauties of their Office Book; and all one can ſay is, that great allowance muſt be made for uſe on both ſides. The earlier Weſtern cuſtom had much more reſemblance to the Eaſt than has the preſent. Thus, according to modern Roman uſe, if Lady Day falls in Holy Week, it is transferred to the Monday after Low Sunday. But according to Sarum uſe, if it fell on the Monday, Tueſday, or Wedneſday in Holy Week, it was celebrated on that day.

Now this queſtion of occurrences aſſumes great importance with reſpect to our own Prayer-book. No doubt, had tables been the cuſtom at that time, the Reformers would have adopted them, and ſo left us a certain rule. But as the rubrics on the ſubject were then ſo very lengthy, for the ſake of that brevity on which the compilers of the Prayer-book ſo much prided themſelves, they were no doubt paſſed by. And here ariſes our great difficulty; we cannot in this reſpect follow the Sarum Uſe, becauſe we have no power to tranſlate a Feſtival. That is to ſay, though we have known inſtances in which, on their own authority, individual clergymen have done ſo, it ſeems doubtful how far they might not be contravening the Act of Uniformity by ſuch a practice. The queſtion then ariſes, whether it is better for that year to omit entirely a Feſtival which

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would have been tranſlated, or irregularly to commemorate it. Our own practice has always been the former: but if it is to be commemorated at all, it ſhould be in the ſimpleſt way, merely by the addition of the Collect. Yet to our minds there is ſomething extremely unpleaſing, on ſuch a great Feaſt as the Aſcenſion, to commemorate additionally SS. Philip and James; or, on Eaſter Day, the Annunciation, or S. Mark.

There was a curious occurrence in the laſt century between a State- and a Church-Feſtival. George II. ſucceeded to the crown on the 11th of June. The Acceſſion Service was printed with a ſpecial notice that the Feaſt of S. Barnabas was to be entirely ignored; and accordingly for twenty-ſix years that Apoſtle had no commemoration in the Engliſh Church. Then came the change of Kalendar; and Archbiſhop Herring exerted himſelf to procure an alteration. A freſh rubric thenceforward fixed the king's acceſſion to the 22nd of June.

The idea entertained by the biſhops of Charles II.'s time as to occurrences, may be ſeen by the rubric prefixed to the now abrogated ſervice for the Reſtoration. If the day happened to be Aſcenſion Day or Whitſun Day, the State Collect only was added; if it were Monday or Tueſday in Whitſun-week, or Trinity Sunday, the State Pſalms alſo were ſaid; but if it fell on any other Sunday, the whole State Service took precedence of the Sunday Office. But even on Whitſun Day the proper hymn ſupplanted the Venite. In the rubric for our preſent Acceſſion Service, that office is ordered to be ſaid on Sundays, without any notice of the fact that the 20th of June might juſt fall on Trinity Sunday; in which caſe, ſurely no one would be ſo Eraſtian as to obey the rubric literally.

In many of the Gallican Breviaries, a further difficulty ariſes with reſpect to thoſe Feſtivals which, though inferior in the Church's eſtimation, are kept as holy days by the people. It might, for example, happen that a local biſhop who, as the phraſe goes, was "feſtivated," might occur with ſuch a day as Whitſun Tueſday, or the octave of the Aſcenſion, which was not feſtivated. The leſſer feaſt ought in that caſe to have been tranſlated; but it is very hard to tranſlate a popular holiday; and the State alſo diſcouraged it, on account of money becoming due, or leaſes falling in—as was ſo often the caſe—on ſuch a Saint's day. If the Church allowed the day to be tranſlated, there might ariſe all kind of legal queſtions as to whether the original day to which the deed referred, ſtill held good, or altered in conſequence of the tranſlation. There are, therefore, in the Churches where occurrences like theſe are likely or poſſible, as in that of S. Brieuc, Quimper, (or, as it is generally called,

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Cornouailles,) and Mende, another ſet of rubrics which refer to ſuch caſes. Generally, the ſuperior Feaſt is allowed for the nonce to be tranſlated. And in caſe the holiday fell in Holy Week, although the office was tranſlated, the feſtivation that year was aboliſhed.

It is well known that ſomething of the ſame kind occurred in the Concordat of 1801, at the inſtance of Napoleon: the tranſference of the holiday and proceſſion of Corpus Chriſti to the following Sunday. Thoſe who have been in France or Belgium on the *Fête-Dieu* itſelf, know that it is ſcarcely obſerved at all: that not even in country places, do larger congregations than uſual attend.

We will now give a table of occurrences, ſuch as might be recommended by ſome future convocation for the uſe of the Engliſh Church.

OCCURRENCES.

	The Octave.	Within the Octave.	Double of the Second Claſs.	Double of the First Claſs.	Ordinary Sunday.	Sunday of the Second Claſs.	Sunday of the First Claſs.
Double of the Firſt Claſs.	4	6	2	8	4	4	1
Double of the Second Claſs	4	6	8	1	4	1	1
Within the Octave	3	7	5	5	3	3	3
The Octave	7	4	3	3	4	3	3

1. Tranſlation of the firſt; office of the ſecond.
2. Office of the firſt; tranſlation of the ſecond.
3. Commemoration of the firſt; office of the ſecond.
4. Office of the firſt; commemoration of the ſecond.
5. Nothing of the firſt; office of the ſecond.
6. Office of the firſt; nothing of the ſecond.
7. Office of the more worthy; commemoration of the leſs worthy.
8. Office of the more worthy; tranſlation of the leſs worthy.

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CONCURRENCES.

Second Vespers of	*First Vespers.*	Within the Octave.	Octave.	Double of the Second Class.	Double of the First Class.	Any Sunday.
Sundays of the First or Second Cl.	4	3	3	3	0	
Ordinary Sundays.	4	3	1	1	0	
Double of the First Class	2	4	4	6	4	
Double of the Second Class. . .	4	4	6	3	4	
Octave.	4	6	3	1	4	
Within the Octave	6	3	1	1	3	

1. All of the following; nothing of the preceding.
2. All of the preceding; nothing of the following.
3. Office of the following; commemoration of the preceding.
4. Office of the preceding; commemoration of the following.
5. Office of the more worthy; commemoration of the less worthy.

To make the table complete, we must add that—

Sundays of the First Class are: I. of Advent, I. of Lent, Passion, Palm, Easter, Low, Pentecost, Trinity. Sundays of the Second Class are: the others of Advent, the others of Septuagesima.

And that the following are Greater Feriæ, which are always commemorated by the addition of the preceding Sunday Collect: Advent, Lent, Ember Days, Rogation Monday. Let us now apply these rules to the anniversaries which will take place during the remainder of this year—[1859].

Sept. 29th, S. Michael and All Angels, the 30th being the Seventeenth Sunday after Trinity. Thus by the table of concurrences: (S. Michael being a Festival of the Second Class; the Seventeenth after Trinity an ordinary Sunday:) the intersecting square gives 4; 4 is explained to be the whole of the preceding, with commemoration of the following. Therefore on that Saturday evening the Lessons and First Collect are of S. Michael, the Second Collect of the Sunday.

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Oct. 28, SS. Simon and Jude, occurs with the Twenty-firſt Sunday after Trinity. SS. Simon and Jude is a Feſtival of the Second Claſs, the Sunday an ordinary Sunday. The interſecting ſquare gives 4; 4 is explained, office of the firſt, commemoration of the ſecond, the firſt being here the feaſt, the ſecond being the Sunday. The whole ſervice will then be of the Saint's Day, with the addition of the Sunday Collects. And the rule which governs the feaſt governs the vigil: therefore on Saturday, Oct. 27, the firſt Collect is of the Feſtival, the Second is of the Sunday. Theſe are all the occurrences, &c. which take place during this year.

Only one other obſervation we may make. Suppoſe that the Second Veſpers of an ordinary Sunday were to concur with the Firſt Veſpers of a Feſtival of the Firſt or Second Claſs, as if the 27th of October were the Eighteenth Sunday after Trinity; then the Firſt Leſſon at Veſpers is not the proper Leſſon for the Sunday, but for the day of the month; as in the inſtance we have given, it would not be Ezekiel xxiv. but Eccleſiaſticus ix.

It ſeems neceſſary, too, to ſay a few words as to the ſelection of Apocryphal Leſſons for the greater part of Saints' Days. The vulgar opinion ſeems to be that the compilers of the Prayer-book refuſed to have Sunday Lections from the Apocryphal Books, as not thinking them worthy of the ſolemnity of that day. The truth is juſt the oppoſite, as any one may convince himſelf who will ſtudy the Office drawn up by Jeremy Taylor in the neceſſities of the Great Rebellion. Juſt becauſe, in their opinion, an ordinary Saint's Day ſtood above an ordinary Sunday, the Reformers ſelected chapters from the Sapiential Books, whether Eccleſiaſticus, the Wiſdom of Solomon, Proverbs, or Eccleſiaſtes, which they thought the moſt diſtinctly and ſtrikingly uſeful. We may be quite certain that, had they entertained the ſame ideas regarding the relative ſanctity of the days which vulgar Proteſtants of the preſent time entertain, our Firſt Sunday-Leſſons would have been from the Apocrypha, and thoſe for the Saints' Days would have been ſelected from the leſs ſtriking and leſs generally uſeful of the hiſtorical or prophetical books. Never let this be forgotten, that a far greater proportion of the Apocrypha is read by us yearly than is read of the reſt of the Old Teſtament. The two Books of Eſdras, and the Prayer of Manaſſes, properly ſpeaking, cannot claim that title, and are in no ſenſe canonical. Of the reſt, we omit the two Books of Maccabees, but hardly a chapter in the remaining Books; while, on the other hand, fully one-third of the Old Teſtament is utterly omitted, and we have but two or three chapters of the Apocalypſe.

To turn to another ſubject: it may be well to ſay ſomething

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as to the various epochs at which the Saints commemorated in various Kalendars flouriſhed. We have been at the pains to reckon up thoſe who have a place in the Pariſian Breviary, according to their centuries; and the reſult is as follows:—

In Century I.	there are	36.	In Century IX.	there are	1.
II.	„	12.	X.	„	1.
III.	„	35.	XI.	„	1.
IV.	„	33.	XII.	„	5.
V.	„	19.	XIII.	„	13.
VI.	„	25.	XIV.	„	4.
VII.	„	23.	XV.	„	0.
VIII.	„	10.	XVI.	„	4.

In Century XVII. there are 4.

And from this ſkeleton of a tabular view, we get a very fair idea of the hiſtory of the Church of France. The firſt century is, of courſe, occupied by Apoſtolic and Iſapoſtolic feſtivals, pretty equally common to the whole Church; in the ſecond, while we loſe theſe, France was not yet ſufficiently evangeliſed to give us many ſaints; the third and fourth ages form the epoch of her glory; in the fifth there is a remarkable fall, to be accounted for from the anarchical breaking up of the Roman Empire, which has left its impreſs on the table; in the ſixth and ſeventh centuries, again, the Gallican Church ſhone forth brightly; in the eighth, ſhe began to grow dim; the ninth, tenth, and eleventh were days of darkneſs, and give us between them but three ſaints; in the twelfth, the monaſtic reformation began to tell; the thirteenth was the ſecond ſpring of the Gallican Church; the fourteenth began well, but the miſeries of Engliſh invaſion ſoon overwhelmed it. Every one acquainted with French hiſtory would call the fifteenth, next to the eighteenth, its worſt age, and it made no addition to its Hagiology. The ſixteenth and ſeventeenth have each four Saints, S. Vincent de Paul and S. Francis de Sales being the brighteſt ſtars of that little conſtellation.

We are fond of ſpeaking of the England of Saints. But how many more Saints have the French Sees added to the Kalendar of the Church than any of our own! This, of courſe, ariſes partly from the fact, that the earlier French Biſhoprics had already exiſted five hundred years when our own were formed; but ſtill, even with this excuſe, we fear that the difference is not entirely accounted for. We will now take a few Gallican Breviaries, and notice the Saints peculiar to each See which they commemorate; and they ſhall be the Pariſian, that of Metz, and that of Nantes. By way of contraſt with this,

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we will then do the ſame thing for the Toledo and other Breviaries.

Jan.	PARIS.	NANTES.	METZ.
3	S. Genovefa, V. 512.	S. Genovefa, V. 512.	
4	Rigobert, Biſhop of Rheims, 743.		Genovefa, V. 512.
14	Hilary, Biſhop of Poitou, 368.	The ſame.	The ſame.
15	Maurus, Abbat of Glanfeuil, VI. Century.	The ſame.	
	Bonitus, Biſhop of Clermont, 710.		
16	William, Biſhop of Bourges, 1209.		
19	Sulpicius Pius, Biſhop of Bourges, 644.		
	S. Launomar, near Chartres, Abbat, 594.		
27	Julian, firſt Biſhop of Le Mans, III. or IV. Cent.	The ſame.	
30	Bathildis, Queen, 680.		
	Radegund, V. 680.		Radegund, V. 680.
Feb.			
6	Vedaſtus, B. of Arras, 539.		Vedaſtus, B. of Arras, 539.
10	S. William de Mala Valle, Hermit, 1157.		
March			
1	Albinus, B. of Angers, 549.	The ſame.	
3		Guingalous, Abbat near Quimper, 532.	
6			Chrodogang, B. of Metz, 767.
10	Droctoveus, 1ſt Abbat of S. Vincent at Paris, 578.		
12		Paul, 1 B. of S. Pol de Léon, 573.	
30	Regulus, 1 B. of Senlis, 320.		
April			
16		Paternus, 1 B. of Vannes, 448.	
22	Invention of SS. Dionyſius, Ruſticus, and Eleutherius, 630.		
	Opportuna, V. 770.		
30	Eutropius, B. of Saintes and M. III. Cent.	Eutropius, B. of Saintes and M. III. Cent.	
May			
2			Tranſlation of S. Clement, 1 B. of Metz, 1090.
4		Briocus, 1 B. of S. Brieuc, 502.	
11	Mamertus, B. of Vienne, 475.	Gildas, Abbat, VI. Cent.	
13		Mamertus, B. of Vienne, 475.	Mamertus, B. of Vienne, 475.
16	Honoratus, B. of Amiens, 600.		
19	Ivo, P. of Quimper, 1303.	Ivo, P. of Quimper, 1303.	
24	Donatian and Rogatian, M.M. 287	DONATIAN and ROGATIAN, M. M. 287. (Greater Solemn.)	
28	Germanus, B. of Paris, 576.		
June			
2	Pothinus, B. of Lyons, Blandina, V. and 46 other Martyrs, 177.	As Paris.	As Paris.
3	Clotildis, Q. of France, 537.	Clotildis, Q. of France, 537.	Clotildis, Q. of France, 537.
6			Claudius, Archbp. of Beſançon, 581.
7		Mereadoc, B. of Vannes, 600.	
8	Medardus, B. of Noyon, 525.	As Paris.	As Paris.
10	Landeric, B. of Paris, 656.		
16		Similianus, B. of Nantes, IV. Century.	
18		Hervacius, Monk, near S. Pol de Léon, VI. Cent.	
21		Merennus, Abbat, near S. Maclou, 617.	

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June	PARIS.	NANTES.	METZ.
25	Gohardus, Aglibertus, and their companions, Martyrs, III. Cent.	Gohardus, B. of Nantes, 843.	
28	Irenæus, B. of Lyons, and Doctor of the Church, M. 202.	As in Paris.	As in Paris.
30	S. Theobald, Hermit—Normandy, 1066.		

These six months will afford a very good example of local saints, since, with the exception of S. Hilary, S. Mamertus, S. Pothinus, and S. Irenæus, none of the holy men here commemorated have been received into the general Kalendar of the Church. Let us make another selection of the same kind; and this time, instead of comparing three Churches of the same nation, let us take three illustrious Churches of different nations. They shall be: Aberdeen for Scotland; Toledo for Spain; Cologne for Germany:—

Jan.	ABERDEEN.	COLOGNE.	TOLEDO.
7	Kentigerna, Matron.		
8	Nathalanus, Bish.		
9	Felanus, Abbot.		
11		Death of the Third King.	
16	Furse, Abbot.		
21			Fructuosus, Martyr.
23			ILDEFONSO, Archbp. of Toledo: Double of the Second Class, with an Octave.
24			Descent of the B. V. into the Cathedral of Toledo.
28			Julian, B. of Concha: Double of the Second Class.
29	Voloc, Bishop.		
30	Glascian, Bishop.		Valerius, B. of Saragossa: Octave of S. Ildefonso.
Feb.			
1			Cæcilius, B. and M.
5	Modanus, Abbot.		
12			First translation of S. Eugenius, Archbp. of Toledo.
17	Finnanus, B.		
18	Colmannus, B.		
March			
1	Monan, Confessor. Mornan, B.	Huicbert, B.	Helladius, Archbp. of Toledo.
6	Baldric, B.		
8	Duthac, B.		
10	Kessog.		Julian, Archbp. of Toledo.
11			Eulogius, Presbyter and Martyr.
12	Constantine, King & Martyr.		
14	Kevoca, V.		
16		Heribert, B.	
18	Finian, B.		
26		Ludger, B.	

These three months may suffice as an example of the above sees. Now let us turn to another subject.

Besides the commemoration of Saints, there are in certain local Kalendars notices of national events, connected with the well-being of the Church. Thus, in the Parisian Breviary, we have on the 18th of August a commemoration of the victory of

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Philip the Fair in Flanders, A.D. 1304. It is worth while to give the Leſſons which refer to this event. In the firſt nocturn, the lections of the occurring Scripture. In the ſecond nocturn :—

FOURTH LESSON.

Philip the Fair, King of the French, in the year 1304, about the Feaſt of S. Mary Magdalene, having ſet forth with his brothers Charles and Louis, and a large army, into Flanders, pitched his tents near Mons, where was the camp of the rebel Flemings. But when, on the 18th of Auguſt, which was the Tueſday after the Aſſumption of S. Mary, the French had from morning till evening ſtood on the defence, and were reſting themſelves at nightfall : the enemy, by a ſudden attack, ruſhed on the camp of the King with ſuch fury, that the body-guard had ſcarce time to defend him.

R. Come from Lebanon, my Spouſe, * come and thou ſhalt be crowned.† The odour of thy ſweet ointments is above all perfumes. *V.* The Righteous Judge ſhall give a crown of Righteouſneſs. Come. Glory. The odour.

FIFTH LESSON.

At the beginning of the fight, the life of the King was in great danger. But ſhortly after, his troops crowding together from all quarters to his tent, where the battle was ſharpeſt, obtained an illuſtrious victory over the enemy. The pious King immediately underſtood that this had been won by no human hand, but from GOD, at the interceſſion of the Mother of GOD ; whence, with all humility, he aſcribed the whole praiſe of the victory to Him Who had ſhown Himſelf the defender of the moſt righteous cauſe.

R. Thou art all fair, My Love, * there is no ſpot in thee : come from Lebanon, † the odour of thy garments is as the odour of incenſe. *R.* They that have not defiled their garments, they ſhall walk with Me in white, for they are worthy. There is no. Glory. The odour.

SIXTH LESSON.

But that the memory of ſuch a benefit ſhould be tranſmitted to poſterity, and that due honour ſhould be paid to the Virgin Mary for this celeſtial help, Philip, by a deed, dated in the Camp near Lille, in the month of September, gave to the Church of Paris an annual revenue of a hundred francs for ever for the uſe of the Dean and Chapter, on this condition, that this revenue ſhould be diſtributed among thoſe only who attend at the Firſt Veſpers, at Matins, and at Maſs, on this day.

R. Righteouſneſs ſhall go before thee, and the glory of the LORD ſhall be thy rereward ; * the LORD ſhall fill thy mind with glory. *V.* An entrance ſhall be abundantly adminiſtered into the eternal kingdom. And the glory. Glory. The LORD.

This may ſerve as an example of ſo very undeſirable a mixture of politics and religion. The great Triumph of the Croſs, celebrated in all the Spaniſh Breviaries, on the 14th of July, ſtands on a very different footing, becauſe it was that victory which cruſhed the Saracen power in Spain, and made that nation a part of the Chriſtian republic of States. We will not trouble the reader with Reſponſories ; but they are not unworthy of the ſubject : and the Leſſons, from the various parts of the New Teſtament which treat of the Croſs, are ſingularly beautiful. In

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the Churches of Sardinia a moſt offenſive ſervice was in vogue till the end of the laſt century, in which the defeat of the French at Saſſari was commemorated; the hymns, to excite the popular paſſion to the utmoſt, were vernacular, and began thus:—

Muiran, muiran los Franceſos,
Ils trahidors de Saſſareſos,
Qui han fit la trahicio
Al molt alt rey de Arago.

We ought now to ſpeak of the various *memoriæ technicæ* which are to be found in moſt Kalendars. No doubt the ordinary run of uneducated prieſts in the Middle Ages found conſiderable difficulty in remembering the ſucceſſion of Leſſons which made up the Church's year. The barbarous verſes in which they are ſet forth can only remind one of the *Memoria Technica* for the order of the Epiſtles, itſelf, we believe, of the time of Queen Elizabeth.

Rom. Cor. Cor. Gal. Ephes. Phil. Col. Thes. Theſſalo. Tim. Tim.
Tit. Phil. Hebrews, James, Pet. Pet. 3 John, Jude, Revelation.

Take, for example, theſe, which are from the Aberdeen Breviary:—

Poſt Tres Perſonas librum regum dare debes.

(It is ſcarcely neceſſary to obſerve that the *poet* would teach us that the Book of Kings is to be commenced after Trinity,—as we commence it now. He then goes on to tell us which Vigils are alſo Faſts.)

Nat. Domini, Penthe, Johan. Paul. ſumptio ſancta:
Iſtis vigiliis jejunemus luceque Marci.
Petrus et Andreas, Paulus, cum Simone, Judas,
Ut jejunemus nos admonet, atque Matheus.

For July we have the following:—

Et poſt Sampſonem ſapientem da Salomonem.

(That is, after the Feaſt of S. Sampſon—ſome of our readers may remember his church at York—on July 28, the Wiſdom of Solomon is begun.)

For Auguſt we have:—

Poſt Auguſtinum doctorem Job lege juſtum.

(That is, after S. Auguſtine's Day.)

In September:—

Tobiam dictum poſt Protum atque Jacintum:
Subjungas Judith poſt vigiliamque Mathei:
Poſt Sanctum Coſinam dabis hiſtoriam Macabeo.

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(That is, Tobit is begun after the 11th of September, the Feaſt of SS. Protus and Jacinthus: Judith after the Vigil of S. Matthew: the Maccabees after S. Coſmas, Sept. 27.)

For October:—

Poſt Judam Simonem ſubjungas Ezekielem.

For November we have a very neat line:—

Adventus Domini ſequitur ſolemnia Lini.

(That is, the firſt Sunday after the Feaſt of S. Linus, Nov. 26th, is Advent Sunday.)

Some ſuch practical *memoriæ* have kept their place in village recitations; thus:—

Firſt comes David, then comes Chad,
Then comes Winnold as if he were mad.

Or again—and any one in the habit of daily ſervice at the moſt uſual time muſt often have admired its truth:—

S. Matthew, get candleſticks new:
S. Matthi, lay candleſticks by.

And ſo the well-known dread which mediæval ages had of the occurrence of Good Friday with the Annunciation, was expreſſed by:—

When our Lady falls in our LORD's lap,
Then let England look for miſhap.

We had occaſion to ſpeak in a former paper of the tendency that exiſted, during the later period of the Middle Ages, to ſubſtitute, for the long Ferial Pſalms, Saints'-day offices wherever it was practicable. We were not aware, when we wrote that article, of a ſingular rubric in ſome of the early German Breviaries; we quote it from the Cologne:—

Et ideo nemo aſcribat feriis in Kalendario vacantibus ſanctum aut ſanctos, niſi Patronos ipſius legentis. Aliqui ex pigritiâ requirentes ſanctum aut ſanctos ex aliis Kalendariis, volentes illum aut illos ſervare ubi in Kalendario predictæ eccleſiæ Feria vacat, ut non legantur Nocturni: illi errant. Quia debent ſervare id quod eſt debitum et inſtitutum ſecundum majorem eccleſiam ſuæ dioceſis et non quod eſt eis placitum; ſecundum dictum beati Hieronymi qui dicit: Ingratum eſt Spiritui Sancto quidquid obtuleris, neglecto eo ad quod teneris.

We might alſo ſpeak at ſome length of the Mediæval Feſtivals which later times have diſpenſed with altogether. Such, for example, were:—The Feaſt of the Invention of the Child, on the Friday after Sexageſima, for which ſeveral elegant hymns were written in German Breviaries; the Feaſt of the Face of our LORD—a very pretty ſimple hymn may be ſeen on this day

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in the Meiſſen Breviary; it was on the 15th of January; the Feaſt of the Blood of our LORD—this, in early Breviaries, is marked for the 26th of March. And the reaſon is, that to the 25th of March is attributed, in moſt Mediæval Kalendars, the Paſſion, and to the 27th the Reſurrection. In Venice, this commemoration takes place on the firſt Friday in March; in the dioceſe of Linz on the Monday after Trinity. The Feaſt of the Paſſion is marked in many Breviaries for the 15th of November. The Feaſt of the Hair of our LORD was celebrated on the Thurſday before Trinity Sunday, in ſome Churches where this relic was venerated. The Feaſt of the Milk of our Lady was not a very uncommon commemoration in Germany, and eſpecially in the province of Salzburg, where a noted relic of this kind was kept: it was on the octave of the Nativity of S. Mary: and hence, no doubt, the title *Liebfrauenmilch* to the excellent German wine of that name. Again, there was the Feaſt of the Aſs, which was celebrated at Rouen with ſuch ſingular pomp, and in which, inſtead of Amen, the reſponſe to all the prayers was Hinhan. The Feaſt of the Diviſion of the Apoſtles was a moſt celebrated one in Germany for the 15th of July, and has given riſe to ſome of the fineſt early ſequences which we poſſeſs. Many of the Gallican Breviaries occupy the Fridays of Lent with various commemorations of our LORD. For example: Firſt Friday, the Feaſt of His Tears; Second, of the LORD'S Prayer; Third, of the LORD'S Diſcourſes; Fourth, of the LORD'S Parables; Fifth, of the LORD'S Sufferings. Theſe laſt-named commemorations, it need hardly be ſaid, are among the very lateſt developments.

Among the curioſities of Mediæval Kalendars muſt be reckoned thoſe half-religious, half-medical, verſes which are to be found at the end of each month. Take, for example, the following, which occur in moſt of the Breviaries in North Italy. For January:—

> In Jano claris calidiſque cibis potiaris,
> Atque decens potus tibi ſit poſt fercula notus.
> Sedet enim medo potatus ut bene credo;
> Balnea tutus intres et venam findere cures.

We will give only one ſpecimen more:—

> Naſcitur occulta febris Februario multa:
> Potibus et eſcis ſi caute minuere velis.
> Tunc cave frigora, tunc de pollice funde cruorem:
> Suge favum mellis; pectoris morboſque curabit.

One of the peculiarities of Mediæval Breviaries was the poetical character of Reſponſories and Antiphons for local Saints. Let us take a few examples from the Aberdeen book. The Antiphons on the Feaſt of S. Magnus, April 16, ran thus:—

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1. Magnus ex proſapiâ
Magnâ percreatus,
Actu, vitâ, moribus,
Major eſt probatus.

Beatus vir.

2. Prædis vacans promitur
Pravorum inſtinctu,
Et Paulus convertitur
In viæ procinctu.

Quare fremuerunt.

3. Saulus ecce Paulus fit;
Prædo fit patronus;
Perſecutor factus eſt
Plebis Paſtor bonus.

Domine quid.

Sometimes we have them in hexameters, as in the Feaſt of S. Urſula and the Eleven Thouſand Virgins :—

1. Purpureos flores cæleſti rore madentes
Decreto Domini famoſa Britannia miſit.

Domine Dominus.

2. In cunis poſitæ Baptiſmi fonte renatæ
Et fidei veræ ſunt legibus initiatæ.

Cæli enarrant.

3. Has pietatis amor ſibi fœderat ordine miro;
Dum retrahit mundo feſtinat reddere cœlo.

Domini eſt terra.

And ſometimes the miracles of the Saints are related in a way which to us has rather a ludicrous effect. Thus, at Lauds, on S. Macharius's Day :—

1. Nullum dedit otio
Tempus: vel orabat
Semper, vel colloquiis
Divinis vacabat.

Dominus regnavit.

2. Fixo piſcis gutture
Dron oſſe vexatur;
Sed ad Sancti ſubito
Preces liberatur.

Jubilate.

Now, remember that this feaſt was a *duplex principale* at Aberdeen: *the* great day of the year, in fact: (many of our readers will recollect the Cathedral of Old Machar.) And then judge how greatly that Breviary ſtood in need of a thorough Reformation, when Lauds, on one of its higheſt feſtivals, began thus :—

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Ant. 1. Never did he reſt a whit:
Either he was praying,
Or in reading holy writ
Pains and zeal diſplaying.
The Lord is King.

Ant. 2. In his throat a fiſh-bone lay;
Dron was troubled greatly:
But the Saint began to pray,
And relieved him ſtraightly.
O be joyful.

Theſe rhyming verſes are much more common in Engliſh and Scotch, than in Continental Breviaries. But Hexameters are alſo uſual in German Offices. Take, for example, this ſpecimen from the Cologne Breviary, on S. Lambert's Day. The Invitatory is:—

Eternum Trinumque Deum laudemus et Unum,
Qui ſibi Lambertum tranſvexit ad æthera ſanctum.

The Antiphons to the firſt Nocturn are:—

1. Orbita ſolaris præſentia gaudia confert;
Præſulis eximii Lamberti geſta revolvens. *Beatus vir.*

2. Hic fuit ad tempus Hildrici regis in aula:
Dilectus cunctis et vocis famine dulcis. *Quare fremuerunt.*

3. Sed poſt ut fidei devotus dogmata ſumpſit,
Doctrine cumulos illi ſapientia vexit. *Domine quid.*

But both in our own and the German Breviaries the Reſponſories are frequently in that ſingular half-dactylic meaſure, which was ſo great a favourite with Mediæval writers. For example, take thoſe on the Feaſt of S. Blaanus, the Patron of Dumblane, and a *duplex principale* in that Church:—

1. *R.* Adoleſcens Supremo placuit,
Et ſe cunctis pium exhibuit;
*Unde cœlum ingredi meruit.

V. Vitæ verbum multis aperuit,
Atque vitâ beatâ claruit.
Unde.

2 *R.* Domat carnis motus illicitos:
Vincit mundi conatus noxios.
*Terit hoſtis antiqui tribulos.

V. Manus mentem cordis et oculos
Pie tendens ſemper ad ſuperos.
Terit.

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3 *R.* O res mira! ſceptrum deſpicitur;
Atque mundi decus contempnitur;
*Et paupertas gratis eligitur.

V. Et totâ mente Chriſtus diligitur,
Ac pro Chriſto Corpus affligitur.
Et.

It would be, as we have already hinted, an intereſting inquiry which ſhould inveſtigate the different Breviaries which, ſince the invention of printing, have been employed in the Church. We have often wondered that no ſuch attempt has been made. We know that each of the following countries had its own family: (1.) Portugal, with perhaps ſeven different Breviaries; the chief, Liſbon, Evora, Braga, Santa Cruz de Coimbra. All theſe we have ſtudied. (2.) Spain, with twenty-two which we could count up, and probably as many more which we could not; the chief, Toledo, Seville, Santiago de Compoſtella, Oviedo, Valença, Salamanca, and, in later times, Granada and Cordova. (3.) France, with more than a hundred and fifty different rites, each of theſe to be divided into the Mediæval and Reformed arrangements. Of the Reformed arrangement, its three chief families are Paris, Amiens, and Rouen. Then again, (4.) Germany, of the offices of which we do not pretend to an equal knowledge, but ſhould divide them into the principal families of Cologne, Magdeburg, Salzburg, Cracow, Ratiſbon. Next (5.) Denmark, of which perhaps Roſkild and Sleſwig are the only two remarkable rites. Then (6.) Norway, with its one Breviary, Trondjem; (7.) Sweden, with its four; (8.) Lapland, with its one Åbo; (9.) that which is now Pruſſia, with five or ſix. Going ſouthward—(10.) Italy; north, with five or ſix completely different families (we ſay nothing of Milan); Venice; Ravenna; Görz; Turin; alſo Switzerland, with the Genevan and Chur Uſes. Of the ſouth of Italy and Sicily, we ſay—for we are ſorry to ſay we know—nothing; but that there muſt have been ſeveral families here we can have no doubt. Add together the rites we have already counted up, and then remember that they ſimply repreſent the ſecular aſpect of the Church. We ſhould, after this, have to enter not only into the various religious orders, themſelves differing very widely from each other, as all from the ſecular Breviary, but into the national ramifications of thoſe orders, which would make, for example, a Poliſh Premonſtratenſian Breviary utterly different from a Gallican Book of the ſame order; and then ſee what an enormous ſcope is open for Liturgical ſtudy, and that in a field in which abſolutely nothing has been effected. We believe that the ſeries of papers, of which this is one, is the only attempt which has been made, not only in England, but in

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Europe, at a commencement, however poor and imperfect—miſerably poor and imperfect it is—of the ſcience of Comparative Liturgiology (if we may borrow a term from anatomy). At all events, if there are any ſuch European attempts, they have excited little intereſt and produced no reſult. But that this ſcience will be purſued, and to an extent of which we at preſent have little idea, we cannot doubt. We are ſure that, in due time, given a Feſtival, and one or two of its leading points—ſay gradual, collect, and poſt-communion—and the genus and claſs of its Liturgical family will at once be pointed out. For, while we look forward to almoſt inconceivable progreſs in this ſtudy, we cannot cloſe our eyes to what has been already done. Fifty years ago, it would have ſeemed incredible that, were a hymn which he had never before ſeen laid before a practiſed hymnologiſt, he would be able to tell you the nation of its writer, and the date, to ſay the leaſt, within twenty years on one ſide or the other. Knowing what has been done in the paſt, we may, for the future—(and we uſe the words in no irreverent ſenſe)—"thank GOD, and take courage."

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V.

THE MOZARABIC LITURGY.*

AMIDST all the branches of the Catholic Church, the Spaniſh is that of which the hiſtory is the leaſt intelligible. In other nations, the brighter or obſcurer phaſes of religion ſeem to be in connection with each other; there is a ſequence in the progreſs of their eccleſiaſtical annals;—one part explains the other, and we may obtain a practical leſſon from the whole. But in Spain all ſeems out of joint. The five great epochs of the Church,—her annals before the Arian invaſion—under the Arians—her reſtoration—the Mahometan conqueſt—her final victory,—bear no mutual reſpondence; they are rather ſeparate pieces of hiſtory, which have a forced and accidental connection, but no eſſential unity. There are, indeed, two keynotes which, unhappily, characterize the whole hiſtory of the Peninſular Church—laxity of morals, and violence in the propagation of the faith. She never appears as the uncorrupted Bride of CHRIST in the midſt of an adulterous and ſinful generation; ſhe never appears as the tender, loving mother, the winner of Arian heretics or apoſtates. Faith is too often made to ſerve inſtead of purity;—and fire and ſword are the means of propagating that faith.

How it was that Spain and Aquitaine were plunged into ſuch an exceſs of licentiouſneſs at the time of the Viſigothic invaſion, is one of thoſe myſteries of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory that cannot be ſolved. The teſtimony of Salvian is no leſs fearful than deciſive.

* Lateiniſche und Griechiſche Meſſen, aux dem zweiten bis ſechſten Jahrhundert. Herauſgegeben von Franz Joſeph Mone, Archivdirector in Karlſruhe. Frankfort am Main. 1850. [Latin and Greek Liturgies, from the ſecond to the ſixth century. Edited by F. J. Mone, Librarian at Karlſruhe.]

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He imputes to his fellow Catholics, as open, as undenied, as notorious, as abounding in every city, crimes of which it is impoſſible to think without ſhuddering; and with theſe he contraſts the purity, the devotion, and the high morals of the Arian conquerors. Vandals in Africa, Suevi in Portugal, Viſigoths in Spain, all found the ſame corruption, all won for themſelves the ſame praiſe;—but Spain is the country that is branded with the deepeſt imputation of vice.* One of the few victories which Roman troops gained over the invaders, was won by a ſurpriſe on Sunday, when the heretics were at their devotions. Doubtleſs, the Arian domination purified the lives of the Catholics. The ſcum of the old, drifted off into the new eſtabliſhment: pollution changed places, and GOD gave His Church another time of probation. The preaching of S. Martin of Dume, and the ſplendid career of S. Martin of Tours, touched the heart of Charraric, King of the Suevi: Gallicia returned to the faith. About twenty-five years later, the martyrdom of S. Hermenigild won his father, King Levigild, to an acknowledgment, if not to the profeſſion, of the truth; and Recared, the brother and ſucceſſor of the martyr, confeſſed the Conſubſtantial in the Third Council of Toledo. It is worth while to notice, that neither in this Synod, nor in that of Braga (A. D. 561), which reconciled Gallicia, is any hint given that immorality had widely ſpread among the laity: a melancholy contraſt with the Canons afterwards paſſed when the eſtabliſhment was Catholic.

A hundred and forty years brought back all, and more than, its old corruptions to the Church of Spain. The Moſlems paſſed the ſtrait. The empire of the Viſigoths was daſhed to pieces on the banks of the Guadalete. Emerging from a tumultuous conflict of civil war, Abderraham-ben-Moaviah eſtabliſhes an independent emirate at Cordova. Six of his deſcendants ſucceed him in his title and in his power:—the ſeventh, Abderrahman III. takes the name of Khalif. Follow the long and weary ſtruggles of the Ommiadæ and the Edriſites; till Spain falls into independent emirates, and the entry of the Almoravides in the eleventh century raiſes, for a while, the ſinking fortunes of the Muſſulmans, and gives them a further exiſtence of four hundred years.

This is the hiſtory of more than three centuries. But in all that time, how little is there in the Church on which the annaliſt can dwell with pleaſure! Valour everywhere diſplayed: city after city recovered to the faith: moſque after moſque reconciled:

* "Quid? Hiſpanias nonne vel eadem vel majora forſitan crimina perdiderunt?" is Salvian's expreſſion.

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but of holineſs, of purity, of love, little enough. Affonſo VI, the great monarch of Caſtille and Leon, the recoverer of Toledo, and the prop of the Spaniſh Church, had two concubines, beſides his legitimate wives. As the Croſs went on triumphing over the Creſcent, though it be the golden age of Spain, S. Ferdinand is the one great and bright character of its mediæval annals.

Granada was taken: and then began that remarkable phaſe of religion which culminated in Philip II. Gloomy, moroſe, auſtere; ſhutting out, like its churches, light and cheerfulneſs: —finding its palace in the Eſcurial, its architect in Herrera, its painter in Velaſquez, its poet in Calderon, its life in Madrid, its funeral in the *Panteon de los Infantes*. Very grand it was and ſolemn: very moral and full of etiquette: as grave as the funeral ſaloon at Galapagar, and as pitileſs as the Inquiſition. And yet this ſyſtem produced a Ximenes, and a S. Thereſa.

Its externals remained after the War of Succeſſion, but its life was gone. Plunging deeper and deeper, during the dynaſty of the Bourbons, into ſenſuality and pollution, her monaſteries ſpreading day by day, and day by day relaxing in fervour, the Spaniſh Church was daſhed againſt the terrific onſet of French infidelity. A Catholic people ſaw ſo-called Catholics exceed Mahometans in luſt and ſacrilege; and ſo-called Proteſtants the guardians of their churches, the reſpecters of their property, the defenders of their honour. They ſaw a Soult worſhipping one day the miraculous image of Bouças, and the next, maſſacring monks, polluting altars, and inſulting nuns. They ſaw a ſink of degradation and vice, like Ferdinand, expend his piety in embroidering a petticoat for S. Mary. And they ſaw honour, and courage, and moral conduct, among thoſe alone whom they were taught to call heretics.

What wonder that the miſerable reſult is Spain as we now ſee it! A Clergy impoveriſhed, but not holy;—a middle claſs, when not utterly careleſs, utterly infidel: a peaſantry, with all the ſeeds of faith yet ſtrong in their hearts, but finding no other nouriſhment for it than the wildeſt exceſſes of Mariolatry;—expending all their devotion on the *Corte de Maria en ſus mas celebres imagines*, and worked up to ſuch horrid blaſphemies as *Viva la Santiſima, y muerte a todos los Dios!* *

* The urging the moſt extreme worſhip of S. Mary, as the remedy for a corrupt age, is remarkably exemplified by a ſermon of the great Portugueſe divine, Antonio Vieira, a preacher whoſe eloquence ranks him with Maſſillon or Boſſuet, and whoſe practical inculcation of duties ſets him above them. Preaching at Maranhão, in Brazil, in the year 1657, a city at that time rivalling Sodom in wickedneſs, and taking for his ſubject *Our Lady of Light*, he draws a parallel between our Lady as the Light, and our LORD as the Sun. And his ſermon turns on theſe four heads:—that the light has higher

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But it is even more curious to trace from the very earlieſt times that headſtrong violence which is the great characteriſtic of the Spaniſh Church. The perſecution of Priſcillian by Idacius and Ithacius, ſet the firſt example of death for hereſy. The unauthorized introduction of ſingle affuſion into the Ritual, and of the *Filioque* into the Creed, opened the door for the diſaſtrous ſchiſm of Eaſt and Weſt. Even the martyrs were not free from the needleſs provocation of their perſecutors. S. Eulalia under Diocletian;—the Martyrs of Cordova and S. Eugenius himſelf, under the Moſlems, did their utmoſt to bring on themſelves the ſword of their tyrant. Seven centuries of a war for the propagation of the faith,—ſeven centuries of partial intermixture with a people that had ſpread the Koran by the ſword,—a perpetual cruſade, and ſuch victories as Navas de Toloſa, Campo d' Ourique, and the river Salado, could not but foſter this warlike ſpirit. The intermixture of Moors and Jews, when Spain became a Chriſtian monarchy, found an eaſier cure in the Inquiſition than

privileges than the ſun: is more benignant: is more univerſal: is more ready to haſten to our relief. ("Primeyra razão: porque a Luz he mais privilegiada que o Sol. Segunda: porque he mais benigna. Terceyra: porque he mais univerſal. Quarto: porque he mais appreſſada para noſſo bem.") It is no wonder that the ſermon ſhould draw to its concluſion thus: (the quotation will be new to moſt of our readers, and we make no apology for giving it):—"Having thee,"—he is addreſſing S. Mary,—"on one ſide, and thy Son on the other, that great ſervant and lover of both ſaid: *Poſitus in medio, quo me vertam neſcio.* And when Auguſtine confeſſes that he knows not, ignorance is pardonable. *Ut minus ſapiens dico*, I ſpeak as one that is ignorant, Moſt Holy Virgin, (let thy SON pardon me or not,) I, for my part, would rather turn to thee. He once left His Father for His mother, He will not think it ſtrange if I do the ſame. Let him that will have the prerogative of Eſau, I prefer the good luck of Jacob. Eſau was more loved and more favoured by his father: Jacob was more favoured and more loved by his mother: and Jacob carried off the bleſſing. And why? From the cauſe of which we have already ſpoken;—becauſe the exertions of his mother were more prompt than thoſe of his father . . . The mother of Jacob repreſented, in this occurrence, the moſt holy Mother, and he that has on his ſide the exertions of this Mother, always has on his ſide the will of GOD. Eſau had the exertions of his father; but when he arrived, he arrived late, becauſe, *notwithſtanding all the exertions that the Sun can make, thoſe of the Light arrive ſooner.* . . . This is that glorious difference which Saint Anſelm dared to ſay once, and all have repeated after him ſo many times,—'Salvation is ſometimes more ſpeedy by calling on the name of Mary, than by invoking the name of Jeſus.' Sometimes, ſaid the ſaint, *and I could wiſh that he had ſaid always, or almoſt always.*" This laſt ſentence is an excellent illuſtration of the manner in which an oratorical paſſage of an early or mediæval writer is brought forward as the groundwork of an enormous ſuperſtructure of dogmatic teaching, and how reckleſſly a clear rank forgery is attributed to a father like S. Auguſtine. We would not have done Vieira the diſhonour of quoting the above paſſage, did we not hope for another opportunity of doing juſtice to that moſt eloquent preacher and devoted miſſionary.

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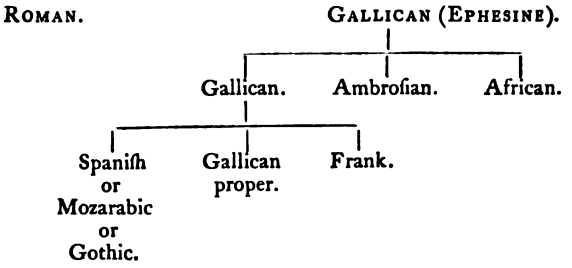
in Miſſionaries; juſt as Ximenes carried the ſtandard of the Croſs, like an earthly warrior, into the empire of Morocco, and Mexico was dragooned by Spaniſh adventurers into the love of Chriſt.

But it is with the Liturgy, rather than with the hiſtory, of the Spaniſh Church that we are now concerned;—and to that let us direct our attention.

The Spaniſh writers, influenced by a ſtrange kind of national pride, are wedded to two aſſertions: the firſt, that their Liturgy emanated from S. Peter, and was, therefore, the ſame as the original Roman Maſs; the ſecond, that while the Peninſula ſtuck faſt to the early rite, Rome, by ſucceſſive developments, departed from it. We ſhall ſee, by-and-bye, how impoſſible is this hypotheſis. Pinius, the learned Bollandiſt, who, to the thirty-ſecond volume of the *Acta Sanctorum*, beginning with the 6th of July, prefixed a Diſſertation on the Hiſpanic Liturgy, maintains that it was introduced by the Goths at their conqueſt of the country, and was thus derived, as their Church was, from Conſtantinople. This alſo, we ſhall ſee, from its ſtructure, to have been impoſſible: while, even were other circumſtances in favour of the hypotheſis, it is incredible that Catholic Biſhops would have ſurrendered their own national formulæ, for the purpoſe of accepting the office of invaders and heretics.

But the truth is, as it has generally been confeſſed ſince the inveſtigations of Ruinart and Mabillon, that the Mozarabic is ſimply an order of the two great claſſes of Weſtern Liturgies. If exhibited in a tabular form, they would ſtand thus:—



The names, however, of theſe are extremely ill-contrived; the great generic term Gallican, as oppoſed to Roman, and ſignifying that form of Liturgy which was apparently derived from Aſia Minor, (and ſo from S. John,) and which received its earlieſt development in the Church of Lyons;—this term, we ſay, is exceedingly inapplicable, and yet none other has been propoſed in its ſtead. So again the title of Gothic, as applied to the Spaniſh

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maſs, which is not in any ſenſe Gothic, is abſurd; while the name of Mozarabic, given to an office which was uſed long before the Arabic invaſion, is not leſs contrary to common ſenſe. Mone propoſes the name of Celtic, which would, at all events, be an improvement on the other titles.

We ſhall find, as we advance, ample cauſe to conclude, that the groundwork of the preſent Mozarabic Liturgy is coeval with the introduction of Chriſtianity into Spain, but that the Goths may poſſibly have added, and S. Leander certainly did introduce, ſome approximations to the Oriental rite. From the reeſtabliſhment of the Catholic faith our way becomes comparatively clear.

In the firſt place, it appears that when Gallicia returned to the fold of the Church, the National Office was ſo deeply corrupted both by Priſcillianiſm and by Arianiſm, that the Roman Liturgy was adopted in its ſtead. "It was agreed," ſays the fourth Canon of Braga, "that maſſes ſhould be celebrated by all "according to the ſame rite which Profuturus, formerly Biſhop "of this Metropolitical Church, received in writing from the au- "thority itſelf of the Apoſtolic ſee:" that is, from Pope Vigilius, in his letter of March 1, 538. Thus the Spaniſh rite was in that province thenceforth at an end.*

The Council of Toledo, however, in 589, purſued a different courſe. The national rite was here examined and made uniform. S. Leander of Seville, the life and ſoul of that Synod, and the intimate friend of S. Gregory the Great, ſeems to have reformed and digeſted it: and he, no doubt, who had been on a miſſion to Conſtantinople, introduced ſome of the Orientaliſms which are ſtill to be found in the office. From him it paſſed on to S. Iſidore of Seville, who ſo much improved, and ſo largely developed it, as to be called by ſome its author. John of Saragoſſa, S. Conantius of Palencia, S. Eugenius, and S. Ildefonſo, all added to the Spaniſh offices;—the latter eſpecially compoſed a large number of thoſe that now ſtand in the Ximenian books;—and thus the rite came down to the Mahometan invaſion. It then aſſumes the name of the Mozarabic office; a title which has ſtrangely puzzled ſcholars, and given riſe to the moſt abſurd derivations: without adverting to ſuch explanations as have been by ſome ſeriouſly adduced, that it was a rite ſuited for the common worſhip of Chriſtians and Mahometans. Some will have it to be properly the Mixto-arabic or Mixtarabic rite; that

* Leſlie, in the fourteenth ſection of his diſſertation *De Liturgiâ Gallicanâ*, endeavours to explain away the Canon of Braga; but, as it ſeems to us, very unſucceſsfully.

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is, the rite of thoſe Chriſtians who lived mixed among the Arabs. Others have invented a word "Muſa," which, according to them, means a Chriſtian. But this derivation reſts on about the ſame authority which good old Durandus gives for the word *blaſphemy:* from *blas*, a woman, and *pheme*, to talk: becauſe women generally talk folly. Others* will have Muſa, one of the original conquerors of Spain, to have been a principal friend to the Chriſtians, who, out of gratitude to him, prefixed his name to the Sacramentary. A thing utterly contrary to common ſenſe: beſides that they would ſurely have compounded, in that caſe, the word *Muſo-Chriſtians*, not *Muſo-Arabs*. The real derivation is ſimple enough: *Arab Arabe* ſignifying an Arab by deſcent (like a Hebrew of the Hebrews), *Arab Moſt-Arabe*, an Arab by adoption, and the latter term gradually having been ſoftened into *Mozarabe*†, and applied to the Liturgy.

We may well conceive with what corruptions the office muſt have become vitiated, from the mere courſe of centuries paſſed in an infidel population. But another circumſtance occurred which not only brought it into ſuſpicion, but actually infected many of its copies with hereſy. Elipandus, Archbiſhop of Toledo, introduced, in the year 783, his new teaching concerning the Filiation of the SON of GOD. His dogma, that our LORD, in ſo far as Man, was not the SON of GOD by nature, but by adoption, was clearly diluted Neſtorianiſm; and as ſuch met with the moſt determined oppoſition from Alcuin, and the orthodox prelates of France, and was finally condemned in the great Council of Frankfort. Elipandus, in order to ſupport his teaching, had either falſified various paſſages in the Mozarabic Office, or had found them corrupted to his hand by the negligence of tranſcribers; and thus he produced ſuch expreſſions as theſe: *Qui per adoptivi hominis Paſſionem dum ſuo non pepercit corpori;* and again, *Hodie Salvator noſter, poſt adoptionem carnis, ſedem repetiit Deitatis.* The Fathers of Frankfort, without inquiring whether the quotations were genuine or not, reply:—"It is "better to believe the teſtimony of GOD the FATHER concern- "ing His SON, than that of your Ildefonſo, who compoſed ſuch "prayers for you in the Office of Maſs, as the holy and uni-

* P. Florez, in diſcuſſing the origin of the word, makes an admiſſion which certainly one would not have expected from the firſt eccleſiaſtical writer of Spain. "Yo no entiendo el Arabigo, pero hallo en el *vocabuliſta* que Chriſto entre los Arabes ſe nombre Macih: y ſi eſto no baſta para el aſſunto, me remito a los intelligentes de eſte idioma." This is as bad as for a writer on the Anglo-Saxon Church to be ignorant of Anglo-Saxon.

† Hercolano very well obſerves (tom. i. p. 54): "A denominação *moſarabes* prevaleceu: mas é notavel que ainda no foral de Toledo, dado por Affonſo VI, no principio do ſeculo xii., ſejam chamados *moſtarabes*."

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" verſal Church of GOD never heard;"—and they even attribute the yoke of the Muſſulmans to the impiety of ſuch a ritual. But Alcuin ſaw more clearly, and boldly reproached Elipandus with having changed *aſſumpti* and *aſſumptionem* into *adoptivi* and *adoptionem.* Still, it is eaſier to give a bad name than to remove it. The hereſy of Elipandus fell; but an opinion got afloat that there was ſomething not altogether right about the office which he had quoted in its ſupport. It was formally approved, however, by John X. about A.D. 920, and ſeemed then to bid fair to remain the national uſe of Spain.

But Rome, with that intolerance of other rites which has ſo incalculably injured eccleſiaſtical antiquity, had her eye fixed on the Spaniſh Liturgy. The troublous pontificate of Alexander II. did not hinder him from determining to effect its abolition. Cardinal Hugo Candidus was charged as Legate with this affair: but the Spaniſh Biſhops preſſed him ſo convincingly with the names of S. Leander, S. Iſidore, and S. Ildefonſo, and with the formal approbation of Pope John X, that he returned to Rome without accompliſhing his object. The Biſhops of Calahorra, Oca, and Alava, were deſpatched to Italy to defend the national rite; and they found the Pope engaged in the Council of Mantua. The Breviary, Miſſal, and Ritual were expoſed to a rigorous examination of nineteen days, and were not only declared exempt from all ſuſpicion of hereſy, but pronounced worthy of the higheſt praiſe.

The continual efforts of Rome, however, were at laſt ſucceſsful. In Aragon, the Roman office was firſt introduced in the monaſtery of S. Juan de la Peña, on March 22, 1071, being the Tueſday of the ſecond week in Lent. Its introduction into the kingdom of Caſtille is more curious. Affonſo VI, after various negotiations with Pope S. Gregory VII. and S. Hugh, Abbat of Cluny, both of whom threw a great deal of miſtaken zeal into the matter, determined on denationaliſing the Church of Toledo. In ſome parts of his kingdom he experienced little reſiſtance; in others the diſſatisfaction was extreme. The fate of the two offices was committed, as a truly Spaniſh *ratio ultima*, to the trial of arms. Juan Ruiz, a native of Matanza del Rio Piſuerga, was champion of the Mozarabic office; the name of the knight who ſupported the Roman is not recorded. Whoever he were, he had the worſe cauſe and the weaker arm, and paid for his raſhneſs with his life. The King was unconvinced, and reſorted to another trial. A fire was kindled, and the two miſſals were thrown together into the flames. That of Rome was conſumed; that of Toledo leaped forth unhurt. Affonſo then interpoſed his ſimple authority; and commanded the abolition of

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the Spaniſh rite. This was done: but not without great difficulty; and the proverb was made on the occaſion:—

Quo volunt Reges
Vadunt leges;

in Spaniſh:—

Donde quieren Reyes,
Ali van leyes;

or, in Engliſh:—

Laws muſt
Where Kings luſt.

When Toledo, however, was reconquered by Affonſo, the Chriſtians roſe as one man againſt the abolition of their rite in this its mother city. The matter was finally compromiſed by a royal decree, that, while the Roman uſe ſhould be introduced in the new churches, the national rite ſhould remain in thoſe of ancient foundation; and it thus continued in the churches of S. Mary, S. Mark, S. Eulalia, S. Torquatus, SS. Juſta and Ruffina, S. Luke, and S. Sebaſtian.* To theſe churches various privileges were given from time to time by different Spaniſh ſovereigns; eſpecially by Affonſo the Wiſe, by Peter the Cruel, and by Ferdinand and Iſabella. Notwithſtanding theſe favours, the Roman uſe gradually inſinuated itſelf even into the Mozarabic foundations; and, towards the end of the fifteenth century, the national rite was ſaid only on high feſtivals, and even then in a corrupted form, and from uncritical MSS. An attempt was made to reſtore it in 1436, by Juan de Tordeſillas, Biſhop of Segovia. He, in that year, founded the College of S. Maria de Aniago, at the junction of the Piſuerga with the Duero, for thirteen clerks, who ſhould be bound by "Gothic" Rite; but it laſted only five years, and then became a Carthuſian foundation.

It remained for the great Cardinal Ximenes to renew this venerable office. His was a career which ſhows the corruption of the times, in nearly as ſtrong characters as it proves the excellence of the man. Thrown into priſon for the firmneſs with which he maintained his pretenſions to an expectative obtained

* Mr. Ford, in his account of the Mozarabic Rite, is as incorrect as he uſually is, when touching on matters of religion. "The features," ſays he, "of this Ritual are its ſimplicity,"—it is about the moſt complicated uſe that exiſts,—"and abſence of auricular confeſſion (!). The prayers and collects are ſo beautiful, that many have been adopted into our Prayer-book." It is ſcarcely neceſſary to ſay, that not one prayer, diſtinctively Mozarabic, has been ſo adopted.

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from the Pope, he finally triumphed over the Archbiſhop of Toledo, though both juſtice and worldly power were on the ſide of the latter; and then, not feeling himſelf ſafe in that dioceſe, changed his benefice for a cure at Siguença. Made Vicar-general, he was ſo oppreſſed by buſineſs that he ſought refuge among the Franciſcans. From the ſolitary convent, where he led a life of primitive auſterity, he was drawn forth to be Confeſſor to Queen Iſabella. To that office he was ſoon compelled to add the dignity of Provincial of his order, and commenced that reform which was no leſs hated than neceſſary. Elevated againſt his will to the Metropolitical See of Toledo, then the firſt ſtation for eccleſiaſtical wealth and influence in Europe, he carried on his reformation; and the laxity which it ſuperſeded is ſhown by the fact that more than a thouſand religious paſſed into Africa, and there apoſtatized, rather than embrace it. The Archbiſhop's gentleneſs to the Moors, whoſe kingdom of Granada had juſt fallen, drew multitudes to the Church. His zeal, however, was not altogether according to knowledge, when he cauſed foldsful to be baptized at once by aſperſion, and by one name.

He had hardly been conſecrated to Toledo, when he determined on reſtoring the Mozarabic Office, then in the very laſt ſtage of decay. His firſt ſtep was to print the office books. He entruſted th
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Toledo, the office of the Titular Saints was ſaid according to the national uſe; while in that of S. Juſta, the Feaſt of the Samaritan Woman was obſerved according to that ritual, on the firſt Sunday in Lent, and a ſermon preached on the ſubject.

The preſent ſtate of the Mozarabic Rite is this. It continued, theoretically at leaſt, both in the Ximenian chapel, and in the ſeven churches of Toledo (with the exception of that of S. Mary, which diſappeared, we know not how, ſome centuries ago), till 1842. In that year the government ſuppreſſed a large number of pariſhes throughout the country. Four of the then exiſting Mozarabic churches of Toledo ſhared the ſame fate, and their pariſhioners, eight or nine hundred in number, were aggregated to the two remaining ones, S. Juſta and S. Mark. The Clergy of the Mozarabic pariſhes have formed, ſince the time of Ximenes, one body with the chaplains of his foundation. The latter are by the Concordat reduced from thirteen to nine: by the ſame document the continuance of the two Mozarabic pariſhes, as ſuch, is guaranteed, and the parochial maſs in the latter is now *always* Mozarabic. The foundation at S. Mary Magdalene, at Valladolid, is extinct. That at Salamanca at preſent remains, but no proviſion is made for its continuance in the Concordat. Pope Julius III, in 1553, regulated the queſtion of mixed marriages between Roman and Mozarabic Chriſtians. The children belong to the rite of the father; but there is an exception in favour of the eldeſt daughter of a Mozarabic family. Though ſhe marry a Roman Chriſtian, ſhe and her huſband are at liberty, at their marriage, to chooſe the rite to which ſhe and her children will belong,—and becoming a widow, ſhe is again permitted to make her choice.

Even in the middle of the ſixteenth century, the price of a Miſſal had amounted to thirty doubloons; and Paul III. actually ſent an envoy to Toledo, in order that he might procure a copy for the Vatican Library. In the time of Florez, a copy was unattainable; and it ſo remained till Alexander Leſlie publiſhed at Rome, in 1755, his valuable and laborious edition. The manner in which he ſpeaks of the Mozarabic Office ſhows how little it was then known even to the learned of that day. In 1775, the great and good Cardinal Lorenzana reprinted the Breviary at Madrid.* In 1804, the Miſſal appeared at Rome, after the death of that prelate, but at his expenſe; Fauſtinus Arevalus was the editor. And this is not only the moſt pro-

* Lorenzana had, while Archbiſhop of Mexico, reprinted the Ordinary of the Liturgy, and the French Office, at *Puebla de los Angeles*, in 1760.

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curable, but the most valuable edition, and that to which we shall refer.*

We will now examine the structure of the Office itself, and compare it with the Gallican and African Uses as we go along.

But as we have just considered the various editions of the Mozarabic Office, it will be well to particularize what has been done for the Gallican Liturgy. Cardinal Thomasius edited, at Rome, in 1680, three Missals of that rite, which had belonged to the monastery of Florens, and when that was sacked by the Huguenots in 1563, found their way to the Vatican. Mabillon, in 1685, re-edited these, together with a Gallican Lectionary, which he discovered in the monastery of Luxieu. He afterwards discovered a Gallican Missal in the monastery of Bobio,† and published it in his "Museum Italicum." Still later, Martene and Durand printed, in their "Thesaurus Novus," a MS. from the monastery of S. Martin, at Autun, containing two epistles on the subject of the Gallican rite, which they attributed—whether correctly or not—to S. Germanus, of Paris. But one of the most important Liturgical discoveries of modern times is contained in the work which stands at the head of this paper. M. Mone, who is Librarian at Karlsruhe, is engaged in collecting the original writers of the History of Baden. In the library there exists a Commentary of S. Jerome on S. Matthew, the first leaves being of the seventh, the rest of the eighth century. It came from the Abbey of Reichenau, and contains, in a later hand, and in blacker ink, at the end, *Benedicat Deus Johanni Episcopo et congregationi nostræ.* This points out John II. Bishop of Constance, and Abbat of Reichenau, (A.D. 760—781.) Hence, the *later* part of the MS. is coeval with S. Pirmin, the founder of Reichenau, who died in A. D. 754. It is not, then, unnatural to conclude, as the former part of the MS. is earlier than the foundation of the Abbey, that S. Pirmin brought it with him from his native Austrasia. But the MS. is clearly palimpsest. M. Mone, anxious to examine it for his historical Collection, ascertained that the old ink only was metallic, and by the application of suitable chemical agents, he was thus enabled to restore the first MS. without destroying the second. He there discovered fragments of eleven Gallican Masses, written on forty-five leaves, but sadly cut about to suit the formation of the new work. The variable

* [The Ordinary has been reprinted by Dr. Daniel, in his "Codex Liturgicus Eccl. Catholicæ," and by myself in my "Tetralogia Liturgica." I have also translated it in my "Introduction to the History of the Eastern Church."]

† The MS. Bobiense is not strictly Gallican, but rather an amalgamation of that with the Roman Use.

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parts only of the Maſs are given, and M. Mone devotes a learned diſſertation to the diſcovery of their age. He proves inconteſtably that the Maſs, No. 5, is at leaſt as old as A.D. 305. He renders it highly probable that it is contemporary with the perſecution at Lyons, A. D. 177. We ſhall uſe theſe, as well as Mabillon's Maſſes, in illuſtrating the Mozarabic.

Paſſing by the *Præparatio Miſſæ*, in which it is almoſt impoſſible to diſtinguiſh what may have been of ancient uſe, what received from the mediæval Church of Toledo, and what the additions of Cardinal Ximenes,—we will commence with the OMNIUM OFFERENTIUM, or Leſſer Miſſal; that is, the *common* of every Maſs. It has received this name, either from its being neceſſarily uſed by all prieſts that offered that ſacrifice; or becauſe the oblation of the chalice concluded with the words, *et omnium offerentium, et eorum, pro quibus offertur, peccata indulge.* The Confeſſion having been made in the Roman manner, the genuine office commences with the *Ad Miſſam Officium*, which anſwers to the Roman *Introit*, the Ambroſian *Ingreſſa*, the Gallican *Antiphona*, or the *Antiphona ad prælegendum.* The name *Officium* is juſt as uſual in mediæval Miſſals, as the better known *Introit.* The original Gregorian form of the Introit, and the modern Roman Uſe, will be beſt ſhown in parallel columns. We give that for the firſt Sunday in Advent:—

GREGORIAN.	MODERN ROMAN.
Antiphona ad Introitum. To Thee, O LORD, have I lift up my ſoul: my GOD, I have put my truſt in Thee: O let me not be confounded: neither let mine enemies triumph over me. For all they that truſt in Thee ſhall not be confounded.	*Introitus.* To Thee, O LORD, have I lift up . . . . . be confounded.
To Thee, O LORD, have I lift up, &c.	
Pſalm. xxiv. Shew me Thy ways, O LORD; teach me Thy paths.	*Pſalmus.* Shew me Thy ways, O LORD: teach me Thy paths.
To Thee, O LORD, have I lift up, &c.	
Glory be to the FATHER, &c.	Glory be to the FATHER, &c.
To Thee, O LORD, have I lift up, &c.	To Thee, O LORD, have . . . . be confounded.
Vers. ad repetendum. Lead me forth in Thy truth, and learn me: for Thou art the GOD of my ſalvation: in Thee hath been my hope all the day.	

The triple repetition of the Antiphon ſeems to have been

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abolished at Rome about 1480, but is retained in our own printed Sarum books.

The Mozarabic *Officium* for the same Sunday is as follows :—

Off. Behold upon the mountains the feet of him that preacheth glad tidings of peace, Alleluia: and telleth good things, Alleluia: celebrate, O Judah, thy feasts, Alleluia: and pay unto the LORD thy vows. Alleluia.
V. The LORD gave the word: great was the company of the preachers.
*Psalm.** And pay unto the LORD thy vows. Alleluia.
V. Glory and honour be to the FATHER, and to the SON, and to the HOLY GHOST, unto ages of ages. Amen.
Psalm. And pay unto the LORD thy vows. Alleluia.
Priest. Always, unto all ages of ages.
R. Amen.

The *Officium*, however, is not always from the Psalms, nor always even from Scripture. That on the Epiphany is exceedingly remarkable, as proving the great age of the Mass. It runs thus :—

Ye that have been baptized into CHRIST have put on CHRIST; Alleluia.
V. Ye are the blessed of the LORD, who hath made heaven and earth.

Now these words clearly refer to the custom of a public baptism of Catechumens at the Epiphany, as on Easter and Whitsuneve; but this was complained of as an abuse by S. Himerius of Tarragona, to S. Damasus, about 380, and abolished by S. Siricius; and therefore we cannot conceive this *Officium* to have a later date than the middle of the fourth century, while it may be much earlier. The "glory *and honour*" of the Doxology is a Spanish use, sanctioned under pain of anathema by the fourth (sixth) Council of Toledo, and grounded on the ascriptions of praise by David, and in the Apocalypse.

The *Gloria in Excelsis* follows, which is so beautifully mentioned by the Fathers of the same Council, as having been begun in heaven and ended on earth; and at its conclusion, the Priest repeats the words, *Always, for all ages of ages. Amen.* According to the ancient Use of the Gotho-Hispanic Church, the *Gloria in Excelsis* was said daily; as we learn from Etherius and Beatus; it is now omitted, after the Roman Use, in Advent and Lent.

Next comes a Collect which, though it occupies the place of the Collect for the Day in the Roman Liturgy, is not, as we shall see, the same thing. This answers to the Ambrosian

* This word, in Mozarabic MSS, is always written p̄. Arevalus decides that it means *Psalmus*, and we follow him because of his unrivalled experience: else we should have been disposed, with others, to interpret the contraction *Presbyter*.

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Oratio ſuper Populum, though that precedes the *Gloria in Excelſis*, and to the Gallican *Collectio poſt Prophetiam*. The Mozarabic prayer, in this place, is not, ſtrictly ſpeaking, proper to the day. For example:—the ſame *Oratio* here occurs throughout Advent; the ſame through Eaſter-tide; the ſame, for the moſt part, as the feſtivals of Martyrs. We give that for Eaſter: the commencement without *Oremus*, and the double ending, is common to all the Mozarabic Collects:—

To Thee we aſcribe praiſe, O LORD our GOD; and we beſeech Thy power that, as Thou didſt vouchſafe to die for us ſinners, and didſt again, after the third day, appear illuſtriouſly in the glory of Reſurrection; ſo we, abſolved by Thee, may merit to have in Thee perpetual joy: in like manner as Thou haſt given us an example of true Reſurrection.

R. Amen.

Prieſt. Through Thy mercy, O our GOD, Who art bleſſed, and liveſt, and governeſt all things unto ages of ages.

R. Amen.

This prayer having been ended, the Prieſt continues: "The LORD be ever with you. *R.* And with thy ſpirit." And then follows the Prophecy. More of that preſently. We will firſt parallelize the Mozarabic with the Gallican form, for the ſake of making our remarks clearer:—

MOZARABIC.	GALLICAN.
	Benedictus.
Oratio.	*Oratio poſt Prophetiam* (= Collectio).
Lectio Veteris Teſtamenti.	*Lectio Veteris Teſtamenti* (vel Paſſio Sanctorum).
Pſallendo.	*Pſalmus reſponſorius.*
Epiſtola.	*Epiſtola.*
Evangelium.	*Evangelium.*

Now, it was formerly thought, and Mabillon* and Ruinart† expreſſly ſay, that the *Collectio* of the Gallican Office followed the reading of the Lection from the Old Teſtament. The reaſon is, that it is uſually named in the Gallican Miſſals *Collectio poſt Prophetiam*, or ſimply *Poſt Prophetiam*; and as the Old Teſtament Lection was generally called the Prophecy, it ſeemed to enſue that the *Collectio* followed that Lection. The miſtake was natural and almoſt neceſſary in thoſe two great ſcholars, to ſpeak ſlightingly of whom could prove nothing but the writer's

* Liturg. Gall. i. 5. 4.

† In Appendice ad S. Gregor. Turon. Opp. p. 1357.

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own folly. But when Martene and Durand publiſhed the Theſaurus Novus, the ſermons of S. Germanus proved clearly enough that the *Prophetia* meant the *Benedictus*, which was ſung antiphonally after the *Præfatio;* and that the *Collectio poſt Prophetiam* followed *that*, but preceded the Lection from the Old Teſtament. This was plainly ſeen by Vezzoſi,* and, therefore, there is the leſs excuſe for Daniel and Mone, who have fallen back into the old error. The *Collectio* of the Fourth Maſs of Thomaſius clearly refers to the Benedictus :—

Ortus es nobis verus Sol juſtitiæ, Jeſu Chriſte, veniſti de cœlo humani generis Redemptor. *Erexiſti nobis cornu ſalutis*, et celſi Genitoris Proles perpetua, *genitus in domo David propter priſcorum oracula vatum.*

The reference is not leſs manifeſt in Mone's Fourth Maſs :—

Dum profetica dicta noſtræ devotionis comitamur obſequiis, et benedictionem reddimus gratias, et viciſſitudinem *pro viſitatione deſolvemus*, et quia Omnipotens *plebi ſuæ fecit in domo David cornu erectionis*, et gaudio aſſignans, poſt ſpacia temporum, *vaticinia profetarum greſſuſque noſtros et* [ſed potius *in*] *via pacis dirigens* et ſalutis p. d. n.m. Jhm. Xpm.

Benedictus, however, formed no part of the Mozarabic Rite; which proceeded, after the *Oratio*, to the Lection of the Old Teſtament, prefaced by the Prieſt with, "The Lord be ever with you. *R.* And with thy ſpirit." The uſe of the Prophecy was ſhared by the Mozarabic in common with the African, Gallican, and Ambroſian Offices. The references in S. Auguſtine clearly prove the Uſe of Africa. The ſermons of S. Germanus, and the alluſions of S. Gregory of Tours, make it manifeſt as regards Gaul. The Ambroſian Rite had formerly a Prophecy in every Maſs; that Lection is now confined to Lent, and to a few feſtivals. The Roman Church only adopted† the Prophecy on certain occaſions, as the Ember ſeaſons; and here is the firſt great difference that we find between that Ritual and the Mozarabic. The Prophecies of the latter call for no particular remark. In

* Thomas. Opp. tom. vi. p. 204, note (2).

† The preſent Roman Uſe on the Ember days, is this:—On the Wedneſday, the Prophecy, Epiſtle, and Goſpel; on the Friday, Epiſtle and Goſpel; on the Saturday, five Prophecies, Epiſtle and Goſpel. It has been aſked why the Friday has no Prophecy? We doubt if any better reaſon can be given than that of Berno: "In quart feri duæ lectiones leguntur, ut hi, qui in Sabbato ſunt conſecrandi, admoneantur ut notitiam legis et prophetarum habeant, quæ maxime in quartâ ætate vigebat. [And ſo V. Bede: Hebrea gens Davidico Regno refulſit inclyta Ætate pandens actuum Quarta jubar ſublimium.] Sexta feria una tantum legitur, quia Lex et Prophetia in uno Evangelio recapitulantur, quod nunc in ſextâ mundi ætate prædicatur ac legitur.

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Eaſter-week the Epiſtles to the Seven Churches ſupply their place, and through Eaſter-tide other parts of the Apocalypſe.

The Prophecy is concluded with the *Amen* of the People; and the Prieſt reiterates, "The Lord be ever with you. *R.* And with thy ſpirit." On certain feſtivals, the Hymn of the Three Children, or rather a cento from it, is here ſung. This was the univerſal uſe in Spain, and is enjoined by the Fourth Council of Toledo in every Maſs. It was alſo the cuſtom in the Gallican Office, as we are expreſſly told by S. Germanus in his explanation of that rite.

Follows the *Pſallendo*, or *Pſalterium*. This is to the Prophecy what the Roman Gradual is to the Epiſtle; and exactly anſwers to the Ambroſian *Pſalmellus*, and to the Gallican *Pſalmus reſponſorius:* another ſimilarity between the Uſes. The form is always this: the Pſallendo for the Fourth Sunday in Advent:—

Pſallendo. Then ſhall all the trees of the wood rejoice before the LORD, for He ſhall come. *V.* O ſing unto the LORD a new ſong: ſing unto the LORD, all the whole earth. *P.* For He ſhall come.

Or this, for the Eighth Sunday after Epiphany:—

Pſall. GOD is a righteous Judge, ſtrong and patient: and GOD is provoked every day. *V.* I will give thanks unto the LORD, according to His righteouſneſs: yea, I will praiſe the name of the LORD Moſt High. *Ps.* Every day.

The *Pſallendo* is always from the Pſalms, except in Ximenian additions, and ſo it would ſeem to have been in the Gallican Office.

On the firſt five Sundays in Lent, the Pſallendo is followed by a Miſſal Litany, which is cloſely connected with the Ectene of the Greeks, and alſo exiſted in the Gallican and Ambroſian, perhaps in the African, Church. At Milan, it is ſtill ſaid on the Sundays in Lent. The Mozarabic Litanies are, on the firſt, ſecond, and third Sundays, addreſſed to our LORD: they are, more remarkably, on the fourth and fifth, put into His mouth.

But we now wiſh to draw the reader's attention to a very remarkable fact, which, ſo far as we know, has not yet been noticed by ritualiſts: that the Mozarabic ectenæ are metrical. They are printed as proſe, and have contracted various errors, which make them read like proſe; but their metrical character is clear enough when once pointed out. And we think we ſhall be doing a ſervice to ritualiſts if we print them here for the firſt time as

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they ought to be. We confeſs that, if we ſhall perſuade the reader to think with us, we ſhall feel a little natural pride at having obſerved an important peculiarity, which had eſcaped the notice of Lorenzana, of Leſlie, and even of Arevalus. Here, then, they follow:—

Missal Litany for the First Sunday in Lent.

A 1. Jeſu Unigenite
Dei Patris Fili, qui
Es univerſæ
Bonitatis Dominus:
Placare et miſerere.

A 2. Cuncti te gemitibus
Exorantes poſcimus:
Cunctique ſimul
Deprecantes quæſumus.
Placare.

B 1. Tua jam clementia
Mala noſtra ſuperet:
Tuo jam ſereno
Vultu in nos reſpice.
Placare.

B 2. Remove perpetuo
Tuam iracundiam:
Da peccatis finem:
Da laboris requiem.
Placare.

C 1. Tranquillitatem temporum,
Rerum abundantiam,
Paçis quietem, et ſalutis copiam.
Placare.

C 2. *Illius** Pontificis
Porrige præſidium:
Ac† univerſo ſupplicanti populo.
Placare.

C 3. Remiſſionem omnium
Peccatorum quæſumus:
Indulge clemens mala quæ commiſimus, *Placare.*

Missal Litany for the Second Sunday in Lent.

A 1. Proſtrati omnes lacrymas producimus:
Et pandimus‡ occulta, quæ admiſimus:
A te, Deus, veniam depoſcimus.§
Quia peccavimus tibi.

A 2. Orationes ſacerdotum accipe:
Et quæque poſcunt,‖ affluenter tribue:
Ac tuæ plebi miſerere, Domine.
Quia.

B 1. Furorem tuum adduxiſti ſuper nos:
Noſtra delicta dira¶ curvaverunt nos:
Et abſque ulla ſpe defecimus.
Quia.

* *Illius* being the mere "M. or N." of our own offices.

† So read for *atque*.

‡ The book gives *pandentes tibi*, which is inadmiſſible. We ſhould not wonder if the true reading were *pandentes te*: the ablative, in the Mozarabic offices, being ſo often uſed for other caſes.

§ A ſyllable (ſuch as *et* before *a te*) is wanting.

‖ The book, *poſtulant*.

¶ Who does not ſee that in mere proſe ſuch a collocation and ſuch a phraſe would be intolerable?

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B 2. Traditi ſumus malis, quæ neſcimus:
Et omne malum cecidit ſuper nos:
Et invocamus, et non audimur.
Quia.

A 3. Omnes clamamus: omnes te requirimus:
Te pœnitentes lacrymis proſequimur:
Cujuſque * iram ipſi provocavimus.
Quia.

A 4. Te, deprecantes, te, gementes, poſcimus;
Te, Jeſu Chriſte, proſternati petimus:
Tua poteſtas jam ſublevet miſeros.
Quia.

A 5. Confeſſionem tuæ plebis accipe,
Quam lamentantes coram te effundimus:
Et pro admiſſis corde ingemiſcimus.
Quia.

A 6. Pacem rogamus, pacem nobis tribue;
Amove bella, et nos omnes erue;
Humili prece poſtulamus, Domine.
Quia.

A 7. Inclina aurem, Deus clementiſſime;
Jam abluantur delictorum maculæ;
Et a periclis † nos benignus erue.
Quia peccavimus tibi.

Missal Litany for the Third Sunday in Lent.

Rogamus te, Rex ſæculorum, Deus Sancte,
Jam miſerere, peccavimus tibi.

A 1. Audi clamantes, Deus altiſſime:
Et quæ precamur, clemens attribue:
Exaudi nos, Domine.
Jam miſerere.

A 2. Bone Redemptor, ſupplices quæſumus,
De toto corde flentes requirimus:
Aſſiſte propitius.
Jam miſerere.

A 3. Diſcedant hoſtes, accedant bona;
Peſſima incumbent clades inopiâ:
Tu, Chriſte, nos libera.
Jam miſerere.

* Notice the *que*, which ſeems only inſerted for the ſake of the metre.
† The book, *periculis.*

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A 4. Emitte manum, Deus omnipotens,
Et invocantes potenter protege
Ex alto, piiſſime.
Jam miſerere.

A 5. Fertilitatem et pacem tribue:
Remove bella, et famem cohibe,
Redemptor ſanctiſſime:
Jam miſerere.

A 6. Gemitus vide; fletus intellige:
Extende manum: peccantes redime
* * * * * *
Jam miſerere.

A 7. Hanc noſtram, Deus, hanc precem ſuſcipe:
Supplicum voces pacatus reſcipe:
Et parce, piiſſime.
Jam miſerere.

A 8. Indulge lapſis: indulge perditis:
Dimitte noxia; ablue crimina:
Acclives tu libera
Jam miſerere.

Now, there are ſeveral peculiarities about this ſingular Litany. The firſt, that it is undoubtedly A. B. C. Darian. We have ventured, in order to bring this out, to make one or two alterations of arrangement. In the original, the verſes ſtand in this way:—1, 2, 6, 3, 4, 7, 8, 5. Alſo the third verſe, as we give it, ſtands in the original:—*Aſſiſtant bona, diſcedant hoſtes:* but, as all the other verſes rhyme aſſonantly, if not conſonantly, an alteration is neceſſary here even on that ground only. The verſe that begins with C. is loſt.

MISSAL LITANY FOR THE FOURTH SUNDAY IN LENT.

A 1. A Patre miſſus, veni
Perditos requirere:
Et hoſte captivatos
Sanguine redimere:
Plebs dira abjecit me.
Miſerere, Pater juſte, et omnibus indulgentiam da.

A 2. Prædictus a Prophetis
Natus ſum ex Virgine:
Aſſumpſi formam ſervi
Perditos colligere:
Venantes ceperunt me.
Miſerere.

A 3. Mihi pro bonis mala
Reddita ſunt plurima:
Adverſum me dederunt
Iniqua conſilia,
Venditum pecunia.
Miſerere.

B. Spineam coronam
Poſuerunt capiti
Sputis ſordidato:
Illuſerunt impii
Afflictum crudeliter.
Miſerere.

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A 4. Cum noxiis latronibus*
Suſpenſum patibulo,
Amaro cibo paſtum,
Et acerbo poculo
Traditum ſupplicio.
Miſerere.

A 5. Quos veni liberare,
Hi accuſaverunt me:
Flagellis verberatum
Cruci affixerunt me:
Lanceâ† percuſſerunt me.
Miſerere.

A 6. Qui impio latroni
Dimiſiſti ſcelera,
Tu ſolve vincla‡ noſtra
Et relaxa crimina:
Salva nos cruce tua.
Miſerere.

A 7. Traditus ſum ſepulchro:
Fregi portas inferi
Ejeci vinculatos
Et reduxi ad ſuperos
Oſtendi in victima.
Miſerere.

C Pater clementiſſime,
Dimitte illis noxia:
Cuncta dele peccata,
Et relaxa crimina:
Ignorant quid faciunt.
Miſerere.

Missal Litany for the Fifth Sunday in Lent.

Inſidiati ſunt adverſarii mei gratis.

Tu, Pater Sancte, miſerere, et libera me.

A 1. Portatus ſum, ut Agnus
Innocens in Victimam.
Captus ab inimicis
Ut avis in muſcipulam,
Magis gratis.
Tu, Pater Sancte.

A 2. Aperuerunt omnes
Ora ſua contra me;
Dentibus fremuerunt,
Quærentes deglutire me,
Magis gratis.
Tu, Pater Sancte.

A 3. Sibilantes, clamabant,
Et movebant capita;
Tractantes de me falſa
Proferre teſtimonia,
Magis gratis.
Tu, Pater Sancte.

A 4. Suſpenſum cruci damnant
Fixum clavis ferreis:
Venditum a Judæis
Pro triginta argenteis,
Magis gratis.
Tu, Pater Sancte.

A 5. In latere confoſſus
Gladio horrifico:
Illico fluit latex
Cum ſanguine innoxio,
Magis gratis.
Tu, Pater Sancte.

A 6. Omnes inundaverunt
Quaſi aquæ ſuper me,
Dimiſſum in ſepulcro:
Apoſuerunt lapidem,
Magis gratis.
Tu, Pater Sancte.

A 7. Confuſa palluerunt
Cuncta cœli ſidera:
Dies obtenebratur
Cum vidit pati Dominum,
Magis gratis.
Tu, Pater Sancte.

A 8. Sic Judæorum turba
Cæcâ diffidentiâ
Depoſcunt a Pilato
Milites pro cuſtodiâ:
Magis gratis.
Tu, Pater Sancte.

* We have little doubt that this ought to be *latronis*, from the barbarous *latronus*.

† The laſt two ſyllables of ſuch words coaleſce in Mozarabic hymns, as in modern Portugueſe and Spaniſh, and muſt be taken to do ſo here.

‡ The book, *vincula*.

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A 9. Tunc milites dividunt
Veſtem meam ſortibus:
Cernentes* in me flagra
Injuſta et ſæviſſima,
Magis gratis.
Tu, Pater Sancte.

A 10. Intende, pie Pater,
Et ſuccurre miſeris,
Pro quibus tam acerbis
Afficior ſuppliciis,
Magis gratis.
Tu, Pater Sancte.

There is ſome, but a very ſlight and corrupted, trace of theſe Litanies in the Sacramentarium Gallicanum publiſhed by Mabillon, and reprinted by Migne. Thoſe which the Mozarabic Ritual gives for the fourth and fifth Sundays in Lent are, but in a very fragmentary ſtate, attributed to Eaſter Eve.

On Palm Sunday, inſtead of this ectene, that moſt ancient and venerable rite, the *Tradition of the Creed* to the Competents, is ſtill kept up. Here, again, the Mozarabic agrees with the Gallican and Milaneſe Churches; whereas Rome celebrated it on the Wedneſday in the fourth week of Lent; Africa, on the Saturday before the fourth Sunday in Lent; Conſtantinople, on Good Friday. In the Gotho-Hiſpanic Church, however, the Creed was given to the competents likewiſe on the Sunday *Mediante*, the fourth in Lent. The Tradition, now of courſe, a mere form, is thus performed in the modern Mozarabic Rite. After the *Pſallendo*, the Prieſt proceeds:—

Beloved, receive the rule of faith, which is called the Symbol. And when ye ſhall have received it, write it in your hearts, and ſay it daily to yourſelves. Before ye ſleep, before ye go forth, fortify yourſelves with your Symbol. The Symbol is written by none, ſo that it can be read. But in going it over, leſt forgetfulneſs ſhould eraſe that which reading does not hand down, let your memory be your book. That which ye are to hear, ye are alſo to believe; and that which ye are to believe, ye are to confeſs with your tongue. For the Apoſtle ſaith: "With the heart man believeth to juſtification; and with the tongue confeſſion is made unto ſalvation." This, then, is the Creed which ye are to retain and to believe. Sign yourſelves therefore, with the Croſs, and repeat. *The Faith.* I believe in GOD the FATHER Almighty; and in JESUS CHRIST, His only SON, our LORD: born of the HOLY GHOST from the womb of the Virgin Mary. He ſuffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, and buried: the third day He roſe alive from the dead. He aſcended into Heaven. He ſitteth on the right hand of GOD the FATHER Almighty; from thence He ſhall come to judge the quick and the dead. I believe in the HOLY GHOST, the Holy Catholic Church; the Communion of Saints; the Remiſſion of all ſins; the Reſurrection of the fleſh; and the Life everlaſting. Amen. That the things which have been ſaid may be the more readily fixed in your memory, let us repeat the text and the order of the ſymbol. [*The Creed is repeated.*] Let us a third time go through the text of the Symbol, to the end that, as the ſymbol contains in itſelf the faith of the Divine TRINITY, ſo the number of its repetitions may agree with the myſtery of the TRINITY. [*The Creed is again repeated.*] Retain with the firmeſt belief of your mind this rule of the Holy Faith, which Holy Mother Church hath now committed to you; leſt at any time any ſcruple of doubt ſhould ariſe in your hearts. For if, which

* For *decernentes*.

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GOD forbid, there is but the leaſt doubt concerning this matter, all the foundation of faith is overthrown, and hurt accrues to the ſoul. And, therefore, if anything of this kind ſhould move any of you, let him think with himſelf, that he cannot underſtand the matter. Yet let him believe all things that he hath heard to be true. And Almighty GOD ſo enlighten your hearts that, by underſtanding and believing the things which we have ſpoken, ye may both hold faſt the right faith, and ſhine with holy works, ſo that by theſe means ye may attain to the bleſſed life. *R.* Amen. *Pr.* He granting and aſſiſting you, Who liveth and governeth all things for ever and ever. Amen.

The larger part of this Tradition is clearly of the greateſt antiquity. The aſſertion that the Creed is unwritten is contained more than once in the Gallican Maſſes* and in the Gelaſian Sacramentary.† The Creed itſelf is, in this Office, and in the Gallican, the Apoſtles'; whereas at Rome, the Conſtantinopolitan Symbol (of courſe without the *Filioque*) was employed. There are ſome peculiarities in the Gotho-Hiſpanic Creed which deſerve attention. The omiſſion of the clauſe, *Maker of heaven and earth*, proves it of earlier date than the Gallican, which inſerts that addition: the ſame thing may be ſaid of the ſimpler phraſe, *Born of the Holy Ghoſt*. The addition *from the womb* of the Virgin Mary, is ſtrictly Spaniſh, and has been ſuppoſed to be directed againſt the dreams of the Priſcillianiſts. The omiſſion of *dead after* crucified, is an argument of extreme antiquity: the Gallican books inſert it; but neither the moſt ancient of them, nor our Creed, have the Aquileian addition, *He deſcended into Hell*. The "*alive* from the dead" is Spaniſh. One of the Gallican books has, in the next clauſe, "He aſcended *Victor* into Heaven:" with that exception, and the Spaniſh "the remiſſion of *all* ſins," the French and the Mozarabic Uſe agree, in all that follows, with the modern reading. In the Acts of S. Stephen, where a Baptiſm is deſcribed, the *omnium* is retained.

We muſt now, however, paſs on. On ordinary days, the *Pſallendo* is immediately followed by the *Epiſtle*, in which all Churches coincide. It is preceded in the Mozarabic by the deacon's ſaying "Keep ſilence," and is concluded by "Amen." The Gallican and Ambroſian Offices agree with the Roman in affixing a Pſalm to the Epiſtle,—the ſame which, in later times, took the form of the preſent *gradual:* the Gotho-Hiſpanic Office rejected it. For when a cuſtom was introduced of ſaying the *Lauda* (of which preſently) before the Goſpel, the Fourth Council of Toledo expreſſly forbade the change, and ordered that it ſhould never be ſung till the Goſpel had been ſaid. The

* *E.g.* In that numbered XI. by Mabillon. "Symbolum non in tabulis ſcribitur, ſed in corde ſuſceptum memoriter retinetur."

† "Symbolum quod vobis, ſicut accepimus tradidimus, non alicui materiæ quæ corrumpi poteſt, ſed paginis veſtri cordis inſcribite."

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Epiſtle then ended—and the Prieſt having ſaid, "The LORD be ever with you. *R.* And with thy ſpirit"—the Goſpel is given out; and its announcement received with the "Glory be to Thee, O LORD," of the people: it is concluded with "Amen."* Then, after another ſalutation of the Prieſt, followed the *Lauda*, which was always in this form: "Alleluia. Remember us, O LORD, with the favour Thou beareſt unto Thy people. O viſit us with Thy ſalvation. Alleluia." This is alſo in uſe in the Ambroſian Rite, where it is called the *Antiphona poſt Evangelium.*

In the preſent Mozarabic Uſe, the Prieſt now offers the bread and wine, with certain prayers of which we need not ſpeak; becauſe the Gotho-Hiſpanic Office poſtponed the rite. The ſermon over, the *Sacrificium* is ſung by the choir; its form, generally ſpeaking, is the following:—

All they from Sheba ſhall come, offering gold, and incenſe, and precious ſtones; they evangelized the ſalvation of the LORD: Alleluia, Alleluia. *V.* Every great man ſhall paſs over to thee, and ſhall be thy ſervant, and ſhall follow thee, bound in chains, and ſhall bow down before thee, becauſe in thee is GOD, and beſide thee there is none other. Be ye renewed, O ye children of Iſrael, and be ye ſaved by the LORD with an everlaſting ſalvation. *P.* They evangelized the ſalvation of the LORD. Alleluia.

It was while the *Sacrificium* was ſinging, that the people offered; and the prayers of oblation ſaid by the prieſt are ſtill given in that place, though the rite itſelf has long ſince ceaſed in Spain. But in the cathedral of Milan it is ſtill kept up, ten aged men, and the ſame number of women, being maintained under the title of *Vecchioni*, to offer when the Prieſt has ſaid the *Oratio ſuper Sindonem*, which follows the *Antiphona poſt Evangelium.* Mr. Webb thus deſcribes the Uſe:† "After the ſermon, "ſome members of a confraternity, or ſideſmen, two men and two "women, in black and white mantles, brought in an oblation of "the elements." This is the only relic, we believe, in all Europe, of the ancient and once univerſal uſe of the *Omnium Offerentium.* But an offertory of other things, for the uſe of the Prieſt or the Church, was very frequent during the laſt century in Spain, and is even now not obſolete.

With the *Sacrificium* began the ſecond part of the Liturgy, the *Miſſa Fidelium;* after which the Prieſt, as uſual, after waſhing his hands, and ſaying the prayer of acceſs, commenced, "The LORD be ever with you. *R.* And with thy ſpirit." We will

* While the Goſpel is ſung, the *Miſſale Offerentium*, with its book deſk, is carried round to the Epiſtle ſide of the altar; for there are two books in uſe in the Mozarabic Rite,—this and the leſſer Miſſal;—and therefore two acolytes.

† Continental Eccleſiology, p. 204.

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here put down, in a tabular form, its ſeven prayers, ſo famous in early Spaniſh writers, with their names.

I. MISSA, or Oratio Miſſæ: in the Gallician ſometimes κατ' ἐξοχὴν *Collectio*, as we ſay, *the* Collect for the day: ſometimes *Præfatio*.
II. ALIA (*oratio*). Generally, in the Gallican, ſimply *Collectio*: ſometimes *Collectio ante nomina*.
III. POST NOMINA. The ſame, or *Collectio poſt nomina*, in the Gallican.
IV. AD PACEM. The ſame in the Gallican.
V. ILLATIO: called in the Gallican *Immolatio*, or *Conteſtatio*,—in the Roman and Ambroſian, *Præfatio*: and the POST SANCTUS, called by the ſame name in the Gallican.
VI. POST PRIDIE: called in the Gallican *Poſt Secreta*:—or *Poſt Myſterium*.
VII. AD ORATIONEM DOMINICAM.

We may now proceed.

The Mozarabic *Miſſa* is generally rather an addreſs to the people than to God. Let us take an example from the Wedneſday of the firſt week in Lent.

Perceiving, beloved brethren, that the ſolemn days have come which are conſecrated by the reverence of the LORD's Paſſion, let us walk in humility, and obſerve continence. Let none be fed by the pleaſure of this world, nor, on the other hand, be cruſhed by its adverſity. That when we have begun to deſpiſe temporal good and temporal evil, then we may in truth be able to faſt forty days and forty nights, and may, after accompliſhing the Lent of this life, receive the life that is perpetual. Now, therefore, let us beſeech GOD, with the whole devotion of our minds, that He may ſo prevent us with His grace and protect us with His mercy, that we may always haſten to the obtaining of the celeſtial promiſes. Amen.

Or, again, for Eaſter Tueſday:—

Let us haſten, beloved brethren, we who rejoice to be free from the dominion of death, that we may follow the triumph of CHRIST after death. Behold, having deſcended into hell, He hath returned again to that fleſh, which by His reſurrection He made immortal. The violence of inflicted paſſion hath nothing injured Him: yet the glorious virtue of His Reſurrection hath beſtowed all things on us. He none the worſe in aſſumed humanity: us He hath mercifully made better by collated Divinity. Let us, therefore, all rejoice with Chriſtian gladneſs; and let us not be buried in vain pleaſures. Let our feſtivity, beloved brethren, have nothing unſeemly. The multitude of faithful people muſt proceed from the ſepulchres of vices; muſt appear to the eyes of the regenerate, whitened by grace; muſt ſet a pattern of virtues to their infants. For then is the Paſchal oblation without leaven of wickedneſs, when religious devotion banquets on the Azymes of ſincerity and truth. *R.* Amen.

Compare with this the *Præfatio*, or *Miſſa*, of the Gallican Church; and take an example given in the Collection of Thomaſius, for the Feſtival of S. Agnes:—

Exulting, beloved brethren, in the birthday of Bleſſed Agnes, let us ap-

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proach the LORD with a devout heart. Her birthday is indeed to be honoured, becauſe ſhe was ſo generated to this world as to be regenerated for heaven. So was ſhe produced under the law of death as to cruſh the author of death: ſo framed in the weaker ſex, as to deſpiſe torments formidable to brave men. O true nobility! which ſo proceeded by earthly generation, as to attain the companionſhip of Divinity. Let us pray, therefore, that ſhe may aſſiſt us with her prayers, who ſtands worthy in the ſight of GOD. Which He vouchſafe to grant who with the FATHER and the HOLY GHOST liveth and reigneth.

Thoſe in Mone are much ſhorter, and not very remarkable. We give an example from the poetical Maſs, No. 8, in his collection:—

Siderea de ſede nitens bone conditor orbis,
Te pietate probans non noſtra hic crimina penſas,
Expoſitas admitte preces et judice libra,
Mitior æquali non reddens pondere pœnam,
Errores ignoſce gregis, paſtorque fidelis
Ereptis ovibus paradiſi pabula reddas. p. d. n.

Any ſcholar, accuſtomed to Hymnology, will inſtantly fix theſe verſes at about A.D. 400.

After the *Miſſa*, the Prieſt concludes with the uſual formula:—

Through Thy mercy, our GOD, who art bleſſed, and liveſt and governeſt all things for ever and ever. *R.* Amen.

He continues:—

Let us pray. Hagios, Hagios, Hagios, LORD GOD Everlaſting: praiſe and thanks be to Thee.

And then he begins the *Preces*, which, in the Mozarabic Office, are very ſhort:—

Let us bear the Holy Catholic Church in our minds: that the merciful LORD would vouchſafe to increaſe its faith, its hope, and charity. Let us bear in mind all them that are fallen, that are captive, that are ſick, that are ſtrangers: that the merciful LORD would vouchſafe to look upon them, to redeem, to heal, and to comfort them. *R.* Grant it, Almighty Everlaſting GOD.

This is immediately followed by the prayer that, for want of a better title, is uſually called the *Alia Oratio*. Here is an example from the fourth Sunday after Epiphany:—

We bear, O LORD, the yoke of our iniquities with a hard neck, a downcaſt countenance, a contrite heart. And ſcarcely have we at length learned by our puniſhment to repent, who before it would not recognize our guilt. But Thou, O LORD, who haſt made tame wild beaſts in the den, and haſt made cool the flames in the heat of the furnace, lift up Thy hand to help us, and grant us the moſt ſafe ſupport of Thy defence in affliction. That us, whom the weight of ſins bows down, the virtue of Thy long-ſuffering may lift up: and that, ſince by our iniquities we have fallen to the ground, we

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may be mercifully raiſed by Thine ineffable goodneſs. That us, whom the actions of divers tranſgreſſions convict, the indulgence of Thy mercy may acquit. *R.* Amen.

This prayer is uſually directed to GOD; but it ſometimes takes the form of an addreſs to the people, as, for example, on Quinquageſima Sunday, when it thus begins:—*Quantum nos divina clementia, fratres cariſſimi, expectat ad pœnitentiam*, &c.

The Gallican Church had the *Preces* in the ſame place: the prayer that anſwered to the *Alia Oratio* is ſometimes called the *Collectio poſt Preces*, ſometimes the *Collectio ante Nomina*, ſometimes, there ſeems ground for believing, the *Præfatio*, but generally the *Collectio* only. Take a ſpecimen of the latter from Mone:—

GOD, whoſe goodneſs is as unbounded as Thy power, grant to the righteous to obtain that which Thou doſt promiſe; to the guilty, to eſcape that which Thou doſt threaten: to believe in Thee truly, to confeſs Thee reaſonably, to have our converſation in this life healthfully. If tranquillity * favours us, to worſhip Thee; if temptations aſſail us, not to deny Thee; to abound in the neceſſaries of the life that is, and not to come ſhort of eternal felicity.

The *Alia Oratio* always ends in this form:—

R. Amen. *Prieſt.* Through Thy mercy, our GOD, in whoſe ſight the names of the holy Apoſtles and Martyrs, Confeſſors and Virgins, are recited. *R.* Amen.

And this introduces the DIPTYCHS. The Mozarabic agrees with the Gallican in reading theſe before conſecration; the Gelaſian and Gregorian Sacramentaries read the diptychs of the living before, of the dead after, conſecration. The Conſtantinopolitan Liturgies formerly agreed with the Gallican: they now have the diptychs after the words of Inſtitution and Invocation. S. Mark, the Copto-Jacobite, and Syro-Jacobite, inſert them between the two latter.

The Mozarabic diptychs are as follow:—

Our Prieſts offer the oblation to the LORD GOD: the Pope of Rome and the reſt for themſelves and for all the Clergy and people of the Church committed to them, and for all the fraternity; alſo all the prieſts, deacons, clerks, and ſurrounding people offer it in honour of the Saints, for themſelves and theirs.

R. They offer it for themſelves and all the fraternity.

Prieſt. Commemorating the moſt bleſſed Apoſtles and Martyrs, the glorious holy Virgin Mary, Zacharias, John, the Innocents, Peter, Paul, John, James, Andrew, Philip, Thomas, Bartholomew, Matthew, James, Simon and Jude, Matthias, Mark, and Luke.

* Here is an example of Mone's occaſional careleſſneſs, notwithſtanding the great explanatory parade of his notes. He prints without any comment, "*ſit* quies adrideat, te colere; ſi timptatio ingruat, non negare."

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R. And all Martyrs.

Prieſt. Alſo for the ſouls of them that reſt: Hilary, Athanaſius, Martin, Ambroſe, Auguſtine, Fulgentius, Leander, Iſidore, David, Julian, Julian, Peter, Peter, John, &c., &c. Stephen, John, John, Felix.

R. And of all that reſt.

The Gallican form was very ſimilar to this. It was immediately preceded by the oblation, of which this was the formula:—

Come, Omnipotent Sanctifier, Eternal GOD, and bleſs this ſacrifice prepared to Thy name: through CHRIST our LORD.

It muſt be remembered that the above diptychs are ſtrictly Toledan; and if they were uſed after the Ximenian reſtoration at Salamanca and Valladolid, it was by an abſurd archaiſm. The order is this: firſt, the four great defenders of the Catholic faith againſt the Arians—SS. Hilary, Athanaſius, Martin, Ambroſe; then S. Auguſtine, as having, beſides his world-wide reputation, a particular connection with the Spaniſh Church; then S. Fulgentius of Aſtorga, a celebrated Spaniſh confeſſor; then SS. Leander and Iſidore, the great arrangers of the Mozarabic Office; then ſix Archbiſhops of Toledo, before its capture, with four other Spaniſh prelates, David of Seville, John of Gerona, Servus Dei of Calabria, Dominic of Iria; then three benefactors to the Church of Toledo; then, beginning with Bernard, eleven Archbiſhops after the recapture of that city, and then ſeven benefactors ſubſequently to that event.

The Diptychs are followed by the POST NOMINA, which had the ſame name in the Gallican Church. Let the fifth Sunday in Advent furniſh an example:—

We beſeech Thee, LORD JESUS, our GOD, that we, who faithfully wait for Thine Advent, may not incur everlaſting puniſhment; by which Thine Advent grant pardon to them that offer, and reſt eternal to them that are departed.

And Pentecoſt:—

LORD, Who by the virtue of Thy HOLY SPIRIT didſt both confound the hearing of them that built the tower of the ancient confuſion of crime, and didſt multiply Thy new* and riſing Church by the diffuſion of tongues, ſo that the thing which had been for a condemnation ſhould be for a reward, and that Thou ſhouldſt by the ſame means build up faith by which Thou hadſt deſtroyed vanity: grant upon this congregation of Thy family the advent of Thy HOLY GHOST, Whom Thou didſt promiſe, and Whom Thou didſt beſtow. And grant that He may at the ſame time ſcatter all endeavours after ſuch things as are contrary to Thee, and accumulate the merit of ſanctification. And that Thou mayeſt be the Rewarder in the promiſe,

* We read *novitatem* for *novitate*.

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Who waſt the Promiſer in the reward. That Thy Church, kindled by His fire, may in Him hold the true faith, from Whom ſhe hath received all truth. And that He may inſcribe in the heavenly pages the names of them that offer, and may vouchſafe to grant reſt to the departed, Who in the unity of Deity remaineth ever equal to Thee.

The petition for the offerers and for the departed faithful is almoſt always expreſſed in this prayer. So it is in the Gallican Uſe: though in the latter the petition for the departed is not invariably given. As, for example, in a *Miſſa in Jejunio* printed by Thomaſius:—

Let Thy venerable grace, O LORD, both exerciſe us in holy faſting, and make us more meet for the celeſtial myſteries; and grant that the names which we have recited may be inſcribed by the heavenly handwriting in the book of life.

Mone's examples generally have the prayer for the departed; as this in Maſs No. 2, which is partly corrupt:—

Recitata nomina Dominus benedicat, et accepta ſit Domino uti hujus oblatio noſtriſque precibus interceſſio ſuffragetur, ſpiritibus quoque karorum noſtrorum lætis ſedibus conquieſcant, et primæ Reſurrectionis gaudia conſequantur.

The Mozarabic prayer always ends thus:—

R. Amen. *Prieſt.* Becauſe Thou art the Life of the living, the Health of the ſick, and the Reſt of all the faithful departed for eternal ages of ages. *R.* Amen.

Next follows the *Oratio ad Pacem*, or which precedes the giving of the Peace: and it has the ſame name in the Gallican book. Theſe two rites agree with each other, therefore, in this very important particular: the giving of the Peace before, while the Roman, Ambroſian, and African* defer it till after, the conſecration. Nothing, except the *Illation*, ſhows ſo wonderfully the fertility of the Mozarabic Rite, as the variety of the prayers *ad Pacem*; all on one ſubject, and all in one form. Let us take theſe examples. On the firſt Sunday in Lent, the Goſpel having been that of the woman of Samaria:—

Ad Pacem. SAVIOUR of the world, Word of the eternal FATHER, Who, after receiving the faith of the woman, didſt abide with the Samaritans two days at their requeſt: that under the type of thoſe two days might myſtically be commended the number of the two precepts, that is, love to GOD, and

* This is clear from S. Auguſtine: "Poſt ſanctificationem ſacrificii dicimus Orationem Dominicam, poſt ipſam *Pax Vobis*, et oſculantur ſe Chriſtiani in oſculo ſancto."—Serm. 227. Ed. Maur.

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love to our neighbour: cleanſe our heart from all crime, and from all blindneſs of ignorance; that we, preparing for Thee a moſt pure manſion in our ſouls, may obtain from Thee, as they obtained, and retain in very deed the love of our neighbour; whereby we may be able to come to Thee, and to know in every way Thy love, with which we may attain to the joys of life everlaſting.

On Maundy Thurſday :—

Almighty CHRIST, our Peace, grant to us the kiſs of ſincere peace, that we may not be guilty with the traitor Judas, but may merit to be found the diſciples of peace.

On Michaelmas-day :—

CHRIST, the SON of GOD, Who by the myſtery of Thy Incarnation haſt united the rupture of peace, which that evil ſpirit of wickedneſs had caſt betwixt angels and men, ſo that the angels, who never fell, ſhould acknowledge men, re-made by Thee according to grace, for their fellow-ſervants, whom beforehand they held for outcaſts on account of their fault; and they who, in old times, did not refuſe to be adored, ſhould afterwards,* with a loud voice, forbid any ſuch worſhip: we, redeemed by ſuch mercy, beſeech Thee that we may not be again deceived, and fall in our old guilt; but that we may ſo preſerve the renovation of Baptiſm in faith and deed, as that we may ever ſtudy to remain bound together with the fellowſhip of Thy holy Angels.

Here is the *Oratio ad Pacem* for Palm Sunday in a Gallican Miſſal :†—

Thou That art Thyſelf the LORD and Framer of all things, dearly loving and loved by Thy creatures, for Whom Martha labours, Whoſe feet Mary waſhes, with Whom Lazarus, raiſed from the dead, ſits down to meat, (for the whole houſe is full of love:) grant to Thy people thus to exerciſe themſelves in love, that they may remain united with Thee by peace. Excite in us thoſe tears which Mary, of her much love, poured forth; make our prayer to ſend forth a ſweet ſavour, as the ointment of ſpikenard which Mary poured upon Thy ſacred feet; that by our kiſſes, mutually given, we may obtain that peace which Mary gained by kiſſing the feet of her Redeemer.

The Mozarabic prayer ended :—

R. Amen. *Prieſt.* For Thou art our true peace and unbroken love, and liveſt and reigneſt with the FATHER and the HOLY GHOST,‡ one GOD for ages of ages. Amen.

* The reference is, of courſe, to the allowance of Daniel's worſhip by the angel, when that of S. John was forbidden. So the Ambroſian Hymn :—

Tremunt videntes Angeli
Verſam vicem mortalium:
Culpat caro, purgat caro,
Regnat Deus, Dei caro.

† Thomas. Opp. tom. vi. p. 276.

‡ It is now corruptly read, "vivis tecum, et regnas cum Spiritu Sancto."

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The Prieſt now proceeds :—

The grace of the FATHER Almighty, the peace and love of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, and the communication of the HOLY GHOST, be with us all.

Choir. And with all of good-will.

Prieſt. As ye ſtand, give the peace.

R. Peace I leave you; My peace I give unto you; not as the world giveth, give I unto you.

V. A new commandment give I unto you, that ye love one another.

R. Peace I leave, &c.

V. Glory and honour be to the FATHER, &c.

R. Peace I leave, &c.

While this is ſung, the Prieſt ſays :—

Receive the kiſs of peace and love, that ye may be fit for the holy myſteries of GOD.

And, according to the ancient uſe, the people then gave the kiſs. The Prieſt continues :—

I will go unto the altar of GOD.

R. Unto GOD, Who rejoiceth my youth.

Although in the Eaſtern Church the Anaphora commences with the Salutation of the Prieſt, "The grace of GOD the FATHER," &c., yet, as this ſalutation precedes in the Mozarabic Ritual the Kiſs, it cannot *here* be held the true beginning of the anaphora. The latter muſt be conſidered as commencing with the next verſicle :—

Prieſt. Your ears to the LORD.*

People. We have them to the LORD.

Prieſt. Lift up your hearts.

People. We lift them up to the LORD.

Prieſt. To GOD, and our LORD JESUS CHRIST, the SON of GOD, Who is in heaven, let us render worthy praiſes and worthy thanks.

People. It is meet and right.

The firſt and ſingular exhortation is now peculiar to Spain; the reſt of the ſentences agree with the general uſe of other Churches. And thus we are brought to the *Illation.*

The *Preface*, *Illation*, or *Immolation*, finds its two extremes in the Mozarabic and Oriental uſes. The latter has but one Preface on all occaſions; the former has a proper Preface for every great Maſs, and in that agrees with the Gallican and

* It is plain from a paſſage in S. Iſidore, Offic. lib. ii. cap. 8, that this exclamation was in former times ſaid by the Deacon, and was merely prefatory to the *Surſum corda.*

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Ambroſian books. The earlieſt Roman Uſe is diſputed. It would ſeem that all the principal feſtivals, but they only, had a proper preface. S. Pelagius II. reduced the number to nine; S. Gregory the Great added a Preface of S. Andrew, not now in uſe; Urban II, in the Council of Clermont, added a tenth. The German Church, up to A. D. 900 or 1000, uſed a good number of prefaces, though by no means a different one for every day; and the Cluniacs employ, at the preſent time, more than thoſe given in the Roman Miſſal.

It is in the Illation that the full richneſs and variety of the Mozarabic Office is beſt ſeen. There are in the preſent book 66 Illations *de Tempore*, 65 of particular Saints, 10 of the common of ſaints, and 15 of votive maſſes; in all, 156. Almoſt all are fine, many are of firſt-rate excellence; and we ſcarcely know where a preacher, wiſhing to treat any particular ſubject, could find it more fully, more pointedly, more neatly, more beautifully treated, than in the Mozarabic Illatio. We will now give ſome ſpecimens; they will, we believe, be new to moſt of our readers. We will begin with that on Chriſtmas-day; a remarkable contraſt with the preſent worſhip paid by Spain to the Bleſſed Virgin:—

It is meet and right, moſt merciful Father, that we ſhould render to Thine omnipotence and loving-kindneſs that which Thou haſt enabled us to beſtow. Becauſe on this day, after long time, but no long time ago,* He Who† belonged always to Thee and to Himſelf, CHRIST JESUS, Thine only-begotten SON, is born to us. He was made the Son of His handmaiden, the LORD of His mother. The birth of Mary; the fruit of the Church. By the one He is produced; by the other He is received. He That as an Infant comes forth from the one, is ſet forth as the Wonderful by the other. The one produced ſalvation for the peoples; the other the peoples themſelves. The one bore the Life in her womb; the other in her laver. In the limbs of the one CHRIST is infuſed; by the waters of the other CHRIST is indued. By the one He That was is born; by the other he that had periſhed is found.‡ In the one the Redeemer of the nations is quickened; in the other the nations are vivified. By the one He came, that He might take away ſins; by the other He took away the ſins for the which He came. By the one He deplored§ us; by the other He cured us. In the one an infant, in the other a giant; in the one an exile, in the other a conqueror. By the one He handled toys; by the other He ſubdued kingdoms. The one He ſoothed with the winningneſs of a child, the other He betrothed with the fidelity of a Bridegroom. Laſtly, the tokens of His precious love exiſt uncorrupted. The Bridegroom gave for gifts to His Bride living waters,‖ whereby ſhe might

* Notice the great antiquity of the preſent *Illatio*, from this moſt venerable expreſſion.

† The book, corruptly, *quæ*.

‡ The antitheſis cannot be preſerved in Engliſh: "Per illam, qui *erat*, naſcitur; per iſtam, qui *perierat*, invenitur."

§ *Ploravit*; but the reading ſeems corrupt.

‖ *Id eſt, Chriſtus Eccleſiæ*, add the printed books; but it is manifeſtly the reception of a gloſs into the text.

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once for all be waſhed to obtain the merit of pleaſing Him. He gave her the oil of gladneſs, that ſhe might be anointed with the ſweet ointment of chriſm. He called her to His table, and ſatisfied her with the richneſs of wheat. He filled her with the wine of ſweetneſs. He put upon her the ornament of righteouſneſs. He gave her the golden veſture of virtues, wrought about with divers colours. He laid down His life for her. He, having conquered, and about to reign, exhibited for her dowry the ſpoils of death, by Him undergone, by Him cruſhed. He beſtowed His own ſelf upon her in food, and drink, and clothing. He promiſed her that He would give to her an eternal kingdom. He engaged that He would place her as queen on His right hand.* He granted to her alſo that which was granted to His mother, to be filled, yet not to be violated; to bring forth, yet not to be corrupted; to the one once, to the other ever; to ſit as a bride in the bridechamber of lovelineſs, and to multiply her ſons with the boſom of piety. That her children ſhould be fruitful,† not corrupted in their will. Thus ſhe, enriched by Him, and in Him, returns humble gifts to her Bridegroom and LORD. She offers to Him thus much of her own,‡ that ſhe hath believed; and thus much from His example, that ſhe hath loved in return. Of His own gift, that ſhe could do that which ſhe would; that ſhe would do that which ſhe could. She hath given to Him, as roſes, the martyrs: as lilies, the virgins; as violets, the continent. Theſe things ſhe ſent§ to Him, conferred by the coſt of her toil, by the Apoſtles, the miniſters of His will. Wherefore now, ſtanding at His right hand in happy and glorious perennity, ſhe with all angels, praiſes and lauds Him That reigneth with Thee, Almighty FATHER, and with the HOLY GHOST, ſaying: *R.* Holy, Holy, Holy, &c.

For Maundy Thurſday:—

It is meet and right that we ſhould render thanks to Thee, HOLY LORD, Almighty FATHER, and to JESUS CHRIST, Thy SON, Whoſe incarnation gathers us into one, Whoſe humility ſets us up, Whoſe betrayal looſes us, Whoſe Paſſion redeems us, Whoſe Croſs ſaves us, Whoſe blood cleanſes us, Whoſe fleſh nouriſhes us, Who gave Himſelf up for us to-day, and looſed the chains of our guilt; Who, for the commendation to the faithful of His goodneſs, and the magnifying of His humility, did not diſdain to waſh even His betrayer's feet, whoſe hands He even then foreſaw engaged in wickedneſs. But what wonder if, while approaching a voluntary death, He, fulfilling the miniſtry of a ſervant, laid aſide His garments, Who, when He was in the form of GOD, emptied Himſelf? What wonder if He girt Himſelf with a towel, Who, when he was in the form of GOD, was found in faſhion as a man? What wonder if He poured water into a baſin that He might waſh the feet of His diſciples, Who poured forth His blood on the earth, that He might waſh away the uncleanneſs of ſinners? What wonder if with the towel wherewith He was girded He wiped the feet that He had waſhed, Who, in the fleſh which He had aſſumed, confirmed the

* Notice the application of that text to the Church, which has generally been applied to S. Mary.

† The antitheſis is neceſſarily loſt: "fœtoſam eſſe prolem, non fœtidam."

‡ The Semi-Pelagianiſm of this clauſe might be expected in a Church which had ſo cloſe a connection with ſuch writers as S. Fauſtus of Riez, and Caſſian.

§ The book has *illam*; but it is plainly the Church which ſends theſe gifts to her LORD, not CHRIST to the Church.

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footſteps of the Evangeliſts? And that He might gird Himſelf with the towel, He put off the garments which He had; but that He might take the form of a ſervant, when He emptied Himſelf, He laid not that aſide which He had, but aſſumed that which He had not. When He was about to be crucified, He was indeed ſtripped of His raiment; and when He was dead, He was wrapped in linen clothes; and all this His paſſion is made the purification of believers. When He was therefore about to ſuffer death, He exhibited aforehand obedience. Not only to them for whom He had come to endure death, but to him who was about to betray Him to death. For ſuch is the benefit of the humility of man, that the ſublimity of GOD commended it by His example. Becauſe proud man would have periſhed for ever, unleſs a humble GOD had found him. That he who had been loſt through the pride of the Deceiver, might be ſaved by the humility of the moſt merciful Redeemer. To whom, as is meet, all Angels and Archangels ceaſe not daily to cry, ſaying with one voice: *R.* Holy.

The following is of a different kind; it is for the feſtival of S. Geneſius,* who received the crown of martyrdom while yet a catechumen:—

It is meet and right that we ſhould render thanks to Thee, Holy LORD, Eternal FATHER, Almighty GOD, in honour of Thy Saints; but chiefly in that of Thy holy and moſt bleſſed martyr, Geneſius, whoſe glorious victory over the world, as on this day, the univerſal Church celebrates with feſtal exultation; who, while ſtill a catechumen, and not as yet waſhed by the myſtery of the ſalutary wave, deteſting the malice of a ſacrilegious fellow-ſoldier, and not ſuffering that wicked edicts ſhould be imprinted in innocent wax, rejected the bloody laws that proceeded from an impious mouth, repudiated them with his hand, retreated from the office which he heard† appointed to him, withdrew his pious hand from‡ commencing the taſk, as he would have withdrawn it from ſacrificing; and his mind, devoted to GOD, ſhuddered to inſcribe on the wax ſacrilegious words. Who, when the weight of perſecution preſſed upon him, and the miniſters of the devil were in purſuit, preparing his mind for heaven, gave his body to the Rhine, as if ſeeking in it the ſacrament of the Jordan, and carried to the further bank the body of a martyr, that he might render one illuſtrious by his body, the other with his blood. And thus, therefore, filled with Thy grace, O LORD, preceding the inſtitutes of faith by the ſpirit of faith, not yet having received baptiſm, he was hallowed amidſt the very head-quarters§ of religion. The laws of GOD were not yet manifeſted to him, and he was already full of GOD. Not yet conſcious of the ſacraments, and himſelf already forechoſen as a ſacrifice. Not yet ſet free by the LORD, and already choſen as a witneſs for GOD. Not yet called by a public profeſſion to grace, and already hurried to the crown; for he was adopted before he was regenerate. He never entered the water of the font, but was ſprinkled with the fount that proceeded from himſelf. He is baptized in blood; he is regenerate by death; he is abſolved by condemnation; he is conſecrated by the ſword. Happy he who merited to be baptized by ſuch a baptiſm, by which he ſhould both blot out original ſin, and never loſe that which blood of this kind had beſtowed; that

* Auguſt 25. † We read, *audito refugit officio.*

‡ "Ab incipiendo, tanquam a ſacrificando." Arevalus ſuggeſts, and perhaps correctly, *ab inſcribendo.*

§ "Inter ipſa eſt religionis principia conſecratus." We take the word *principia* in its military ſenſe, and underſtand it to refer to water, which, as the origin and birthplace of faith, may be ſo termed.

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no after fault ſhould defile that which the fountain of blood had cleanſed; who, in himſelf, by faith cloſed, by faith condemned, the gate of ſins; who in himſelf, by the outpouring of blood, accompliſhed with a double gift the ſacraments of baptiſm; who was not dipped in the font, but waſhed in his paſſion, by the gift of our LORD JESUS CHRIST: Whom all the Angels together praiſe, thus ſaying: *R.* Holy.

We add one more example from the Common of Martyrs:—

It is meet and right that we ſhould render thanks to Thee, GOD of Angels, GOD of Martyrs, and that we ſhould with ineſtimable joy ſet forth their paſſions, the triumph of Thy ſervants, the joy of happy angels. For who can worthily relate the myſtery of this depth, where from puniſhment is born beatitude, from ignominy ſprings glory, where life is perfected from death! O myſtic ſecret of religion, where to be ſlain is praiſe, and to have ſlain is damnation! O moſt ſacred war, wherein the one appears to be ſlain, and the other is ſlain! O eſpecial conflict, wherein the murderer, by the death of the victim, deſtroys himſelf! The devil kindles the perſecutor by the fury of cruelty: CHRIST ſuccours the perſecuted by the virtue of patience! With the murderer Satan is puniſhed: with the murdered CHRIST exults. The devil precipitates with himſelf his miniſter to Gehenna: CHRIST conveys His martyrs to the celeſtial kingdoms. To Whom, as is meet, all Angels and Archangels ceaſe not to cry, thus ſaying: *R.* Holy.

We will now give, as an example of the *Immolation* in the Gallican Maſs, the very remarkable No. 5 of Mone; which, it will be remembered, is ſuppoſed by that critic to be of the ſecond century. It is, however, ſo very corrupt, ſo extremely involved, and the punctuation ſo ſingular, that we will not pledge ourſelves always to have diſcovered what is the exact meaning. Mone has tried to explain ſome of the difficult paſſages; but ſome that are equally perplexed he has left untouched. The commencement is imperfect.

..... debtors to grace, we venerate perpetually and uninterruptedly; whether we ſacrifice at the ſacred altars with public prayers, or whether, pondering in the ſecret receſſes of our hearts Thy deeds, ineffable by words, we cheriſh them with quiet love. For juſt are Thy ways, O King of nations. Who ſhall not fear Thee, and glorify Thy Name? As yet, we have no lyres that reſound. Thy Saints, who by the perſeverant concord of virtues have conquered the Beaſt of this world, [*may join in the Song of Moſes and the Lamb: but*] we have no Song of Moſes, who are as yet rolled among the floods of this world.

..... res gratiæ debitores, jugi continuatione, veneremur; ſeu cum publica praece ſacra adolemus altaria, ſive cum ſecretis mentium penetralibus ineffabilia dicta* quæ feceris, æſtimantes tacito fovemus adfectu. juſtæ enim vox† tuæ Rex gentium. quis non timebit, et magnificabit nomen tuum? nullæ quidem nobis adhuc cythare perſonant; ſancti tui, qui beſtiam ſæculi hujus, concordia virtutum perſeverante vicerunt‡ nullum de nobis Moyſi§ canticum, qui inter fluctus adhuc iſtius ſæculi volutamur.

* We read *dictu*.

† Clearly a miſtake for *viæ*.

‡ Something is wanting here, where the palimpſeſt is cut into a new leaf. We have ſuggeſted a few words which ſeem to carry on the ſenſe.

§ Mone rightly obſerves that this is the genitive caſe.

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We have no voice of Angels, unleſs perchance they (*i. e.* thoſe heavenly ſpirits) may praiſe us, who may probably be preſent with us when we conſecrate the Body and Blood of Thy moſt dearly beloved SON. Yet have we a pious care for the people, and holy prayer for the ſalvation of the multitude. And if the mind, intent on the divine worſhip, cannot ſet forth in full the majeſty of ſuch a work, yet it endeavours to frequent the uſe of the benefit that is allowed. For who can with perfunctory ſenſe paſs over Thy divine gifts? Thou into corruptible ſlime and ſoluble clay didſt vouchſafe to breathe the breath of life: Thou madeſt that to be man which is ſlime; and the mortal material Thou didſt vivify with the ſpiritual vigour of nature into Thine image and ſimilitude, that fiery vigour might animate within the torpid earth and the dull clay; and by the agile motion of the warm vein our fleſh might be quickened. What are we, and how much have we deſerved? For this clay Thy laws, for this clay the oracles of the prophets, for this clay the miniſtries of angels, as ſoldiers have rendered ſervice. For this clay the LORD JESUS Himſelf, pitying human labours, triumphed in the croſs of His Body. Why ſhould I tell how, at the aſhes of Thy Martyrs, the incorporeal powers are tor-

Nulla vox Angelorum niſi forte laudare* nos poſſunt, qui adeſſe nobis poſſent, cum fili tui delectiſſimi corpus conſecramus et ſanguinem, ſed pia cura pro populo, et ſancta pro ſalute plebis oratio. et mens cultui intenta divino ſi non poteſt maieſtatem tanti operis explecare, nititur tamen uſum conceſſi muneris frequentare, quis enim poſſit perfunctorio ſenſu, divina tua præterire munera, tu corruptibili limo lutoque ſolubili ſpiritu† vitæ inſufflare dignatus es, hominem feciſti eſſe quod limos eſt. materiamque mortalem, ad imaginem ſimilitudinemque tuam ſpiritali vivificaſti vigore naturæ, ut pigram humum hebetemque limum igneus vigor. intus animaret. agiliſque‡ motio venæ tepentis. caro noſtra viveſceret, quid ſumus. et quantum eruemus§ huic limo leges. huic limo profetarum oracula angelorum miniſteria militarunt, huic limo ipſe dominus Jheſus labores miſeratus humanos cruce ſui corporis triumfavit, quid loquar ad tuorum cineres torqueri incorporeas‖ poteſtates, urit hic li-

* This is an extremely difficult paſſage. Mone wants to read *niſi laudare nos* POSSUMUS, but the ſenſe he would attach to his alteration does not ſeem very clear. We think that the reading of the text may poſſibly be explained as in our tranſlation. The *qui adeſſe nobis poſſent* is, to our minds, one of the moſt convincing proofs of the great antiquity of this Maſs.

† "Für den Acc. Die Abkürzung feſilt," ſays Mone. But he is wrong. It is the common uſe of the ablative for the accuſative, which occurs fifty times in the Mozarabic hymns, and in the writings of ſouthern Gaul—

e.g. Medio noctis tempore
Per voce evangelica
Venturus Sponſus creditur,
Regni cœleſtis conditor.

A corruption which has engraved itſelf on the ſouthern Romanic languages, both in the ſecond and third Latin declenſion, as Sanc*to* for Sanc*tus*, call*e* for call*is*, virtu*de* for virt*tus*.

‡ We read *agili*.

§ Mone ſuggeſts *erimus* or *meruimus*. The latter is probably right.

‖ Anxious to draw the parallel between the Martyrs of Lyons and the

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mented? This clay burns thoſe whom the flame touches not: theſe aſhes torment thoſe whom the torture of the hook cannot reach: their groans are heard, although we behold not their torments. And theſe* ſo great rewards of a little labour, it is a wretched pleaſure which rejects. Miſerable fleſh! what does it grudge itſelf! It calls itſelf back from heaven, and gives itſelf again to clay. Nor would this be ſtrange if earth had the preponderance. But ſince Thou, LORD GOD Father Almighty, haſt commanded us, raiſed up in the Body of Thy Son, to reſeek heaven, let not, I beſeech Thee, Thy mercy to us be loſt. Let it be enough that the ſoul, ſhut up within the body, paſſes, unhappy, under alien laws, mus quos flamma non tangit, torquet favilla quos ungulæ pœna non invenit. auditur gemitus quorum tormenta non cernimus et hæc quam magna parvi laboris præmia, infilex voluptas quod eicit miſera caro. quid ſibi invidet. de cœlo ſe revocat, et luto reddit. nec hoc mirum ſit erra præponderat. ſed quia tu domine deus pater omnipotens, in tui unigeniti levatus corpore cœlum nos ſeparare juſſiſti. ne quæſo patiar† vi perire, nobis miſericordiam tuam ſatis ſit quod incluſa corpore anima in leges miſera tranſit alienas generis pœna communi‡ pro

Conteſtatio as cloſe as poſſible, Mone has here recourſe to one of the moſt extraordinary interpretations which ever entered a ſcholar's head. He will have *incorporeæ* either to mean *corporeæ*, or to be a falſe reading for it; and *poteſtates* to mean the *magiſtrates!* becauſe in the celebrated letter of the Church of Lyons they are called ἐξούσιαι. He ſays, "Will man *incorporeæ poteſtates* durch Teufel und nicht durch weltliche Machthaber, erklären, ſo iſt *incorporeæ* in dieſer Verbindung ſehr fremdartig" (not half ſo ſtrange as *corporeæ* applied in the other ſenſe), "und das Relativum *quos* der folgenden Sätze paſt nicht darer, weil es *maſc.* iſt." (Why may it not exactly as well refer to *diabolos* or *ſpiritus*, as to magiſtratus?) "Wie könnte man auch von den Teufeln ſagen, *quos flamma non tangit*, da dieſes Bibel offenbar wiederſpricht?" The paſſage does not ſpeak of *any* flame: it ſimply ſpeaks of the material fire which conſumed the Martyrs;—and *that* did not touch the devils. Mone here ſees a reference to the ſix days and nights in which the bodies of the Martyrs lay unburied, and to their then being burnt, and the aſhes caſt into the Rhone. But how can it be ſaid that the magiſtrates were *tortured* or *burnt* by theſe remains? how can it be ſaid of the city officials, "auditus gemitus, quorum tormenta non cernimus?" whereas, if applied to the caſting out of evil ſpirits by the relics of the Martyrs, the whole ſenſe is perfectly clear. In fact, how almoſt impoſſible is it that *incorporeæ* ſhould have been written for *corporeæ*; and if it were, who ever heard of *corporea poteſtas* meaning a magiſtrate?

* We read this moſt corrupt paſſage thus, following the emendation of one of the moſt celebrated of Engliſh ſcholars:—

"Et hæc quam magna parvi laboris præmia, *infelix* voluptas *quæ rejicit*. Miſera caro, quid ſibi invidet! De cœlo ſe revocat, et luto reddit. Nec hoc mirum, *ſi terra* præponderat. Sed quia tu, Domine Deus Pater Omnipotens, in tui Unigeniti *levatos* corpore cœlum nos *reparare* juſſiſti, ne quæſo," &c.

Mone makes no attempt to explain the paſſage, beyond ſuggeſting *ſit aera* for *ſit erra!*

[I may now add that the above fine correction, which has been very much admired in Germany, is due to the late Dr. Mill.]

† We read *patiaris* inſtead of *patiar vi*. ‡ We read *communis*.

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and that the common penalty of the race is paid for the fault of one man. Though we have loſt indeed the prerogative of nature; let us not loſe the grace of Thy Redemption. Keep therefore, O LORD, Thy reward for Thyſelf, which Thou haſt purchaſed with the body of Thy moſt dearly beloved SON. We owe nothing to this fleſh and blood: [and we will obſerve] the command of the LORD's redemption, that as it is written, we may be His Who roſe again from the dead. To Thee, as is meet, &c.

errore unius eſt perſoluta. amiſerimus certe prærogativum naturæ, non amittemus redemptionis tuæ gratiam; mercem igitur domine tuam tibi ſerva, quam fili tui dilectiſſimi tibi corpore comparaſti, nihil huic carni debemus et ſanguini juſſumque dominicæ redemptionis* ut ſicut ſcriptum eſt, ſimus ejus qui a mortuis reſurrexit, merito, &c.

The *Ter Sanctus*, of courſe, follows: its Mozarabic form is this:—

Holy, Holy, Holy, LORD GOD of Sabaoth; heaven and earth are full of the glory of Thy Majeſty. Oſanna to the Son of David. Bleſſed is He that cometh in the name of the LORD. Oſanna in the higheſt. Hagios, Hagios, Hagios, Kyrie o Theos.

And then comes the prayer *Poſt Sanctus*; which is almoſt always of this form (we take that for the Saturday in Eaſter week):—

Verily Holy, verily Bleſſed, is our LORD JESUS CHRIST, Thy SON, through Whom Thou haſt deſtined for us true ſalvation, that man, deceived by the fraud of the ſerpent, might by His Reſurrection eſcape death, and renew the life which he had loſt. The devil had done deceitfully, that he might ſlay man at unawares; but the LORD cured him of his wound, while He poured forth His precious blood. Of old time he received his death-wound: but now, by the blood of the Croſs, he hath acquired perpetual joys. The woman, herſelf ſeduced, had deceived the man: but he hath been redeemed by the fixture of the venerable nails. For GOD hath delivered us from hell, and hath ſet us free from the hand of death; Who ſitteth at the right hand of the FATHER, CHRIST the LORD, and the Eternal Redeemer.

That for Pentecoſt:—

Verily Holy is GOD the FATHER, Holy the Only-begotten SON, Holy alſo the one SPIRIT of both; for by His ineſtimable power the chariot of the Goſpels ruſhes with its flaming wheels through the whole world: and its axle, glittering with the ſplendour of their fiery rays, is carried every way by the bodies, inſtinct with eyes, of the Living Creatures. In the Charioteer of thoſe wheels the Spirit of Life Himſelf abiding, hath, by the empire of His own power, ſubjected the whole world to the feet of CHRIST: by divine powers bearing the teſtimony of the FATHER to the Only-begotten WORD, that He was made fleſh and dwelt among us. This is that gift, promiſed by, and like to, the paternal pledge, that the SON had engaged to ſend; when, returning to the FATHER, he ſaid that His own ſhould in nowiſe be left orphans; teaching thereby that, in the preſence of the SPIRIT, His own and His Father's Majeſty ſubſiſted. This is that ointment wherewith CHRIST

* We muſt ſupply *obſervabimus*, or ſome ſuch word.

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was anointed above His fellows by the FATHER: the verity of this anointing, that ancient divines ſet forth with tranſitory figures, by which prieſts and prophets and kings were conſtituted, repreſenting aforehand the image of the One True King and Prophet and Prieſt, JESU CHRIST the LORD and eternal Redeemer.

The Ambroſian Office has no *Poſt Sanctus:* that of the Gallican is preciſely ſimilar to the Mozarabic. We give that of Mone's Maſs, No. 5:—

He, I ſay, CHRIST our LORD and our GOD, who being made, of His own will, like to mortals through all the courſe of life, preſented to Thee an immaculate body; and, the ſufficient expiator of ancient guilt, exhibited a ſoul incorrupt and inviolate by ſin:* . . . . which blood ſhould again cleanſe from its pollution; and, having abrogated the Law of Death, ſhould raiſe man's loſt body to Heaven, and to the right hand of the FATHER. Through our LORD JESUS CHRIST; Who, the day before He ſuffered, &c.

The concluſion of this prayer introduces us to the great blemiſh of the Ximenian books. The Mozarabic Liturgy, which always ends the *Poſt Sanctus* with the words "CHRIST THE LORD and eternal Redeemer," originally proceeded, like the Gallican, "Who, the day before He ſuffered," ſo introducing the Conſecration. But now the *Poſt Sanctus* ends abruptly with "*Redeemer*," and a new introduction commences, *Adeſto, adeſto, Jeſu bone Pontifex in medio noſtri:* the word *Pridie* nowhere now occurring, though the prayer that follows the Canon is ſtill called the *Poſt Pridie.* This violent disjuncture is undoubtedly a great reflection on the ſkill of the Ximenian reviſers. The formula of conſecration is:—"THIS IS MY BODY, WHICH "SHALL BE GIVEN FOR YOU: THIS IS THE CUP OF THE "NEW TESTAMENT IN MY BLOOD, WHICH FOR YOU "AND FOR MANY SHALL BE POURED FORTH FOR THE "REMISSION OF SINS." Although theſe words are given in the text, the Roman form is really employed.

This is neither the time nor place to dwell on the Invocation of the HOLY GHOST, after the words of Inſtitution, which the Eaſtern Church conſiders of co-ordinate neceſſity with the latter for the change of the elements. It will be ſufficient to remind the reader that the formula in the Liturgy of S. Chryſoſtom is as follows:—

Send down Thy HOLY GHOST on us, and on theſe propoſed gifts, and make this bread the precious Body of Thy CHRIST: and that which is in this cup the precious Blood of Thy CHRIST: changing them by Thy HOLY GHOST:

and that in all the Eaſtern Liturgies, as well as in the Scotch

* A clauſe in the original appears to have been loſt.

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Communion Office, there is a prayer to the like effect. We ſhall only remark here that the Gotho-Hiſpanic and Gallican Rites clearly contained this invocation in the prayer *Poſt Pridie*. It has, for the moſt part, diſappeared from the preſent Mozarabic Offices: but ſufficient traces of it remain. The Maſſes of Spaniſh Saints eſpecially retain it.

Take, for example, the *Poſt Pridie* of S. Torquatus and his companions (May 1):—

Almighty GOD, Who for the ſalvation of the people in theſe parts didſt ſend ſeven mirrors of prieſts, do Thou, at the interceſſion of the ſame, whoſe moſt ſacred memories are recited at Thine altar, ſend Thy HOLY GHOST from Thy holy ſeat, whereby Thou mayeſt impart ſanctification to the offered ſacrifices, and fulneſs of ſanctity to our doctors.

Of S. Martiana (a Mauritanian martyr), July 12:—

Thee, Almighty GOD, we beſeech and ſupplicate, that thou wouldſt vouchſafe of Thy mercy to accept this oblation, which we offer to Thee with faithful and humble devotion, and wouldeſt Thyſelf make the offerings of our ſervice acceptable to Thee; that Thou wouldſt make them accepted and ſanctified here by the miniſtry* of the HOLY GHOST, and wouldſt receive the requeſts of our ſervice for a ſweet-ſmelling ſavour.

There are twelve other Maſſes in which the ſame thing occurs: the moſt remarkable is that for the fifth Sunday in Lent:—

Having recited, O LORD, the precept for the Sacraments of Thine Only-begotten SON, and making mention at the ſame time of His excellent Paſſion, and Reſurrection, and Aſcenſion into Heaven, we humbly beſeech and pray Thy Majeſty that the plenitude of Thy benedictions may deſcend on theſe ſacrifices; and that Thou wouldſt pour on them the ſhower of Thy HOLY GHOST from heaven. That this ſacrifice may become after the order of Melchiſedech; that this ſacrifice may become after the order of Thy patriarchs and prophets; that as Thy Majeſty did vouchſafe to accept that which they did in types, ſignifying the Advent of Thine Only-begotten SON, ſo Thou wouldſt vouchſafe to look upon and to ſanctify this ſacrifice, *which is* the true Body and Blood of Thy SON our LORD JESUS CHRIST; Who for us all was made Prieſt and Sacrifice. Thus therefore, moſt merciful FATHER, ſanctify this ſacrifice by looking upon it with Thy Glory; that they who receive it may obtain from Thee pardon of ſins here, and eternal life in heaven.

Who does not ſee that the original expreſſion, in pla[illegible] two words we have italiciſed, muſt have been *that it may become*, or, *and make it?*

Eight, at leaſt, of Thomaſius's Gallican [illegible] vocation: that which contains it moſt [illegible]

* Arevalus would read, without ſuffici[illegible]

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for the Aſſumption. We give it in the original, for a reaſon that will preſently be evident :—

Deſcendat, Domine, in his Sacrificiis tuæ benedictionis coeternus et cooperator Paraclytus Spiritus, ut quæ tibi de tua terra fructificante porrigimus, cœleſti permuneratione, te ſanctificante, ſumamus. Ut tranſlata fruge in corpore, calice in cruore, proficiat meritis, quod obtulimus pro delictis.

Now, undoubtedly, this may mean "the bread *having been* changed," *i. e.* by the words of Inſtitution: but the whole tenor of the paſſage, joined to what we know of the character of this prayer from other ſources, ſhows that the true meaning is, "the bread being by this invocation changed." And ſo Mabillon ſaw that *permuneratione* is merely an error for *permutatione.*

In Mone's Third Maſs ſtill more ſtrikingly :—

Deprecamus, Pater Omnipotens, ut his creaturis altario tuo ſuperpoſitis Spiritus (*l. Spiritum*) ſanctificationis infundas, ut per transfuſione cœleſtis et inviſibilis ſacramenti, panis hic mutatur (*l. mutatus*) in carne, et calix tranſlatus in ſanguine, ſit totius gratia, ſit ſumentibus medicina, p. d.

So the Fourth Maſs :—

Deſcendat . . . ſuper hunc panem, et ſuper hunc calicem, ut *fiat* nobis legitima euchariſtia in transformatione Corporis et Sanguinis Domini.

And this prayer for a *legitima euchariſtia* occurs many times both in the Gallican and Mozarabic books.

The *Poſt Pridie* always ends thus :—

Amen. *Prieſt.* Through Thy gift, holy LORD: for Thou createſt all theſe things very good, for us Thine unworthy ſervants; ſancti • fieſt, quickeneſt, • bleſſ • eſt, • and granteſt to us; that they may be bleſſed by Thee our GOD for ever and ever. Amen.

Then follows, if there be one appointed for the day, the *Antiphona ad confractionem panis:* for example, on the ſecond Sunday in Lent: "Let Thy merciful kindneſs, O LORD, be upon us, like as we have put our truſt in Thee." And the Prieſt, having ſaluted the people, proceeds: "The faith which we believe with the heart, let us ſay it with the mouth." And then, and not till then, according to the old rite, he elevates the Hoſt; becauſe then, and not till then,—not till after the *Poſt Pridie*, was it a *legitima euchariſtia*, according to the Gotho-Hiſpanic belief. Now, there are two elevations; one here, and one according to the Roman Uſe. Having broken the Hoſt into nine parts, the celebrant arranges them thus, in honour of theſe myſteries :—

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	The Incarnation.		
The Death.	The Nativity.	The Resurrection.	
	The Circumcision.		The Glory.
	The Apparition.		The Kingdom.
	The Passion.		

The glory and *the kingdom* being properly no part of the Cross. And it is to this custom, in all probability, that the Canon of the Council of Tours refers: "Ut Corpus Domini in altari non imaginario ordine, sed sub crucis titulo componatur." That is, that the particles were not to be disposed in any way which the Priest might fancy, but in the appointed Cross.

The Nicene Creed, which is said while the priest is so arranging the particles, has nothing otherwise remarkable than that it is phrased in the plural.

The Priest* proceeds to the Collect before the LORD'S Prayer, the last of the seven prayers of S. Isidore. The following, for the sixth Sunday after Easter, may serve as an example:—

Raise us up before Thy presence, Almighty GOD, in Whom we live. To Whom we are dedicated. To Whom we owe our salvation. Whose gift is our festivity. Whose reward is the life of them that believe. Whose redemption is the Resurrection of the dead. Be present in the sacrifices, which Thou hast taught. Be present in the joys which Thou hast given; Thou Who hast sealed the hope of Resurrection. Preserve in us through all things this Thy gift, that celebrating this day of the LORD'S Resurrection with worthy hymns, we may merit to say to Thee from earth,—Our FATHER, &c.

The Gallican Office varied in the same way. Here is an example from Mone's Sixth Mass:—

We are indeed unworthy of the name of sons, Almighty GOD: but Thou being our Helper, trembling, yet obeying our LORD JESUS CHRIST, with humble mind we pray, and say,—Our FATHER, &c.

* Here, in the present rite, occurs the *memento* for the living; as afterwards, just before the Priest receives, the *memento* for the dead: but these are Ximenian alterations; both the one and the other being commemorated in the Gotho-Hispanic Use before the *Oratio post nomina.*

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The LORD'S Prayer follows. The people anſwer *Amen* to every clauſe, except to that, "Give us this day our daily bread," where they reply, "For Thou art GOD."* Immediately after there is a variation from the Gallican, and an agreement with the Ambroſian and Roman form. The Gallican has a varying collect that follows, as well as one that precedes, the LORD'S Prayer. As in S. Eulalia's day: "Free us, eternal piety, and "true liberty; and ſuffer not them, Almighty, to be taken by "the enemy, who deſire to be poſſeſſed by Thee. Who liveſt," &c. This is followed by the *Emboliſmus*, a prayer againſt temptation, never varying: as is alſo the caſe in the Eaſtern Liturgies. After the *Emboliſmus*, the Prieſt, in Eaſter-tide, exclaims thrice, "The Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David, hath conquered, Alleluia:" and at each time the people reply, "Thou that ſitteſt upon the Cherubim, Root of David, Alleluia:" the Prieſt holding the Particle called The Kingdom, over the chalice. At other times he proceeds immediately to the *Sancta Sanctis;* in which the Mozarabic agrees with the Eaſtern Liturgies. Every one knows that in the latter, this exclamation is followed by a confeſſion of faith in the Trinity, or of our LORD'S Divinity. As, for example, in S. Chryſoſtom: "One Holy, one LORD, JESUS CHRIST, the glory of GOD the FATHER. Amen." In S. Mark: "One Holy FATHER, one Holy SON, one HOLY GHOST, in the unity of GOD the FATHER. Amen." And here, in the Gallican Office, followed the *Trecanum*, the ſame confeſſion; it is now not to be found in the Mozarabic Rite,† though undoubtedly it once exiſted there. The *Sancta Sanctis* in the Gotho-Hiſpanic Office runs thus:—

Holy Things for Holy Perſons:‡ and the commixture of the Body [and Blood] of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, be to us that receive and drink it for pardon, and be vouchſafed to the departed faithful for reſt. Amen.

And he puts the particle called The Kingdom into the chalice. A relic of the ancient rite was in uſe in the mediæval Miſſal of Angers, where the commixture of our LORD'S Body and Blood was accompanied with theſe words: "Sanctum cum ſanctis: hæc ſacroſancta commixtio," &c.

* This fact is a ſufficient anſwer to the Chevalier Bunſen's wild dreams about the derivation of all Liturgies from the LORD'S Prayer, conſidered as the original form of Conſecration.

† Another corruption of the preſent Mozarabic Office here is, that the *Sancta Sanctis* is ſaid in a low voice, inſtead of as a proclamation.

‡ [Here, perhaps, we ought to tranſlate, *Holy Things to Holy Things.* That great liturgical ſcholar, Mr. Freeman, tranſlates, (but, I feel convinced, miſtaking,) the *Sancta Sanctis*, "The Holy Myſteries are lifted up to the Holies," *i.e.* to the LORD'S Body in Heaven.]

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After the exclamation, "Bow down yourſelves for the benediction," the Prieſt pronounces one that varies with the day, and is almoſt always contained in three different clauſes; very rarely in four or five. For example, on Eaſter-day:—

The LORD JESUS CHRIST, Who, dying for the ſalvation of the whole world, roſe again to-day from the dead, He by His reſurrection mortify you from crime. *R.* Amen. And He That by the Croſs deſtroyed the empire of death, beſtow on you a participation in the bleſſed life. *R.* Amen. That you who in the preſent world celebrate the day of His Reſurrection with joy, may merit the companionſhip of the Saints in the heavenly land. *R.* Amen. Which He vouchſafe to grant through Thy mercy, O our GOD, who art bleſſed, and liveſt, and governeſt all things for ever and ever. *R.* Amen.

For the firſt Sunday in Lent:—

CHRIST, the Only-begotten SON of GOD, Who vouchſafed to thirſt for the faith of the woman of Samaria, He kindle in you the thirſt of His love. *R.* Amen. The ſame Redeemer Who worked in her that which He might call unto His kingdom, work in you that which He may crown with eternal remuneration. *R.* Amen. And He That gave to the diſciples precepts of praying, He vouchſafe to hear you in whatever place ye call upon Him. *R.* Amen. Through Thy mercy, &c.

On the Feaſt of SS. Peter and Paul:—

The Almighty GOD, Who giveth to the miſerable every remedy of mercy, grant to you to be cleanſed with the tears of Peter from all fooliſhneſs of crime. *R.* Amen. Vouchſafe to you to receive the wiſdom of the word by the teaching of Paul. *R.* Amen. That the one by prudence, the other by doctrine, may cauſe you to attain to everlaſting life. *R.* Amen. He granting and helping, Who, in perfect unity, liveth and reigneth One GOD for ever and ever. *R.* Amen.

The Gallican Uſe was the ſame. Mone's Maſſes contain no Benedictions. There are ſeveral in thoſe publiſhed by Thomaſius. The triple form, however, is not ſo conſtantly obſerved. The following is for S. Andrew's-day:—

Almighty LORD GOD, Who, ſitting in Thy glory above the ſtars, has left to us a propitious ſtar, the bleſſed Apoſtles, whoſe fair cohort, powerful in bleſſed ſplendour, Thou didſt firſt preelect in merit, that Thou migheſt predeſtinate them in the kingdom. *R.* Amen. Grant of Thy mercy to the ſurrounding congregation to be fortified by the ſign of the Croſs, that it may overcome every aſſault of adverſe power. *R.* Amen. Pour into their ſenſes the Apoſtolic doctrines, that they may contemplate Thee with unclouded minds. *R.* Amen. That in the tremendous hour of judgment they may be defended by the protection of thoſe whoſe precepts they followed. *R.* Amen. Which Thyſelf vouchſafe to grant, who with the FATHER, and the HOLY GHOST, &c.

After the Benediction, the Choir, in the Mozarabic Rite,

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ſays the *Antiphona ad accedentes*. This anſwers to the Roman *Communio*, and to the Greek κοινωνικόν. In the Spaniſh Office, however, there are but a few of theſe Antiphons. That in uſual employment is:—

O taſte and ſee how gracious the LORD is.* All. All. All. *V.* I will bleſs the LORD at all times: His praiſe ſhall ever be in my mouth. All. All. All. *V.* The LORD ſhall redeem the ſouls of His ſervants, and He ſhall not forſake any that put their truſt in Him. All. All. All. *V.* Glory, and honour, &c. All. All. All.

Each Sunday in Lent has it proper Antiphona: ſo has Maundy Thurſday. From Eaſter-eve till Pentecoſt, it is this:—

Rejoice, O people, and be glad: an Angel ſat on the ſtone of the LORD: he himſelf gave you the glad tidings. CHRIST hath ariſen from the dead, the SAVIOUR of the world: and hath filled all with ſweetneſs: rejoice, O people, and be glad. *V.* Now his face was as the lightning, and his garments as ſnow: and he ſaid: *P.* CHRIST hath ariſen from the dead. *V.* And the women went quickly from the ſepulchre with fear and great joy, and did run to tell His diſciples that He had ariſen. *P.* CHRIST hath, &c. *V.* Glory and honour, &c. *P.* Rejoice, O people, and be glad, &c.

The uſe would ſeem to have been the ſame in the Gallican Miſſal. A remarkable metrical example, of the ſeventh or eighth century, has been preſerved, commencing, *Sancti venite, corpus Chriſti ſumite.*†

The prayers ſaid by the Prieſt after and before reception call for no particular notice; and the rite is moderniſed. The Choir at the concluſion ſings the *Communio*, which is briefly this, and is invariable, except in Lent; and therefore does not anſwer to the Roman *Communio*:—"Refecti Chriſti Corpore et Sanguine, te laudamus, Domine, All. All. All." In Lent: "Repletum eſt gaudio os noſtrum, et lingua noſtra in exultatione."

The Gallican Rite had two varying prayers, the *Poſt Euchariſtiam* and the final *Collectio*, which are not found in the Mozarabic. The original concluſion‡ of the Spaniſh Office was thus: the Prieſt ſtanding at the Goſpel ſide of the altar:—

The Body of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, which we have received, and His holy Blood, which we have drunk, ſo adhere to us, eternal Almighty GOD, that it may not be to us to judgment, nor to condemnation, but may profit

* The Apoſt. Conſtitutions order the 34th Pſalm to be ſaid during Communion (viii. 13); the Catecheſis of S. Cyril ſeems to imply that only the *Guſtate et videte* was ſaid by the Church of Jeruſalem in his time: and ſo does S. Ambroſe—"Unde et Eccleſia videns tantam gratiam, hortatur—Guſtate et videte, &c."

† [See my Mediæval Hymns, p. 37.]

‡ A ſtrange medley of eight collects, to be ſaid by the Prieſt, now follows this.

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to our ſalvation, and to the remedy of our ſouls for eternal life. *R.* Amen. *Prieſt.* Through Thy mercy, O our GOD, Who art bleſſed, and liveſt, and governeſt all things for ages of ages. *R.* Amen. *Prieſt.* The Lord be ever with you. *R.* And with thy ſpirit. *Prieſt.* Our ſolemnity is accompliſhed in the name of our LORD JESUS CHRIST: let our prayer be received with peace. *R.* Amen.

Thus, as fully as our ſpace allowed, we have endeavoured to go through the Gotho-Hiſpanic Rite; the richeſt, the fulleſt, the moſt varied of all known Liturgies. We have ſhown that it could not be derived from the Roman Liturgy, differing from it as it does in the Prophecy, in the poſition of the Kiſs of Peace, and in the Invocation,—while, though bearing a cloſer affinity to the Eaſtern Rites, neither can it be deduced from them, becauſe of its varying Prefaces, its varying Collects, and the poſition of its Creed. Its perfected ſtructure we owe to ſuch ſaints as S. Leander, S. Iſidore, S. Ildefonſo; its explanation and intelligibility to ſcholars like Alexander Leſlie, Fauſtinus Arevalus, and Lorenzana: but its exiſtence as a living rite is due to one man only, and is but a part of the debt that the Weſtern Church owes to Francis Ximenes de Ciſneros, Archbiſhop of Toledo.

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VI.

THE AMBROSIAN LITURGY.*

WE have endeavoured to elucidate the theory of the Roman Ritual; we have entered at ſome length into the Mozarabic and Gallican Miſſal; we now propoſe to do as much for the Ambroſian. Some queſtions, which have been previouſly diſcuſſed at length, we ſhall therefore feel ourſelves at liberty here to conſider ſettled; and it will be our endeavour to avoid repeating here what we have inveſtigated before.

The Ambroſian, like the Mozarabic and Gallican, is a branch of the Epheſine family. All three have been moulded by contact with the Petrine Liturgy; but the Ambroſian, as it might be expected, moſt of all. It is a living rite, theoretically co-extenſive with the province of Milan,—and in this reſpect of far greater importance than the Mozarabic, now confined to the Chapel in Toledo, and to the three other pariſhes where it is authoriſed. But in every other point of view, it is immeaſurably inferior to the Spaniſh Rite; and had the Gallican exiſted long enough to have taken a ſtatus of development like her two ſiſters, we believe that ſhe alſo would have been ſuperior to the Milaneſe. We ſay, theoretically co-extenſive with the province of Milan, becauſe, in point of fact, in the Swiſs portion of it, the Roman Rite is uſed and clung to with marvellous tenacity; inſomuch that when Cardinal de Gaiſruck endeavoured to ſub-

* 1. Miſſale Ambroſianum, noviſſime Joſeph Cardinalis Puteobonelli, Archiepiſcopi, auctoritate recognitum. Mediolani: 1768. Typis Joannis Baptiſtæ de Sirturis, Impreſs. Archiepiſcopal.

2. Miſſale Ambroſianum, Caroli Cajetani Cardinalis de Gaiſruck, Archiepiſcopi, auctoritate recognitum. Noviſſime impreſſum. Mediolani: 1850. Apud Jacobum Agnelli, Typographum Archiepiſcopalem.

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ſtitute the Ambroſian Liturgy, the popular outburſt of feeling exclaimed, "*Either Romans or Lutherans!*"

Firſt, we will give a haſty ſketch of the fortunes of the Church of Milan during thoſe centuries in which her ritual was aſſuming its preſent form; then explain the diviſion of its eccleſiaſtical year; the framework of its Miſſæ; and then its particular beauties and defects as compared with the cognate Mozarabic and Gallican forms.

Italy, then, in the earlieſt ages, was divided into the Roman and Italic provinces, under the reſpective headſhips of Rome and Milan. During the era of perſecution, it may ſafely be ſaid that theſe two were much on a par: after that period, the one was continually weakened by abſtracted provinces, the other continually augmented by means, the recital of which forms one great part of Church Hiſtory. At an uncertain time, but about A.D. 400, Aquileia became independent of Milan, and vindicated to itſelf the Primacy of Venetia and Iſtria. In A. D. 447, the See of Ravenna in like manner claimed the Primacy of the Flaminia and part of the Æmilia; and by theſe two loſſes the See of S. Ambroſe loſt much of the dignity that it had enjoyed previouſly to and during the pontificate of that great Father.

During his Epiſcopate, we find the difference between the Roman and Milaneſe uſes, more particularly in the obſervance of the Saturday, very ſtriking. Yet probably the ritual which he left was the mere kernel or nucleus of that now called the Ambroſian. It was, on the whole, more like the Eaſtern formulæ than was the Roman; at the ſame time, in one particular, the variety and diſtinctions of its Prefaces or Illations, it was further removed from the immutability of the Antiochene and Thaddæan families. An intereſting article might be written on the traces which remain in the genuine works of S. Ambroſe of the Liturgy which exiſted at his time.

S. Simplician, his ſucceſſor (A. D. 397—400), is ſaid to have made conſiderable additions to the formulæ then in uſe: this may be true; but the very ſhort period of his pontificate muſt have cramped his deſigns. It is better to aſſume that during the whole of the Firſt Epoch of the Poſt-Ambroſian Church—that which preceded the capture of Milan by Attila (A. D. 397—452)—the Liturgy was more and more aſſuming completeneſs, and ſettling into the definite arrangement of the various Miſſal Antiphons. Great names ruled the Italic province during that period: S. Venerius for eight years; S. Marolus for fifteen; S. Martinianus for thirteen; S. Glycerius for three; S. Lazarus for eleven; S. Euſebius for fourteen. During the pontificate of the laſt-named Biſhop it was, that the "Scourge of GOD,"

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having already devastated Northern Italy, fell, in A.D. 452 on Milan. The Bishop, guessing by natural prudence, or forewarned by supernatural agency of the impending ruin, led his flock towards the Maritime and Cottian Alps; and on their return, when Attila had retreated, that restoration of the Great Basilic, better known by the name of *Intramurana*, took place, which has left its stamp on the Ambrosian Calendar to all ages. The great flaw of the Mozarabic, as every one knows, is that beyond the Seventh Sunday after Trinity there is no further Dominical Office till we come to the Kalends of November; so that for ten or twelve Sundays in the summer the same office is repeated again and again. This would have been the case at Milan; but the time is now well filled up by the occurrence of the Feast of Dedication on the third Sunday in October; the two former Sundays of that month being taken up in preparation for it: and, by the observance of the Decollation of S. John Baptist, with its train of following Sundays.

We are inclined, then, to fix the end of the First Epoch of the Ambrosian Rite to the return of the exiled citizens in 453. The homily delivered on that occasion by the most celebrated preacher of his time, S. Maximus of Turin, and which is still extant, used to be read on the occasion of this Festival, till the last restoration of the Great Basilic, by S. Charles Borromeo.

During the Second Epoch, from thence to the inauguration of the Gothic kings (A.D. 453—493), the Ambrosian Office probably perfected its most important parts. From a careful examination of its Prefaces, and a comparison between them and the relics of ecclesiastical writers of that place and time, this fact, we think, might be made pretty clear; and it is curious that the scholars of Italy have not devoted themselves to an inquiry so full of interest and importance. During this epoch, five Prelates held the See of S. Ambrose; all of them reckoned among the saints—S. Geruntius, S. Benignus, S. Senator, S. Theodorus I, S. Laurentius I.

The Third Epoch is under the Gothic kings, and lasts from A.D. 493 to 568. It also saw five Pontificates, four Prelates out of the five being saints—S. Eustorgius II, S. Magnus, S. Datius, Vitalis, S. Auxanus. During this epoch, the lesser hymns and lections, the Psalmelli, Epistolellæ, Offertories, Transitories, and Confractories, appear to have formed themselves as they now are.

The Fourth Epoch is that of the Lombardic kings, from A.D. 568 to 739; and it is ecclesiastically important from the Aquileian schism of the Three Chapters. The reader is aware that on the condemnation of these Chapters, in the teeth of the Pope,

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by the Fifth Œcumenical Council, the Primate of Aquileia headed the dissentients from that condemnation; and, taking to himself the title of Patriarch, dealt his anathemas about pretty freely to the rest of the Church.

The schism thus commenced lasted more than a century. During this time the See of Milan was occupied by twelve prelates, of whom seven only are reckoned among the saints; namely, S. Honoratus, Laurentius II, Constantius, Adeodatus, Asterius, Fortis, S. Joannes Bonus, S. Antoninus, S. Mauricillus, S. Ampellius, S. Mansuetus, S. Benedictus, Theodorus II. And in this time we may fairly conclude that the book finally assumed the general character that it now possesses.

We will now proceed to the Office itself; and it will be most convenient to give, in the first place, the Dominical arrangement of its ecclesiastical year, which is very peculiar. The reader will perhaps understand it better if we take an actual year,—that on which we have just entered—[1861].

Jan.	1.	Circumcision.	
	8.	First Sunday after Epiphany.	
	15.	Second „	
	22.	Third „	
	29.	Fourth „	
Feb.	5.	Septuagesima.	
	12.	Sexagesima.	
	19.	Quinquagesima.	
	20.	Lent begins.	
	26.	Quadragesima.	
March	4.	Sunday of the Samaritan.	
	11.	„ Abraham.	
	18.	„ The Blind Man.	
	25.	„ Lazarus.	
	31.	Saturday of the Tradition of the Symbol.	
April	1.	Palm Sunday.	
	8.	Easter Day.	
	15.	First Sunday after Easter.	
	22.	Second „	
	29.	Third „	
May	6.	Fourth „	
	13.	Fifth „	
	17.	Ascension Day.	
	20.	Sunday after Ascension.	
	27.	Whitsunday.	
June	3.	Trinity Sunday.	
	10.	Second Sunday after Pentecost.	
	17.	Third Sun. after Pen.	
	24.	Fourth „	
July	1.	Fifth „	
	8.	Sixth „	
	15.	Seventh „	
	22.	Eighth „	
	29.	Ninth „	
August	5.	Tenth „	
	12.	Eleventh „	
	19.	Twelfth „	
	26.	Thirteenth „	
Sept.	2.	First after Decollation.	
	9.	Second „	
	16.	Third „	
	23.	Fourth „	
	30.	Fifth „	
Oct.	7.	First Sunday in October.	
	14.	Sunday before Dedication.	
	21.	Dedication.	
	28.	First Sunday after Dedication.	
Nov.	4.	Second „	
	11.	Third „	
	18.	First Sunday in Advent.	
	25.	Second „	
Dec.	2.	Third „	
	9.	Fourth „	
	16.	Fifth „	
	23.	Sixth „	

We have given, in a previous paper, a table of the analogous changeable portions of the Ambrosian, Mozarabic, and Roman Missals; the student may do well to turn to that.

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We will now take these in order.

The Ambrosian *Ingressa* differs from the Mozarabic and Roman in its construction; not consisting, as they do, of an anthem broken by V. and R., but a simple consecutive clause. Perhaps in the beauty of these Milan may challenge any other Liturgy; and every ritualist knows of how great importance it is that the key-note of the whole service, the Antiphon, so to speak, of the whole hymn of praise, should be expressive. Let us take the six Sundays of Advent as examples in each.

AMBROSIAN.

1. Unto Thee, O LORD, do I lift up my soul: my GOD, I have put my trust in Thee: O let me not be confounded, neither let mine enemies triumph over me. For all those that seek Thee shall not be confounded.

MOZARABIC.

1. Behold upon the mountains the feet of him that evangelizeth peace, Alleluia, that announceth good things, Alleluia: celebrate, O Judah, thy Festivals, Alleluia, and perform to the LORD thy vows. Alleluia. *V.* The LORD gave the word: great was the company of the preachers. *Ps.* And perform. *V.* Glory and honour to the FATHER, and to the SON, and to the HOLY GHOST. *Ps* And perform. *V.* For ever and ever.

The Ambrosian Ingressa for the first Sunday in Advent is the same as the Roman, though a little abbreviated. To our taste, as the opening of the season, the Mozarabic is the finer, nevertheless.

2. Remember us, O LORD, according to the favour that Thou beareſt unto Thy people: O visit us with Thy salvation. That we may see the felicity of Thy chosen, and rejoice in the gladness of Thy people, and give thanks with Thine inheritance.

3. His fruit shall be lifted up above Lebanon, and they shall flourish out of the city like grass upon the earth: and His Name shall be blessed for ever: and His Name shall remain before the sun, and His seat before the moon for ever and ever: and in Him shall the ends of the earth be blessed.

2. Get thee up upon the high mountain, thou that evangelizest to Sion, lift up thy voice with strength, thou that evangelizest to Jerusalem. Say to the cities of Judah, Alleluia, Alleluia. *V.* Our GOD shall manifestly come, our GOD, and shall not keep silence. Alleluia. *Ps.* Say. *V.* Glory and honour. *Ps.* Say.

3. Behold, the glory of the LORD shall be revealed. Alleluia. And all flesh shall see. Alleluia. That the mouth of the LORD hath spoken it. Alleluia. *V.* Our GOD shall manifestly come: our GOD, and shall not keep silence, Alleluia. *Ps.* That the. *V.* Glory and honour. *Ps.* That the.

Observe that, though the Ambrosian Ingressa comes a great deal nearer to the Italian than it does to the Vulgate Version,

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yet it is not exactly the same with either; on which we shall have more to say presently.

AMBROSIAN.	MOZARABIC.
4. The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness: Prepare ye the way of the LORD: make straight in the desert a high-way for our GOD.	4. *As the first.*
5. Drop down, ye heavens, from above, and let the clouds rain the Righteous One: let the earth be opened, and let it bud forth the Saviour.	5. *As the second.*
6. Dost thou behold Elizabeth discoursing with Mary the Mother of GOD: Why hast thou come to me, Mother of thy GOD? Had I known it, I would have gone to meet thee. For thou beareſt the Ruler, and I the Prophet: thou the Lawgiver,—and I the Law-receiver: thou the WORD, and I the Voice that proclaimeth the SAVIOUR.	6. Holy LORD GOD Omnipotent: Which is, and was, and is to come: Alleluia, Alleluia. *V.* Our GOD shall manifestly come: our GOD, and shall not keep silence. Alleluia. *Ps.* Which is. *V.* Glory and honour. *Ps.* Which is.

The last Ingressa is from S. Ambrose himself; and this is the case in several other instances. We are not sure that, in these Advent Introits, Milan has always the advantage over Toledo: the Antiphons of the former are more subjective—to use a word we greatly dislike—especially the earlier ones. But it is a sad flaw in the Mozarabic office to have a repetition, without sense or beauty, or two Introits, so unlike the superabounding fulness of that ritual in many cases.

There is nothing more profitable to ritualists than—if we may borrow a term from another art—*comparative* ecclesiology; and we propose to introduce a little in the course of this paper. Notice, in the Roman Introits, that the first is the same as the first in both Ambrosian and Mozarabic; and that the fourth is the same as the fifth of Milan, and exquisitely beautiful it is. The second is—"People of Sion, behold the LORD cometh to "save the nations: and the LORD shall cause the glory of His "voice to be heard in the joy of your heart. *Ps.* Give ear, O "Thou Shepherd of Israel, Thou that leadest Joseph like a "sheep. *V.* Glory." The third is simply—"Rejoice in the LORD alway," &c. But it is to be observed, that the *Rorate* of the fourth Sunday is not Gregorian. In the original Office it is, "Remember me, O LORD, with the favour that Thou beareſt unto Thy people,"—with the rest. This is retained in many German Missals, as, for example, the Halberstadt and the Nuremberg; also in our own. When was it altered? The old Introit is retained in Durandus (who wrote in 1286). But then

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here is a difficulty. Sicardus,* who died in 1214, speaks of it as a modern one (wherein he is mistaken): still this would seem to prove that the *Rorate* was already employed in some places.

We must return to our proper subject, and will proceed to point out some examples on which we think the Ambrosian Ingressa singularly happy. That for Christmas Day is curious, from its peculiar reading: "Rejoice, O barren, *thou that wast* "*athirst*:† let the desert be glad: rejoice, O ye waste places "of Judah, for our LORD hath come and redeemed us." That for New Year's Day is of the most venerable antiquity, and clearly referable to a period when Paganism was still a persecuting power, in allusion to the heathen festival of the New Year. We are not aware that this has ever been pointed out; but, so far as our reading goes, this is the oldest bit of any peculiar *Missa* (always excepting No. IV. of the Reichenau collection) which remains. "In the sight of the Gentiles fear "ye not; but do ye in your hearts adore and fear the LORD: "for His angel is with you." (Baruch vi. 5.) On the Epiphany, while the Roman gives us "Behold, the LORD the "Ruler cometh, and in His Hand is glory, and might, and "empire,"—an Antiphon of no especial propriety,—and the Mozarabic refers to the ancient Spanish custom of public Baptism at Epiphany, the Ambrosian has, with exquisite beauty, "The City hath no need either of the sun or of the moon to "lighten it, for GOD is the brightness of it. And the nations "shall walk in her light; and the kings of the earth do bring "their glory and honour unto it." It looks past, we see, the LORD'S Epiphany, wrought once that it might be wrought for ever, and fixes its gaze on that great and true ἐπιφάνεια of His glory, the new heavens and the new earth.

Quicunque Christum quæritis
Oculos in altum tollite:
Illic licebit visere
Regale signum gloriæ.

* His words are:—"In quo utero videns gentilitas calceatam fore Divinitatem in Introitu *secundum quosdam modernos*, clamat ad eam, dicens, Memento nostri," &c. Mitrale v. 4, p. 214. CD. We have been asked, why in former papers on Ritual we have made so much use of this author, who is never quoted by the Master Ritualists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Mitrale of Sicardus was only for the first time printed by the Abbé Migne, in 1855: those great men, therefore, had no opportunity of referring to a book which it is as necessary that the modern ritualist should have at his finger ends as Durandus or Hugh of S. Victor or Rupert.

† *Quæ sitiebas.* The Vulgate, both in Isaiah and in the Galatians, gives simply, *Quæ non paris.*

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Septuageſima has a happy Introit. "I know the thoughts "that I think towards you, ſaith the LORD, that they are "thoughts of peace and not of bitterneſs: ye ſhall call upon "Me, and I will hear you: and will bring back your captivity "from all places." The Roman has only: "The pains of hell came about me," &c., which, though Gregorian, is rather poor. The Mozarabic, as every one knows, has no ſuch ſpecial Sunday.

Quinquageſima preſents a very ſingular feature. We give the Ingreſſa in the original. "Jucunda eſt præſens vita, et "tranſit: terribile eſt, Chriſte, judicium tuum, et permanet. "Quapropter incertum honorem relinquamus, et de infinito "timore cogitemus, clamantes,—Chriſte, miſerere nobis." Now this is almoſt word for word a tranſlation of a Troparion in the Triodion for the ſame Sunday: a viſible proof of the cloſe connection between Milan and the Eaſt. It is remarkable that the *Invocabit me* is common both to Milan and Rome for the firſt Sunday in Lent; in the Ambroſian ritual, however, it goes through the *Miſſæ* of the week: in the Roman, not ſo.

We have no obſervation to make on the Ingreſſa till we come to the Sundays after Pentecoſt. Here there is a remarkable agreement between the Roman and Ambroſian. The Mozarabic, up to the ſeventh Sunday after Pentecoſt, beyond which there is no office, has the unvaried "Dominus regnavit, decorem indutus eſt," &c. But the following table is worth attention:—

		AMBROSIAN.	
II.	*after Pentecoſt.*	Juſtus es, Domine, et rectum judicium tuum: fac cum ſervo tuo ſecundum miſericordiam tuam.	Is not in the Roman.
III.	„	Factus eſt Dñus protector meus: et eduxit me in latitudinem: ſalvum me fecit, quoniam voluit me.	Is the Introit, *without the Pſalm*, for the II. Sunday in the Roman.

In this Introit, Durandus finds a reference to the Goſpel, that of the great feaſt, where—

> Villa, boves, uxor, cœnam clauſere vocatis:
> Mundus, cura, caro, cœlum clauſere renatis.

But the Ambroſian Goſpel is on a totally different ſubject: the blind leading the blind in S. Luke.

IV. & XIII. *after Pentecoſt.*
„ Exaudi, Domine, vocem meam

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(*After Pentecost.*)		quâ clamavi ad te: Tibi dixit cor meum: Quæsivit te vultus meus: vultum tuum, Domine, requiram.	Is that of the V.
V. & XIV.	„	Respice in me —— peccata mea, Deus meus.	Does not occur.
VI. & XV.	„	Dominus illuminatio mea—— ——ceciderunt.	Is that of the IV.
X.	„	Inclina, Domine, aurem tuam, et exaudi me: salvum fac servum tuum, Deus meus, sperantem in te. miserere mihi: quoniam ad te clamavi tota die.	Is the XIV.
XI.	„	Justus es, Domine, et rectum judicium tuum. Fac cum servo tuo secundum misericordiam tuam.	Is the XVII.

The following Ingressæ are the same:—

		After Decollat.	
After Pentecost.	10	4	
2	11	5	
3	12		
4	13		
5	14		
6	15	1 after Dedication.	
7	After Decollat.	2 after Dedication.	
	1	1 of October.	
8	2	2 of October.	3 after Dedication.
9	3		

No doubt, originally, the first after Pentecost was the same as the tenth and twentieth: though afterwards altered for the later Festival of Trinity. The 3rd of October, the Festival of the Dedication, has the following:—

Ye, who are about to pass over this Jordan, build an altar to the LORD of rough stone which iron hath not touched: and ye shall offer on it whole burnt sacrifices, and peace offerings to our GOD:

which is the Mozarabic Introit, for the three times of solemn public baptism.

From the *Ingressa*, we proceed to the Missal Litany, which is only said on the Sundays of Lent. There are but two; the melody is very grand, and the words are precisely of the form of a Greek ectene. That which is said on the first, third, and fifth Sundays, is as follows:—

Divinæ pacis, et indulgentiæ munera supplicantes, ex toto corde et ex tota anima precamur te:
Domine, miserere.
Pro Ecclesiâ tuâ Catholicâ, quæ hic, et per universum orbem diffusa est.
R. Domine, miserere.

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V. Pro Papâ noſtro *Il.* et Pontifice noſtro *Il.* et omni clero eorum, omnibuſque ſacerdotibus ac miniſtris.
V. Pro famulo tuo *Il.* Imperatore et Rege noſtro, et omni exercitu ejus.
V. Pro pace Eccleſiarum, vocatione Gentium et quiete populorum.
V. Pro civitate hâc et converſione ejus omnibuſque habitantibus in eâ.
V. Pro aeris temperiâ, et fructu et fecunditate terrarum.
V. Pro virginibus, viduis, orphanis, captivis, ac penitentibus.
V. Pro navigantibus, iter agentibus, in carceribus, in vinculis, in metallis, in exiliis, conſtitutis.
V. Pro iis qui diverſis calamitatibus detinentur, quique ſpiritibus vexantur immundis.
V. Pro iis qui in ſanctâ tuâ Eccleſiâ fructus miſericordiæ largiuntur.

We next come to the *Oratio ſuper populum*, which is, in fact, the Collect for the Day, and ought to be diſtinguiſhed from the* Gallican Prayer of the ſame name, which occurs towards the end, and is equivalent to the Benediction. There is no ſuch collect in the Mozarabic; and this is the one great advantage, and we think the only one, which the preſent office has over that. Now it is very ſingular to compare the Milaneſe *Oratio ſuper populum* with the Roman Collect. The inſtances in which they are the ſame are as follow:—The Ambroſian for feriæ in Advent is the Roman for its fourth Sunday. The prayers are identical in—Firſt Maſs at Chriſtmas, S. Thomas of Canterbury (of courſe), Epiphany III, Epiphany V. In Lent (it muſt be remembered that there is no Ambroſian office for the Fridays) the Sundays are always different. The week-days are the ſame with theſe exceptions:—Thurſday in the ſecond and third weeks; in the fourth Tueſday and Saturday; alſo, the Ambroſian Thurſday is the Roman Friday: in Paſſion Week, Monday, Wedneſday, Thurſday, Saturday: in Holy Week, Friday, Saturday. In Eaſter Week, Tueſday, Wedneſday, and Thurſday are the ſame. So is the firſt Sunday after. The Roman third is the Milaneſe fourth; Trinity and the firſt Sunday after Pentecoſt are the ſame; three or four others of the Sundays after Trinity have the ſame Collects, though not in the ſame order. To which we may add that the Ambroſian S. Stephen is the ſame as the Roman Octave.

But, the ſame or not the ſame, theſe Collects have exactly a

* It is odd that, in ſpeaking of the latter, Liturgical writers do not refer to the Ambroſian uſe of the terms: ſo for example Gerbertus, Liturg. Alemann. Tom. i. p. 400. It is to the Gallican uſe, of courſe, that Micrologus alludes, where we find "Oratio poſt communionem pro ſolis communicantibus debet orari. Populus autem etſi quotidie in Quadrageſimâ convenit, non tamen quotidie, ut deberet, communicat. Ne ergo populus ita oratione careret, adjecta eſt *Oratio ſuper populum*, in quâ non de communicatione, ſed de populi protectione oratur ſpecialiter." In this ſenſe, the Roman Miſſal has the *Super populum* in Lent, but in Lent only.

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ſimilar character with thoſe to which we are accuſtomed; ſo ſimilar, that it is not worth while to dwell at any further length on them. We proceed to the Prophecy.

The Prophecy is read on all Sundays and Feſtivals, but not in Ferial Maſſes. This alſo was the Gallican as well as the Mozarabic uſe; and a curious veſtige of it was kept up in ſome of the French churches even in the eighteenth century. So it was at the three Maſſes of Chriſtmas in the Cathedrals of Vienne, Rouen, and Orleans (only at Vienne *after* the Epiſtle): ſo in the third Maſs at Fontevraud, at all three at Auxerre, at all the higheſt feſtivals at Orleans; at Chriſtmas in S. Aygnan at Orleans; ſo at the Collegiate Church of Jargeau; alſo at Rouen S. Lo.

We give thoſe between Advent and Mid-Lent:—

	Ambrosian.	Mozarabic.
Advent 1.	Iſaiah li. 4—8.	Iſaiah x. 33; xi. 10.
2.	Baruch iv. 36; v. 9.	Iſaiah li. 7—12.
3.	Iſaiah xxxv.	Iſaiah li. 1—6.
4.	Iſaiah xl. 1—11.	Iſaiah xxiv. 16—23.
5.	Micah v. 2, 3, and Malachi iii. 1—7.	Iſaiah xvi. 1—5.
6.	Iſaiah lxii. 8; lxiii. 4.	Iſaiah xxxv.
Chriſtmas Day. 3rd Maſs.	Iſaiah ix. 1—7.	Iſaiah ix. 1—7.
S. Stephen.	Acts vi. 9, 10, and vii. 54—60.	Acts vi. and vii. 51—viii. 3.
S. John Ev.	1 S. John i.	Wiſdom x. 10—18.
Holy Innocents.	Jeremiah xxxi. 15—20.	Jeremiah xxxi. 15—20.
Circumciſion.	Baruch vi. 1, 2. Jeremiah lvii. 52—54. Baruch vi. 4—7.	Iſaiah xlviii. 12—20.
Sunday in the Octave.	Iſaiah viii. 9—18.	Iſaiah xlix. 1—6.
Epiphany.	Iſaiah lx. 1—6.	Iſaiah lx. 1—19.
1ſt Sunday after Epiph.	Iſaiah lxi. 1—3, and lxii. 11, 12.	Iſaiah lii. 1—10.
2nd „	Acts iv. 9—12.	Iſaiah lxv. 17—24.
3rd „	Ezekiel xxxvii. 21—28.	Iſaiah lxvi. 1—14.
4th „	Jerem. xxxiii. 14—21.	Jeremiah xxxi. 31—34.
5th „	Malachi iii. 9—12.	Jeremiah xxxi. 10—14.
6th „	Malachi iii. 13—18.	Jeremiah iii. 29; iv. 2.
7th, or Septuageſima.	Joel ii. 12—21.	Jeremiah vii. 1—7.
8th, or Sexageſima.	Ezekiel xxxiii. 7—11.	Jeremiah xiii.
9th, or Quinquageſima. In Cap. Jejunii.	Zachariah ix. 5—14.	Iſaiah lv. Proverbs i. 23—32.
Lent, 1ſt Sunday.	Iſaiah lviii. 1—12.	Iſaiah lv.
Monday.	Ezekiel xxxiv. 11—16.	
Tueſday.	Iſaiah lv. 6—11.	
Wedneſday.	Exodus xxiv. 12—18.	Prov. xiii. 22; xiv. 11. Exod. xxxiv. 27—35.
Thurſday.	Ezekiel xviii. 1—9.	
Friday.		Eccles. xxix. 1—12.

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	Ambrosian.	Mozarabic.
Saturday.	*Epistle.*	Gen. xxxi. 17; xxxii. 1.
Lent, 2nd Sunday	Exodus. xx. 1—24.	Gen. xli. 1—45.
Monday.	Daniel ix. 15—19.	
Tuesday.	1 Kings xvii. 8—16.	
Wednesday.	Esther xiii. 9—17.	Prov. xxvii. 23; xxviii. 10; Exod. ii. 11; iii. 15.
Thursday.	Jeremiah xvii. 5—10.	
Friday.		Wisdom xviii. 15—21. Exod. xiii. 17; xiv. 14.
Saturday.		
Lent, 3rd Sunday.	Exodus xxxiv. 1—10.	Prov. xx. 17—28. Numb. xxii. 1; xxiii. 10.
Monday.	2 Kings v. 1—15.	
Tuesday.	2 Kings iv. 1—7.	
Wednesday.	Exodus xx. 12—24.	Prov. xxi. 22—31. Judges i. 1—26.
Thursday.	Jeremiah vii. 1—7.	
Friday.		Eccles. ix. 1—10. Judges xvi.
Saturday.		
Lent, 4th Sunday.	Exodus xxxiv. 23—32.	Eccles. xiv. 11—19. 1 Sam. i. 1—20.

The Prophecy is followed by the Psalmellus, a verse and response almost always taken from the Psalms, and in the same order and connection in which they occur in the Psalter. It is frequently in fact the same as, though not theoretically agreeing with, the Roman Gradual. There is nothing that seems particularly to call for remark in this Antiphon; and we will therefore proceed to the Epistle.

Advent:—

Ambrosian.	Mozarabic.	Roman.
1. 2 Thessal. ii. 1—14.	Rom. xv. 14—29.	Rom. xii.

It is somewhat singular to find the first epistle in Advent setting forth that the day of CHRIST is *not* at hand; yet, perhaps, as a warning of the terrors for which the faithful must be prepared before the LORD'S coming, the Ambrosian Epistle is not ill-chosen. The appropriateness of the Mozarabic we fail to see, though we are far too well aware of the admirable skill which has grouped that noble office, to feel any doubt that the fault is in ourselves.

2. Rom. xv. 1—13. Rom. xiii. 1—8.

The Ambrosian is the same as the Roman for *its* second Sunday; the testimony of Scripture to our LORD'S Advent. The Mozarabic is again difficult of comprehension, unless we

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say that it refers to our LORD'S birth in Bethlehem as having taken place there through His parents' obedience "to the higher powers," and their fulfilment of the concluding clause,—"Tribute to whom tribute."

AMBROSIAN.	MOZARABIC.	ROMAN.
3. Rom. xi. 25 to end.	Rom. xi. 25 to end.	Rom. xiii. 11 to end.

The Milanese and Spanish not inappropriately recite the prophecy of the restoration of Israel and the call of the Gentiles as events that must precede the final Advent. The Antiphona post Evang. of the former carries on the same train of thought, "Prepare to meet thy GOD, O Israel;" and the Offertory unites the prophecy of Joel, "There shall no strangers pass through Jerusalem any more," with the command to Joshua, "Arise and pass over this Jordan,"—the first entrance on the Promised Land being a type of the final return. The Roman Office most strikingly commences that Advent with the trumpet-call of, "Now it is high time to awake out of sleep."

4. Hebrews x. 35—39.	1 Cor. xv. 23—31.	Rom. xv. 1—13.

The Ambrosian is singularly appropriate. "He that shall come, will come, and will not tarry." The Mozarabic, with its prophecy of "Then cometh the end," happily converts what we have been accustomed to consider an Easter, into an Advent Epistle. Of the Roman we have spoken.

5. Gal. iv. 22—31.	1 Thessal. v. 14—23.	Philipp. iv. 4—7.

The parable of Agar, we imagine, is introduced to teach patience under the sufferings which the Church must endure, before the coming of the LORD shall end her sufferings for ever. The Mozarabic ends suitably with, "Your whole spirit and "soul and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of our "LORD JESUS CHRIST," as appropriate a close as is that of the Roman,—"The LORD is at hand."

6. Philipp. iv. 4—9.	2 Thessal. ii. 1—14.	2 Cor. iv. 1—8.

The Ambrosian gives us last Sunday's Roman Epistle,—we think, in a better position. Nothing can more fitly close the series of Advent predictions. The Mozarabic ends with that prophecy of Antichrist with which the Ambrosian commenced, and surely more suitably placed. It is worth notice that Durandus tells us how, in his days, some churches transposed these epistles, reading that from the Corinthians on the third Sunday, that from the Philippians on the fourth. Sicardus, however, and Rupert give no hint of this.

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The Nativity :—

Ambrosian.	Mozarabic.	Roman.
Hebrews i. 1—8.	Hebrews i. 1—12.	Hebrews i. 1—12.

Saint Stephen :—

2 Timothy iii. 17; iv. 8.	Acts vi. 1 to end; and vii. 1; and 51—60.	Acts vi. 8—10; and vii. 54—60.

The Ambrosian, relegating the account of the Protomartyr's Triumph to the Prophecy, chooses a most happy epistle, not only from the appositeness of the "I have fought a good fight," &c., but from the reference to S. Stephen's constant allusion to Scripture in the commencement,—"All Scripture is given," &c., and the glance at the season of the year at its conclusion,—"all them also that love His appearing." The Mozarabic is a better compendium of the history than the Roman; both, however, shine in comparison with the wretched arrangement of lessons and epistles in our own Prayer-book.

Saint John Evangelist :—

Rom. x. 8—13.	1 Thessal. iv. 13 to end.	Ecclus. xv. 1—6.

The Ambrosian prophecy, though not the same passage as the Roman epistle, is to the same effect; both, of course, referring to him who gathered his marvellous depth of theology by lying on the breast of the True Wisdom. The epistle seems less appropriate; it would be equally suitable for any Apostle. The Mozarabic appears of great antiquity, the "we which are "alive and remain unto the coming of the LORD, shall not pre-"vent them that are asleep" clearly referring to the saying that went "out among the brethren that that disciple should not die."

Holy Innocents :—

Rom. viii. 14—21.	2 Cor. i. 3—7.	Rev. xiv. 1—5.

Both Ambrosian and Mozarabic epistles suit well enough to the sorrow of the bereaved Mothers; but how infinitely inferior to the Roman (and our own) glorious Lection! Our and the Roman lesson from Jeremiah, forms the epistle of Milan and Toledo. Durandus, however, gives the lesson from Jeremiah as the proper epistle; but some churches, says he, where Alleluia is sung on this day, have that from the Revelation. In the Roman Rite, however, Alleluia is only sung on the Octave, signifying the joy of the happy infants in the Eternal Octave of Beatitude. We cannot find the epistle from Jeremiah in any ancient Missal within our reach.

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Circumcision :—

Ambrosian.	Mozarabic.	Roman.
Philipp. iii. 1—8.	Philipp. iii. 1—8.	Gal. iv. 1—7.

The Ambrosian and Mozarabic dwell with propriety on the abolition of Jewish circumcision; the Roman is simply for the Octave. We do not at all understand the Halberstadt. It gives Gal. iii. 23—iv. 1, for the epistle; and then it follows, *Epistola sequens legitur in Circumcisione Domini.*—Col. i. 23—28.

Epiphany :—

Titus ii. 11; iii. 2. Gal. iii. 27; iv. 7. Isaiah lx. 1—7.

The force of the Ambrosian lies in its commencement, ΕΠΕΦΑΝΗ γὰρ ἡ χάρις τοῦ Θεοῦ, κ. τ. λ., which would seem to give it a Greek origin. The Mozarabic refers to the Epiphany Baptism, a Spanish custom abolished by S. Damasus and S. Himerius of Tarragona; therefore the epistle is earlier than the fourth century. The Roman Epistle forms the prophecy in the others, and was the prophecy as early as the fifth century. For in one of the sermons of S. Maximus of Turin on that day (he of course belonged to the Italic province) we have this commencement:—"Ait Prophetarum præcipuus Isaias, sicut audistis, fratres charissimi, Illuminare, illuminare, Jerusalem." So it is in the lectionary of Luxueil.

Christophory :—

Heb. xi. 13—16.

First Sunday after Epiphany :—

Ephes. iv. 23—28. Rom. i. 1—17 Rom. xii. 1—5.

The Mozarabic on this day begins the Epistle to the Romans, and reads on from it for five Sundays. The Luxovienſe differs from all, having 1 Cor. i. 15—31. Ritualists are not well agreed as to the reason of the Roman Epistle. Durandus speaks of the "living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to GOD" as the antitype of the Three Kings. Sicardus speaks of the joyous character of the whole office, inviting as it does to praise; but since "praise is unbecoming in the mouth of a sinner," the epistle, he says, speaks of holiness.

After Epiphany :—

	Mozarabic.	Ambrosian.	Roman.
Second Sunday.	Rom. vi. 12—18.	1 Cor. i. 1—5.	Rom. xii. 6—16.
Third Sunday.	Rom. vi. 19—25.	Gal. v. 26; vi. 6.	Rom. xii. 16—21.
Fourth Sunday.	Rom. vii. 14 to end.	Col. i. 3—11.	Rom. xiii. 8—10.

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It is worth while to observe that the scope of the Roman Epistles during this season, is the objective action of the law of GOD on the mind of man; whereas the other two rites rather dwell on his subjective reception of it. There is a curious reading at the conclusion of the last-named Mozarabic Epistle. "Infelix ego homo; quis me liberabit de corpore mortis hujus? "Gratia Dei, *vita et pax:* per Jesum Christum Dominum "nostrum."

	Mozarabic.	Ambrosian.	Roman.
Fifth Sunday.	Rom. viii. 3—9.	Rom. xiii. 8—10.	Col. iii. 12—17.
Sixth Sunday.	1 Cor. i. 10—17.	Col. ii. 1—7.	1 Thess. i. 2 to end.

Septuagesima:—

1 Cor. ii. 10; iii. 6. 1 Cor. ix. 24; x. 4. 1 Cor. ix. 24; x. 5.

We must first remember that the Mozarabic has no such season as Septuagesima; but goes on counting its Sundays from after Epiphany to the commencement of the Fast. We may doubt whether the original arrangement of the Ambrosian were not the same, and its present office simply borrowed from the Roman. It is to be observed that the Roman continues the allegory of the Apostle, taken from the games, by adding his description of the journeyings of the Jews in the wilderness, and thereby points out the identity of his argument in both cases. "I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection, lest," &c. "*For*," or "*Now*," (not *moreover*,) "brethren, I would not that ye should be ignorant," &c. He is assigning the cause why the body of a Christian should be kept in subjection, as having, like the Jews, eaten that spiritual meat and received that spiritual drink. Our reformers, tied down by their unhappy adherence to chapters, miss or neglect this connection, and end with the conclusion of the ninth.

Sexagesima:—

1 Cor. xii. 27—xiii. 9. 1 Cor. ix. 7—12. 2 Cor. xi. 19—xii. 9.

Observe first that the Ambrosian Office is simply going through the most striking passages of the Corinthians, after having in like manner gone through the Romans. It seems difficult to understand why the description of charity, so very appropriate for the near approach of the Fast at Quinquagesima, should have been put back a Sunday by the Mozarabic. The Roman Epistle, which the Sarum follows, is simply selected on this account, that the Station is, on that Sunday, in the Basilic of S. Paul; and to him, therefore, do the Collect and Epistle more especially point. It is almost needless to observe that our

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Collect, "O GOD, who seest that we put not our trust in anything that we do," is altered from the original, which concludes thus:—"Mercifully grant, that by the intercession of the Doctor of the Gentiles, we may be defended against all adversity." It is rather singular that in the German Missals, where there is no reason for the commemoration of S. Paul on this day, the same Collect and Epistle are always found.

Ash-Wednesday:—

MOZARABIC.	AMBROSIAN.	ROMAN.
S. James i. 13—21.	None.	Joel ii. 12—19.

It was not till the final alteration of the Mozarabic Rite by Cardinal Ximenes, that the season of Lent was extended backwards to Ash-Wednesday. Till then, it commenced, as does the Ambrosian to this day, with the First Sunday, thus containing only thirty-six days complete; the tenth part, roughly measured, of the whole year. Those who made the alteration, did it after a most clumsy fashion, changing Epistles and Gospels so as to deprive them of all appropriateness of position. The office for Ash-Wednesday is that which was, in Gotho-Hispanic times, the office for the First Sunday in Lent: the present first, the original second; the present second, the original third; the present third, the original fifth. The fourth, or *Mediante*, is as it was; the fifth is new; the sixth, or *De Traditione*, is as it was.

First Sunday in the Fast:—

2 Cor. v. 20—vi. 10.	2 Cor. vi. 1—10.	2 Cor. vi. 1—10.

We may observe that henceforth, during the Fast, the Ambrosian, like the Roman, has a special office for every day; but with this difference, that there is none for Friday. The Mozarabic, on the contrary, has no especial office except for Wednesday and Friday. Here, then, is a clear trace of the influence which the Eastern Church possessed at Milan; as we know it did in many other things, as, for example, in the festal character of Saturday. The Greek Church, as every one knows, never celebrates in Lent, except on the Saturdays, Sundays, and High Festivals; and here we find Milan doing the same on one day in each quadragesimal week. Notice this also. On the first four days of the week, the lections are, at Milan, Prophecy and Gospel, the Epistle being omitted.

First Sunday in Lent:—

2 Cor. v. 20—vi. 10.	2 Cor. vi. 1—10.	2 Cor. vi. 1—10.

The Epistle, common to the three rites, arms, says Durandus, the faithful with the four cardinal virtues; and certainly a more appropriate one could not have been selected.

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Second Sunday in Lent:—

Mozarabic.	Ambrosian.	Roman.
James ii. 14—20.	Ephesians i. 15—23.	1 Thess. iv. 1—8.

The Roman Epistle, as all the ritualists tell us, occupies this place, because when the Church begins to descend from generals to particulars, she warns her children against the sin of impurity as that which has destroyed infinitely more than any other. Hence also the selection of what otherwise seems inappropriate, the Transfiguration from the Gospel; as if she would teach us how those bodies are to be honoured and held in reverence, the future glorification of which was so miraculously manifested by our LORD. This, however, is a strictly Roman use; and the majority of other Churches read, as did the Sarum, and as we still do, the history of the Syro-Phœnician woman. In the very ancient *Capitulare Evangeliorum*, published by Thomasius, this Sunday is "vacant"—that is, had no proper office, on account of the very heavy duty of the preceding Saturday in Ordinations. Hence some, at a later time, took the preceding Thursday's Gospel, that of the Syro-Phœnician; others that of the Friday, the Transfiguration. Durandus simply says that "in some Churches" the Transfiguration is read for the Gospel. The Mozarabic very appropriately gives us S. James's lesson on the necessity of works; and the Ambrosian not less fitly calls off our thoughts from the sufferings of the present Fast to the glory which is to be their result.

Third Sunday in Lent:—

1 S. Pet. i. 1—12.	1 Thess. ii. 20; iii. 8.	Ephes. v. 1—9.

Mid-Lent Sunday:—

2 S. Pet. i. 1—9.	1 Thess. iv. 1—12.	Gal. iv. 22—31.

Passion Sunday:—

1 S. John i. 1—7.	Ephes. v. 15—21.	Heb. ix. 11—15.

Palm Sunday:—

Gal. i. 1—12.	2 Thess. ii. 15—iii. 5.	Philipp. ii. 1—11.

Of these Epistles, the two most striking to our mind are the Mozarabic for Passion and Palm Sunday, the former ending with the words which form so complete an Antiphon to the whole of Passion-tide: "The blood of JESUS CHRIST His SON cleanseth us from all sin;" the latter, that anathema of S. Paul on those who should preach any other Gospel than that of the Atonement, which the following week is to set forth. The Ambrosian Epistle for Palm Sunday seems at first sight utterly inappro-

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priate. But the reaſon is this. The preceding Saturday is that of the Tradition of the Symbol; and although the Creed in the Milaneſe Church is not now actually delivered to the Catechumens, as it is in the Mozarabic, the Epiſtle with reference to the ancient rite begins very properly, "Therefore, brethren, ſtand faſt, and hold the traditions you have been taught."

We have now ſaid enough about the Epiſtle. A few words are all that we muſt allow ourſelves on the Goſpel. Thoſe in Lent are the moſt deſerving of our attention. The Ambroſian for the Firſt Sunday, which, we muſt again repeat, is the actual commencement of their Lent, has the Goſpel of the Temptation from S. Matthew. It was ſo originally in the Mozarabic Office, though now it is thrown back to Aſh-Wedneſday. The Second Sunday is in the Ambroſian called the Sunday of the Samaritan, the Goſpel being that chapter in S. John. So it originally was in the Mozarabic, though now appropriated to the Firſt Sunday. The Illation—which in the Ambroſian Rite is always called the Preface—of the two Churches is worth comparing. The Milaneſe runs thus:—"Through CHRIST our LORD. Who, that He "might quietly teach the myſtery of His humanity, ſat down "weary by the well; and beſought the Samaritan woman that "ſhe would give Him water to drink, becauſe He had created in "her the gifts of faith. And He thus vouchſafed to thirſt after "her belief, that while He aſked water from her, He kindled the "fire of Divine love in her. We implore, then, Thy boundleſs "mercy that we, deſpiſing the dark abyſs of vices, and leaving "behind us the pitcher of noxious luſts, may perpetually thirſt for "Thee, Who art the fountain of life, and the origin of all good "things, and may pleaſe Thee by the obſervation of our faſt."

The Mozarabic is five times as long, but ends in the ſame way:—

"For Thou art our GOD; caſt us not away from Thy face; "but look upon us now whom Thou didſt through free mercy "create: that when Thou ſhalt have removed from us all the "debt of ſin, Thou mayeſt alſo render us well pleaſing in the "ſight of Thy love. That we, delivered from the abyſs of the "noxious well of miſdeeds, leaving behind us the pitcher of our "luſts, may, after the courſe of this life, haſten together to that "eternal city, Jeruſalem: that with all ſaints we may glorify "Thy holy Name; thus ſaying," &c.

Obſerve that the ſymboliſm is nearly word for word the ſame: but that there is a ſingular miſtake in the Mozarabic which does not exiſt in the Ambroſian. The woman left her pitcher, and went into the city; that is, the city Sichar, not the city of Jeruſalem, as the myſtical interpretation obliges us to underſtand it.

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The Third Sunday in Lent is called Abraham's Sunday; the Gospel being from the eighth chapter of S. John, where our LORD says, "your father Abraham rejoiced to see My day," &c. This Gospel does not occur in the Mozarabic.

The Fourth Sunday is of the Man born Blind. This is now the Gospel for the second, and was originally for the third Sunday, in the Mozarabic. Both Illations have to do with the history; but there is no similarity between the two. Nowhere do we find a better example of the marvellous superiority of the office of Toledo to that of Milan, than here. Take the two as an example. We will not judge so poorly of the reader's discrimination as to say which is which.

It is meet and right that we should render thanks to Thee, Holy LORD, Eternal FATHER, Omnipotent GOD, through JESUS CHRIST, Thy SON, our LORD, Who, by the illumination of His faith, has driven away the shadows of this world, and has made them to be sons of grace who were held under the just damnation of the law. Who thus came to judge the world, that they who see not might see, and that they who see might be made blind: that they who should confess in themselves the darkness of error, might receive light eternal, and so be freed from the shadows of guilt: and that they who, arrogant of their own merits, believed themselves to possess the light of righteousness, might deservedly be confounded in their own darkness: who, puffed up by their pride, and trusting in themselves, sought not the Physician to heal them. For by JESUS, who calls Himself the Door to the FATHER, they might have entered in. But since they were puffed up by their own merits, they remained for ever in their own blindness. Wherefore we, coming humbly before Thee, and putting no trust in our own deserts, lay open before Thy Altar, most holy FATHER, our own wounds, confess the darkness of our mistakes, manifest the secret offences of our consciences. Grant that we may find the medicine for our wounds, light for our darkness, purity for our conscience. With all our endeavours we desire to behold Thy face; but we are blinded and hindered by the darkness to which we are accustomed. We wish to look at the heavens and cannot; while darkened by the night of sin we cannot look to those who, on account of the holiness of their lives, deserve to be called heavens. Help us, therefore, O JESUS, as we pray in Thy Temple, [a reference to the Blind Man having been found in the Temple by our LORD,] and cure us all in this day, who wouldest not that there should be rest on the Sabbath from the working of miracles. Behold, we expose our wounds in the presence of the glory of Thy Name: do Thou bestow on our infirmities the medicine they need. Succour us as Thou hast promised while we persist, Who out of nothing hast caused that we should exist. Make plain, and anoint the eyes of our hearts and bodies; lest, through our blindness, we should fall in the ark. Behold, we wash Thy feet with our tears; send us not empty away. O good JESUS, let us not depart from Thy footsteps; Thou who didst come in Thy humility in this world. Hear the prayer of us all, and grant that we may behold the glory of Thy countenance in that beatitude of eternal peace, crying, and thus saying.

The other Preface is as follows:—

It is meet and salutary that to Thee, O LORD, who dwellest in the exalted citadel of the heavens, we should render thanks and should confess Thee

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with all our powers. For that by Thee the blindneſs of the world hath been removed, and true light hath ſhone on the weak: when among the other miracles of Thy many marvellous deeds Thou didſt bid the man born blind to receive ſight; in whom the human race, maculate with original blindneſs, is typified by a ſymbol of the future. For that pool of Siloam to which that blind man was ſent, is nothing elſe but the holy and ſealed fountain, where not only the bodily eyes, but the whole man is healed, through CHRIST our LORD.

The fifth Sunday in Lent, which was alſo called, from a reaſon which has not been explained, the *Dominica poſt Vigeſimam*. In the Mozarabic Miſſal it is the Goſpel for the original fourth, the preſent third, Sunday. In moſt other churches it is read on Friday of the fourth week, or elſe on Saturday of Paſſion Week, the day when Lazarus was actually raiſed. The Goſpel for Palm Sunday is S. John's account of the anointing of our LORD'S feet by Mary Magdalene. The arrangement of the Goſpels for Holy, or, as they call it, Authentic Week, is different in the Milaneſe books from any other. The Paſſion is not read at length till the Thurſday. On Monday, the Goſpel is S. Luke xxi. 34—38. On Tueſday, S. John xi. 47—54. On Wedneſday, S. Matthew xxvi. 1—4.

One very curious Goſpel it would be unpardonable not to mention. For S. Stephen's Day, in the Roman Rite, we have the prophecy from S. Matthew, alſo read in our own Prayer-book, of Jeruſalem that killed the prophets, and ſtoned them that were ſent unto her. In the Mozarabic the ſelection is the ſame. Both highly orthodox and edifying: nothing in the world to be objected to either. But now, notice the Ambroſian. After reading for the prophecy the account of S. Stephen's martyrdom, (for *its* prophecy the Mozarabic has a lection from Wiſdom,) for its epiſtle, 2 Timothy iv. 1—8, with reference to the "I have fought a good fight, I have finiſhed my courſe," of the Apoſtle, the Goſpel contains the laſt five verſes of the ſeventeenth chapter of S. Matthew; the account of the demand made on S. Peter for tribute-money, and the miraculous way in which the fiſher of men was inſtructed to meet it. Why? Becauſe, in "the fiſh that firſt cometh up," we have a ſymbolical repreſentation of S. Stephen: fiſhes, according to the well-known and moſt ancient interpretation, ſymboliſing Chriſtians; and he coming up the firſt, with his offering out of the great ſea of this world,—an offering itſelf ſtamped with the image of the King.

It would be unpardonable not to allude to the ſervice on Eaſter Eve. That moſt noble of anthems, the *Exultet jam Angelica turba*, is the ſame in the Ambroſian as it is in the Roman ſervice, down to the *Surſum Corda*. It then continues thus: and it would

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hardly be possible to find, in any church, a more rapturous piece of devotion.

It is meet and right, just and salutary, that we should always, here and everywhere, render thanks to Thee, Holy LORD, Almighty FATHER, Eternal GOD. Who didst Thyself dedicate the Passover of all people, not by the blood and fat of oxen, but by the Body and Blood of Thine Only-Begotten SON JESUS CHRIST, that the sacrificial rites of an ungrateful nation having been terminated, grace might succeed to the law, and One Victim, offered by Himself once for all to Thy Majesty, might expiate the sins of the whole world. This is the Lamb, prefigured in the tablets of stone; not lost from the flock, but exiled from heaven; not lacking a shepherd, but the Good Shepherd Himself, who laid down His life for His sheep, and took it again, that to us His divine condescension might manifest His humility, and the Resurrection of His body might confirm our hope. Who before His shearer uttered no querulous complaint, but proclaimed the oracle of the Gospel, saying: Henceforth ye shall see the SON of MAN, sitting at the Right Hand of Majesty. May He both reconcile Thee to us, O Omnipotent FATHER,* and endued with like majesty as Thyself, may He pardon us. For the things which happened to the Fathers in type, the same have been wrought out to us in very deed. [*The great Easter taper is lighted.*] Behold now the fiery column shines forth which preceded the people of the LORD, during the season of this blessed night, to those salutary floods in which the persecutor is overwhelmed, and the people of CHRIST emerges at liberty. For he that through Adam was delivered to death, conceived by the water on which the HOLY GHOST hath brooded, is regenerated by CHRIST to life. Let us then put an end to our voluntary fast, because CHRIST our Passover is sacrificed for us; and let us not only banquet on the flesh of the Lamb, but let us be inebriated with His Blood. For the Blood of this Lamb alone createth not guilt to them that drink it, but salvation. Let us feast on Him the unleavened bread, since man liveth not by bread alone, but by every word of GOD. For this is the bread which cometh down from heaven, far more excellent than that fruitful shower of ancient manna, on which Israel then feasted, and yet nevertheless perished. He who feedeth on This Body shall be the possessor of life eternal. Behold, old things have passed away, all things are become new. The edge of Mosaic circumcision is blunted, and the sharp stones of Joshua the son of Nun have become obsolete; the people of CHRIST is marked in the forehead, not in the loins; by a laver, not by a wound. [*The Deacon fixes the five grains of incense on the Paschal taper.*] In this Advent, then, of the evening resurrection of our LORD and Saviour, it is meet that we should burn our oblation of wax with its whiteness in appearance, its sweetness in odour, its lighted brilliancy to the eye. What more fitting, what more joyous, than that with torches wreathed with flowers we should keep watch for the flower of Jesse? Especially when Wisdom hath prophesied concerning herself: I am the flower of the field, and the lily of the valleys. These waxen tapers the burnt pine sweats not forth, nor doth the cedar, wounded by the axe, weep out: but they have a hidden and symbolical teaching regarding virginity, and grow white by the transfiguration of their snowy candour. Let us wait, then, for the coming of the Spouse, as befits the Church, with lighted torches: let us render thanks by our devotion for the gift of sanctity already bestowed on us.

* Notice here the "unscriptural" expression, which also occurs more than once in the Clementine Liturgy, of reconciling GOD to us. According to S. Paul's teaching, it is we who are to be reconciled to GOD.

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We muſt not dwell at greater length on this remarkable addreſs, manifeſtly coeval with S. Auguſtine. There are ſome few expreſſions in it which a more correct taſte has not improperly removed; but to do away with the whole hymn for the ſake of them, is on a par with the treatment which Rome has beſtowed on many other compoſitions of equal merit and antiquity.

We have already remarked that the Goſpel in the Ambroſian Rite is followed by an *Antiphona poſt Evangelium*, which, therefore, anſwers to the *Lauda* of the Mozarabic ritual. There is nothing which calls for much obſervation in this Antiphon. It is almoſt always taken from the Pſalms: occaſionally, on Saints' Days, it is formed from the words of the Saint then commemorated. But when we come to the ſubſequent part of the ſervice it is that we are painfully conſcious of the infinite ſuperiority of Toledo to Milan. In the Mozarabic Miſſal we have, as we have ſeen, after the Goſpel, nine varying prayers or addreſſes, for they are ſometimes exhortations to the people rather than ſupplications to GOD. They are—(1.) The Miſſa. (2.) The Alia Oratio. (3.) The Poſt Nomina. (4.) The Ad Pacem. (5.) The Illation. (6.) The Poſt Sanctus. (7.) The Poſt Pridie. (8.) The Prayer before the LORD'S Prayer. (9.) The Benediction. And this is excluſive of the Sacrifice, the Ad Accedentes, the Ad Confractionem, and the Communio. In the Ambroſian Rite we have only four prayers poſterior to the Goſpel, and theſe far ſhorter than thoſe we have been noticing. They are—(1.) The Prayer Super Sindonem. (2.) The Super Oblatam. (3.) The Preface. (4.) The Poſt Communionem. Beſides this, we have the three anthems: the Offertory, the Tranſitory, and the Confractory.

The Offertory is remarkable on the following account:—The Church of Milan is the only one in Chriſtendom where the primitive cuſtom of the people's offering the oblations is ſtill kept up. Mr. Webb, in his Sketches of Continental Eccleſiology, thus deſcribes the practice:—"After the ſermon, ſome members "of a confraternity or Bedeſmen, two men and two women, in "black and white mantles, brought in an oblation of the ele-"ments. They ſtood at the end of the choir, and the deacon "came, with much ceremony, to receive the offerings." But theſe "Bedeſmen" are penſioners of the Metropolitical Church itſelf, and are, therefore, after all, only an imitation of the venerable cuſtom which they profeſſed to repreſent. There are ten old men, called Vecchioni, and as many old women: two of the former, firſt covering their hands with *favoni*, that is, with napkins of a peculiar texture, make their oblation of bread in the right, of wine in the left; then two women do the ſame. Theſe

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penſioners have the right of walking in proceſſions, when they carry the ſo-called cope and diſcipline of S. Ambroſe. Landulph, the mediæval hiſtorian of Milan, deſcribes at great length their office and character: Beroldus, alſo, though not without ſome miſtakes, does the ſame. It is this which gives its chief intereſt to the Offertory. The rite itſelf, taking it altogether, is not remarkably ſtriking: there is one part which, to unaccuſtomed eyes, ſeems ſingularly awkward: when the Deacon and Sub-deacon ſtand reſpectively at the north and ſouth ends of the altar, like two clergymen in a badly-performed Engliſh Communion Office. In fact, of the five great living rites, for dignity and majeſty, we ſhould place the Ambroſian laſt. To our mind, the Armenian ſtands by far the firſt: next to that, but at ſome diſtance, we ſhould place the Mozarabic, then the Roman, then the orthodox Eaſtern, and then, far below this, the Ambroſian.

The Oratio ſuper Sindonem bears far more the character of a Roman collect than of the longer Mozarabic or Eaſtern prayers. In fact, ſometimes it is the ſame as the Collect for the day in the Petrine Liturgy; and whether or not, the ſhortneſs of the whole compoſition, and the terſeneſs and antithetical arrangement of its members, ſtamp it with the ſame character. The Oratio poſt Communionem, in like manner, bears the character of the Roman Poſt-Communio, as alſo does the Oratio ſuper Oblatam of the Roman Secreta. One remarkable peculiarity, derived from the moſt remote antiquity, we ſhould not fail to mention: that, on the Epiphany, immediately after the Goſpel, but before the Antiphona poſt Evangelium, the Deacon ſings the notice of the enſuing Eaſter to a peculiar melody, in the Eighth Tone, and in the following words:—"Noverit caritas veſtra, fratres cariſſimi, "quod annuente Dei et Domini noſtri JESU CHRISTI miſeri- "cordiâ, die N. Menſis N. Paſcha Domini cum gaudio celebra- "bimus." And the anſwer is, "Deo gratias."

Take now one or two examples of Ambroſian Illations: and we will ſelect one which we may compare not alone with the Mozarabic, but alſo with the Gallican. Here is that for Holy Innocents.

Ambroſian:—

It is juſt and ſalutary that we, Holy, Omnipotent FATHER, ſhould more glorioufly laud Thee in the precious death of the little ones: whom, on account of the infancy of Thy SON, our LORD and SAVIOUR, gloomy Herod ſlew with ſavage cruelty: and we acknowledge the unbounded gifts of Thy clemency. For Grace alone ſhines more glorioufly than Will; and their confeſſion was illuſtrious before their voices could be heard. Paſſion, before the limbs in which that paſſion could exiſt: they witneſſed CHRIST to others, who as yet knew Him not themſelves. O Infinite loving-kindneſs of the Almighty: when He ſuffered not thoſe that were ſlain for His Name, although they

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knew it not, to fall short of the merit of eternal glory: but, when they were bedewed with their own blood, they obtained at once the salvation of regeneration, and were glorified with the Crown of Martyrdom. Through the same.

Gallican :—

It is verily meet and right that we should at all times and in all places render thanks to Thee, Holy LORD, Omnipotent FATHER, Eternal GOD, and chiefly for those, the memory of whose passion we celebrate in the yearly festival of to-day: those whom the Herodian soldiers dashed from the breasts of their nursing mothers, who of a truth are called the flowers of martyrs, for that they, springing up in the mid-winter of infidelity, were like the first budding gems of the Church, nipped by the frost of persecution, at that glittering fountain in the city of Bethlehem. For the Infants, who could not, through their age, speak, nevertheless resounded the praise of the LORD with joy. They preached that by their deaths, which they could not have preached by their lives. They uttered that with their blood which they could not proclaim by their tongue. Martyrdom gave them the power of praise, to whom infancy had not yet allowed the faculty of utterance. The Infant CHRIST sends these infants as first-fruits to heaven, transmits these new year's gifts to the FATHER: exhibits to the Eternal One the first martyrdoms of the little children perpetrated by the wickedness of Herod, as firstling oblations. The enemy profits, while injuring, the body: bestows a benefit by means of slaughter: by dying they live, by falling they rise again: victory is brought to pass by means of destruction. Wherefore for these benefits, and for the present solemnity, tendering, rather than repaying, boundless thanks to Thy loving-kindness, with holy Angels and Archangels, we laud Thee, as the One GOD, the Ruler, distinct, not divided, triune, not threefold, sole, not solitary, saying, Holy.

Mozarabic :—

It is meet and right that we should always render thanks to Thee, Almighty FATHER, and to JESUS CHRIST our LORD, the infancy of whose assumed humanity that wicked and profane king feared after such a sort that he was compelled to tremble at that power whom he merited not to acknowledge. Desiring that He specially should perish, and ignorant where He was to be found, Herod commanded that all the infants should be slain: if perchance, while the members were struck, the Head might be reached: and the deaths of the poor might be the structure which should be topped by the royal death. Thus the madness of deceived fury made those martyrs by death, who by their age were not capable of being even confessors. And when there was no possibility of judgment, there was, nevertheless, the felicity of being unjustly judged for CHRIST'S sake. It was CHRIST, then, whom the hand of the officer struck in the dying infants: ignorance found not Him Whom it saw; and imprudence discerned not Him Whom it struck. But that these infants could not speak is no derogation from their praise. For it is better that the cause should cry out, than that the tongue should exclaim. Nor does it matter that speech failed them, who, without all manner of doubt, perished for the Word. O immanity of wicked fury! He who was slain, was carried on the sword that killed Him, and the tender corpse hung on the hilt, pouring forth milk rather than blood. And they who could not then discern that for which they thirsted, now possess in joy that from which they may drink. Whence meetly to Thee, O LORD, all the Angels cease not to exclaim, thus saying: Holy.

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It would be eaſy to extend our remarks on theſe Illations; but our ſpace warns us to conclude. The two anthems called the Tranſitory and the Confractory preſent but little for our ſpecial notice. As a general rule, they are connected with the Goſpel for the Sunday: and the ſame are uſually ſaid through the week. In ſome caſes, the Tranſitory is merely a tranſlation of ſome Greek Troparion; another proof of the cloſeneſs of the link by which Milan was joined to the Eaſt. Take this, for example, for Quinquageſima: it is neither more nor leſs than a tranſlation of a Stichos in the Sunday of the Phariſee and Publican:—

Come and be converted to Me, ſaith the LORD. Come ye with weeping, and let us pour forth our tears to GOD: for we have forſaken Him, and becauſe of us the earth ſuffers; we have committed iniquity, and for our ſakes the foundations of the world are moved. Let us haſten to prevent the anger of GOD, weeping, and ſaying: Thou That takeſt away the ſins of the world, have mercy upon us.

Sometimes it is a mere quotation from the writings of S. Ambroſe, as in the Sunday of Abraham: "Look, O LORD, at "the frailty of the human race, and ſeek out the wounds which "Thou haſt cured. For, however great be the love that Thou "haſt poured out upon us, there are yet further mercies which "Thou mayeſt beſtow upon us. Stretch forth, we beſeech "Thee, Thy medicinal hands, and cure that which is weak, "and repair that which is tottering, and preſerve that whole "where faith remains unſhaken." In ſome few caſes the Tranſitory ſeems to be compoſed for the occaſion, as in the Sixth Sunday after Epiphany:—"Turn ye, O ye ſons of men, while "ye have time, ſaith the LORD; and I will write your names "in the book of My FATHER which is in heaven."

The *Oratio Poſt Communionem*, anſwering to the Latin Poſt-Communio, often identical with it, is the only other prayer which has to be noticed. That over, the office ends thus:—

V. The LORD be with you.
R. And with thy ſpirit. Kyr. Kyr. Kyr.
V. The LORD bleſs and hear us.
R. Amen.
V. Let us go on in peace.
R. In the NAME of the LORD. Amen.

And the ſervice now borrows the Roman ending from the firſt chapter of S. John.

At Chriſtmas, and at Eaſter and Pentecoſt, there are two ſets of Maſſes; one for the recently baptized in the winter Church, the other the ordinary ſolemnity. Much that was peculiar to

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the Ambroſian Rite diſappeared during the Pontificate of S. Charles Borromeo, who did almoſt as much harm to the ritual as he increaſed the piety of his Church. Till his time, that noble Baſilic, which may put in a claim to be the fineſt of all temples made with hands, had but one altar: it was he who filled it up with the erections which now ſo ſadly violate the magnificent unity of the effect.

Thus we have gone through the three great Rites of the Weſtern Church. Of theſe the Ambroſian ſeems to us the pooreſt, inferior to the marvellous copiouſneſs and richneſs and variety of the Mozarabic, inferior to the terſeneſs and pointed brevity of the Roman. Such as it is, however, it is well worthy of ſtudy; and, as we have ſeen, one or two of its formulæ poſſeſs an antiquity ſuperior to that which can be boaſted by any other ritual.

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VII.

VERNACULAR SERVICES.*

IF there be one point of eccleſiaſtical order which would at firſt ſight ſeem, more than any other, to be commanded by Holy Scripture, ſanctioned by primitive uſage, and required by common ſenſe, it is ſurely this,—that the public offices of the Church ſhould be offered in the vernacular language of the people. To employ, in addreſſing God, a tongue which His worſhippers cannot comprehend; to wrap up Leſſons, Epiſtles, and Goſpels in the obſcurity of a dead language,—can this be a reaſonable ſervice? Can this be a goſpel preached to the poor? Can this be ſuch a worſhipping in ſpirit and in truth as our SAVIOUR'S expreſs command enjoins? Is it not diametrically oppoſed to the declaration of S. Paul, "Yet in the "church I had rather ſpeak ten words to the edifying of the "hearers, than ten thouſand words in an unknown tongue?" † No man ever denied that the practice of the primitive Church was in accordance with this teaching, and that, *à priori*, one ſhould have conſidered it a ſtanding order, a ſtereotyped law, of the Church Catholic.

The more ſurpriſing, therefore, is it to find that all the branches of the Church, without one ſingle exception, as well as heretical bodies, ſeparated, indeed, from the Church, but ſtill poſſeſſing ancient liturgies, have agreed in this: that the langauge of their

* The Prayer-book of the Oratory of S. Philip Neri. London: The Oratory, King William Street.

† We remember a familiar explanation of this verſe. A poor man who had juſt returned from a ſermon of which it formed the ſtaple, was aſked the text. "Well, ſir, I don't know the words to ſay them exactly; but it meant as how the parſon would rather preach five minutes in Engliſh, than half-an-hour in French."

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public ſervices ſhall be, to a certain extent,—ſome more, ſome leſs,—a language "not underſtanded of the people." We do not, as we ſhall preſently ſhow, except entirely our own Church; and for the reſt, from Kamſchatka round the globe to Brazils, from Malabar and Gondar to Finland, the rule holds good. The apoſtolic law is, really or apparently, broken; and the "ten thouſand words" of Liturgies, and Hours, and Offices, are ſaid in an unknown tongue.

Any man of common modeſty,—any man with the remoteſt pretenſions to philoſophy,—any man, in ſhort, except an orator at Exeter Hall,—would naturally exclaim, on becoming acquainted with the fact, "There muſt be ſome reaſon for this. "Churches, ſeparated as far by diſtance as by race and lan-"guage,—Churches ſevered more widely ſtill by polemical "hatred,—never could coincide in ſo remarkable and unexpected "an arrangement, were there not ſome ſtrong cauſe which "ſeemed to juſtify it. Good or bad, there muſt be a principle "at work here; it cannot be a mere corruption."

Let us ſee, in the firſt place, how the caſe actually lies; and then let us endeavour to diſcover its philoſophy by inveſtigating its hiſtory.

And, firſt, we will turn our eyes to the Eaſt. Here we ſee thoſe moſt ancient and venerable Thrones of Alexandria, Conſtantinople, Antioch, and Jeruſalem, giving their laws to about ſixteen millions of Chriſtians. And thoſe Liturgies which are ſaid at the countleſs altars of Greece, the iſlands of the Archipelago, Bulgaria, Roumelia, the Principalities, Hungary, Croatia—or the Churches, now few and far between, of Anatolia, Syria, and Egypt—in what languages are they offered? For the moſt part, in two only—Greek and Slavonic. In Slavonic, for the Slavonian peoples of northern Turkey and the Principalities; in Greek, for the Greek himſelf, the Turk, the Syrian, and the Egyptian. Now, take the caſe in which the written language of the office-books, and the ſpoken dialect of the vulgar, bear the cloſeſt reſemblance. Let any Greek ſcholar take up for the firſt time a Romaic book, and ſee how far he can always maſter even its general meaning. Then let him remember that he comes from the harder to the eaſier tongue,—that his neceſſary knowledge of comparative philology ſtands him in good ſtead; and next let him judge to what extent the Peloponneſian or Athenian peaſant can comprehend the office-books of his own Church. And yet they have a far better chance than the Slavonic peoples. The three branches of the Illyrico-Servians,—Servians proper, Croatians, Vendes,—and, again, the Bulgarians and the Slovacks, cannot underſtand each

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other, much leſs can they comprehend the old Church Slavonic in which they pray. A remarkable proof of this occurred in the Panſlavic Congreſs holden at Prague in 1848, where the deputies, in order to be intelligible to each other, were obliged to ſpeak in the hated German; and their literary organ is conducted in that language. But more of this ſubject preſently.

But three exceptions are to be found to this general rule. It is well known that the Wallachians employ a Romance language of the pureſt deſcription; and that, in parts of that and adjoining provinces, Latin, perfectly intelligible to an Engliſh ſcholar, is actually at this day ſpoken. Towards the latter part of the eighteenth century, permiſſion was given by the See of Conſtantinople for the employment of a vernacular Liturgy; a permiſſion not altogether, perhaps, independent, on the conſideration that, poſſeſſing ſuch an indulgence, the inhabitants would have leſs temptation to join the Latin Rite. Shortly afterwards, a Turkiſh form was authorized for ſome few villages in Aſia Minor, where nothing elſe was underſtood; and an Arabic verſion is ſaid to be uſed by the few orthodox who border on that country. Theſe three exceptions are worth far more than their own intrinſic value, and we ſhall have occaſion to refer to them again.

Caſting our eyes over the map in a north-eaſtern direction, we come to the ever-orthodox Church of Georgia; a Church which reſiſted the artifices of Neſtorians, Jacobites, and Armenians, produced countleſs martyrs under the invaſions of Turks, Perſians, and Tartars, and formed the nucleus of a mighty empire during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Here, again, the rule is the ſame: the Georgian of the Church books is entirely different from the Georgian that is now ſpoken; intelligible, perhaps, to the educated, but certainly not to the peaſant.

Ruſſia follows—and is the more worthy of our attention, becauſe here the principle of a Church language, which is not the vernacular, is as boldly aſſerted as it is by Rome; its difficulties are allowed, are grappled with, and are, to a certain extent, overcome. Children are taught both languages from the commencement of their education; and the habit of acquiring Slavonic *pari paſſu* with Ruſs, may, perhaps, give the Ruſſians their wonderful facility of maſtering other languages. The difference between the two dialects is about the ſame,—in grammatical derivation, as between modern Engliſh and that of Chaucer; in form of character, between our preſent letter and Anglo-Saxon. Thus, while Ruſs has thirty-four characters, Slavonic poſſeſſes forty-three; the latter has a dual, the former has none; the former has borrowed many words of every-day occurrence from the Tatar, the latter has formed no ſuch intermixture. And

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thus we have traverſed the domains of the orthodox Eaſtern Church.

Nor are the ſeparated communions leſs tenacious of the ſame uſe. In Egypt, the Jacobites employ the Coptic, which is nowhere intelligible, with the exception of one or two provincial terms; and the copies of the Liturgy in uſe have, therefore, an Arabic tranſlation at the ſide. The ſcattered Neſtorians and Jacobites of Aſia Minor univerſally employ the dead language of Syriac. In Armenia, of all nations, the ſacred and vernacular tongues are moſt identical.

Three hundred years ago, in oppoſition to the then prevailing practice, a national Church decreed as follows:—"It is a thing "plainly repugnant to the Word of GOD, and the practice of "the primitive Church, to have public prayer in the Church, or "to miniſter the Sacraments, in a tongue not underſtanded of "the people." Three centuries paſſed; and the office then compiled has become ſo obſolete in its phraſes as certainly to fall not very far ſhort of incurring the condemnation there pronounced. The fact is, that we are ſo thoroughly uſed to both our ſpoken language and to that of our Bible and Prayer-book, that we fail to ſee what foreigners remark at once, the world-wide difference between the two. Ordinary readers may never have obſerved ſome of thoſe great grammatical variations which would ſtrike a foreign philological ſcholar at firſt ſight; the total abſence, for example, in the older dialect of one of the moſt common poſſeſſive pronouns of the new—the word *its*; "Seek ye firſt the kingdom of God and *his* righteouſneſs." "Theſe are they that came over Jordan . . . when *it* had overflowed all *his* banks." "The Tree of Life that—yielded *her* fruit every month."—The utter confuſion of that diſtinction between the verbs *will* and *ſhall*, on which we now ſo pique ourſelves: "Open thy mouth wide, and I ſhall fill it." "Them that are meek ſhall He guide in judgment; and ſuch as are gentle, them ſhall He learn His way."—The abſence of that large claſs of participial adjectives which would ſeem to be, but are not, derived from a verb, ſuch as *unwitneſſed*, *unharneſſed*; with one or two rare exceptions, like *unknown*. And if it be ſaid that theſe differences are not ſuch as to obſcure the meaning to an ignorant perſon, it is equally true that there are others which muſt either make the ſenſe unintelligible to him, or even reverſe it. We have to explain, for inſtance, that when we pray, "Prevent us, O LORD, in all our doings," we mean, "Aſſiſt us;" that when we lament our being *let* in running the race that is ſet before us, we mean that we are *not* let to run it. And ſo we may fairly aſk the queſtion: Is it not almoſt impoſſible to find any one

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Collect which ſhall be intelligible to an uneducated perſon? Do not the inverſions of the ſentences, as well as the difficulty of the words, make it a matter of difficulty to explain theſe "vernacular" prayers to the poor? Even in one of the Creeds, who is there among the lower claſſes that could comprehend ſuch a phraſe as "of a reaſonable ſoul and human fleſh ſubſiſting?" And how differently would it have been expreſſed had the ſervice been compoſed in modern times! Nothing can be more clear than that the compilers of the Prayer-book did not uſe the eaſieſt and readieſt words. They had no idea of a ſimple Anglo-Saxon idiom. Far from wiſhing to expreſs ſuch a phraſe as "the impenetrability of matter," by "the unthoroughfariſhneſs of ſtuff," they purpoſely took the harder Latin word, to the excluſion of our own Engliſh ſynonym.—"And finally, after this life, may attain everlaſting joy and *felicity*." "Where the ſouls of them that ſleep in the Lord enjoy perpetual reſt and *felicity*,"—in the prayer for a ſick *child*. The very title, *Solemnization of Matrimony*, is as good as a hundred proofs of this.

We are not blaming this,—far from it. We are merely ſhowing that thoſe who thought it their duty to exclaim moſt loudly againſt the employment of a foreign tongue in the ſervices of the Church, themſelves uſed a dialect of Engliſh different from any which is now, or which was ever, ſpoken; and "not underſtanded" entirely by any worſhipper of the nineteenth century.

And now we will turn our attention to the ſucceſſive developments of the Roman Church on this matter. Let us take a point where as yet the queſtion of a vernacular ſervice could not have aſſumed a practical form, and therefore, as the great men of that age were not given to philological theorizing, where it could not have taken any tangible form at all. Let us imagine how S. Gregory the Great muſt have regarded ſuch a difficulty. Looking around him from the Eternal City, he ſaw, within his own Patriarchate, a people, as yet, almoſt homogeneous: in Spain, in Gaul, in Italy, in Sicily, in Africa, multitudes of Liturgies, but as yet, in different degrees of corruption, only one language. That this language was becoming ſo changed as to ſeem ſcarcely like itſelf, was a fact which we can hardly imagine to have ſtruck, even if it were barely known to, the authorities of the Church. The Gallican Liturgies, ſuch as we now have them, may uſe the ablative for the accuſative, may employ terms, may familiarize idioms unknown at Rome; but the Roman Church ignored ſuch varieties of Liturgies, owning the one faith, the one Creed, and the one Weſtern language. At a later period, when ſome ignorant prieſt had baptized *In nomine Patria, et Filia, et Spiritua Sanctua*, we find the ſucceſſor of S. Peter maintaining

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the validity of ſuch a rite; and no one, from that time to this, has queſtioned the truth of ſuch a deciſion.

It was when the Roman Church was brought into contact with the Teutonic or Celtic races, that the queſtion of a vernacular language muſt firſt have preſented itſelf as a difficulty to be ſolved. It is not our intention to enter on the ſubject of vernacular tranſlations of Holy Scripture; this would ſwell the remarks we ſhall have to offer beyond all due limits. The verſion made by Ulphilas into Mœſo-Gothic, between the years 360 and 380, muſt be conſidered as the firſt great attempt to grapple with the difficulties of a barbarous language; and though the Biſhop himſelf was a Cappadocian, and, of courſe, introduced Eaſtern rites among his flock, yet the influence of ſuch an undertaking muſt have been prodigious in the Weſtern world. Whether he in like manner tranſlated the Liturgy is a queſtion which cannot be anſwered; there is no trace of any ſuch verſion, and the fact that the Eaſtern rite ſo ſoon died out among the Goths ſeems an argument that it never exiſted. There is no doubt that the maſs maintained itſelf in Latin; there is equally no doubt that, in the next centuries, a part of the daily offices was ſaid in the dialect of the country, and many curious documents remain as ſtanding witneſſes of the fact. Verſions of Pſalms and Canticles abound, almoſt coeval with the introduction of Chriſtianity into Germany. The *Te Deum*, for example, received a verſion in the eighth or ninth century, which has been more than once reprinted, and which commences—

Thih Cot lopêmes,
Thih truhtnan gehernes:
Thih ewigan Fater
Eokiwelih erda wirdit.

So, again, a verſion of the Pſalms exiſted in Dutch as early as the time of Charlemagne. One of the Epiſtles and Goſpels was made in the eighth century, in what is now the Duchy of Brunſwick; the monks of Fulda, in the ſame age, tranſlated the like parts of the Liturgy. Then there is the ſo-called Weſſobrumic Prayer, which ſpeaks to the ſame thing at the ſame date in Bavaria. S. Notker Balbulus, the inventor of Sequences, who died in 912, made a high German verſion of the Pſalms, clearly and manifeſtly for the benefit of thoſe who were conſtantly hearing them in church, and interlined with a ſhort commentary, in this manner:—

Beatus vir qui non abiit in conſilio impiorum.
Der man is ſalig, der in dero argon rat na gegieng. As Adam did, when he followed the advice of his wife in oppoſition to God.

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Et in viâ peccatorum non ſtetit.
Noh an dero ſundigon wege ne ſtuont. So he did. He went thither; he went to the broad way that leadeth to hell, and ſtood there, for he gave way to his luſt.

So, again, in the ſame centuries, there was a Theotiſc* tranſlation of the moſt popular of Latin hymns; it is both accurate and ſpirited, and was no doubt uſed in public worſhip. A ſtill more remarkable example of the ſame thing is to be found in the "Evangelical Harmony of Otfried," a work of the latter half of the ninth century.† Theſe are hymns of conſiderable length, on ſuch ſubjects as the Miſſion of the Angel to S. Mary, the Magnificat, the Preſentation of our LORD in the temple, His Baptiſm, the opening of the firſt chapter of S. John, &c. Here is the ſhorteſt of them, the mere verſification of a Collect:—

GOT, thir eigenhaf iſt
thaz io genâthih biſt
intfaâ geba unſar,
rhes bethurfun wir ſâr
Thaz uns, thiô ketinun
bindent therô ſundûn
thînerô mildô
genad intbinde baldo.

O GOD, Whoſe nature and property is ever to have mercy and to forgive, receive our humble petitions; and though we be tied and bound with the chain of our ſins, let the pitifulneſs of Thy great mercy looſe us.

The Council of Leptines, in 744, expreſſly orders that the renunciation and profeſſion of faith in Baptiſm be made in the vernacular, and propoſes this Theotiſc formula for the latter:— "*Gelobiſtu in Got almechtigan Fadaer? Ec gelobo in Got al-*" *mechtigan Fadaer. Gelobiſtu in Chriſt, Godes Suno? Ec gelobo* "*in Chriſt, Godes Suno. Gelobiſtu in Halogan Gaſt? Ec gelobo* "*in Halogan Gaſt.*" And S. Boniface, the Apoſtle of Germany, had before this eſpecially inſiſted on the ſame point. "*Nullus* "*ſit Preſbyter, qui in ipſâ linguâ quâ nati ſunt baptizandos abre-*" *nuntiationes et confeſſiones audire et interrogare non ſtudeat, ut* "*intelligant quibus renuncient, vel quæ confitentur.*" But, curiouſly enough, the oppoſite practice ſeems to have become prevalent again; for, in the middle of the ninth century, we find S. Hrabanus Maurus inſiſting that the prieſts of his province ſhould preach in Theotiſc; whence one can only conclude that they were in the habit of delivering their diſcourſes in Latin. It is certain, alſo, that from a very early period, perhaps as early as this, part of the Office for the Dedication of Churches and Church-

* It has been publiſhed by the celebrated philologiſt Grimm, under the title of "Hymnorum veteris Eccleſiæ xxvi. verſio Theotiſca." Göttingen, 1830.

† Publiſhed by E. G. Graff, Königſberg, 1831.

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yards was in the vernacular language, as alſo was much of that for the Viſitation of the Sick.

But this one great fact remains unqueſtioned: that, till the latter part of the ninth century, Rome never conceded—perhaps had never been aſked to concede—the uſe of a vernacular Liturgy. That the Epiſtles and Goſpels were often read in the patois which the people happened to ſpeak, is conceded; that the *Gloria in excelſis*, and other hymns of a ſimilar kind, had alſo been tranſlated, is equally certain; but the maſs itſelf was ſaid in Latin, and in Latin only. It is true that, in ſome Gallican and Mozarabic maſſes, the Latin is ſo corrupted as almoſt to amount to another language: but ſtill the principle was maintained. Let us ſee what that principle was.

Up to this period Rome had won to herſelf only the Romance peoples: the firſt to acknowledge her, the laſt to remain faithful to her; and here for centuries Latin remained the ſpoken tongue, dying off ſo gradually and imperceptibly into French, Spaniſh, or Portugueſe, that the change was hardly noticed; and the uneducated went on praying in the tongue in which their fathers and grandfathers had prayed, without knowing that every year was widening the gulf between that which they heard, and that which they ſpoke. At length the Patriarchal Throne of the Weſt was brought into contact with the fierce, young activity of Germanic life,—with tongues that, to the ſoft ears of the South, muſt have preſented the moſt barbarous diſſonances—languages without grammar, with unſettled inflexions, differing widely from each other, each intelligible in its own little plot of country only. There was not material as yet, there was not ſtability, to endure a tranſlation of the fixed and immutable Liturgy. Dialects were altering ſo faſt, that a tranſlation would ſoon have itſelf needed an interpretation. Then half the words muſt neceſſarily have been mere Latin or Greek obtruſions into the language. Baptiſm, Church, Reſurrection, Communion, Incarnation—how could thoſe barbarous races have expreſſed them, but by themſelves? Add, again, the neceſſary irreverence that muſt attend the tranſfuſion of ſuch ſolemn myſteries into tongues incapable, as yet, of grammar. Add, alſo, the difficulties regarding particular words, ſuch as that which lately occurred in a verſion of the Scriptures for, we believe, ſome of the iſlands of the Indian Ocean; where the word *lamb* is uſed in the ſenſe which we employ *aſs*, and it was therefore impoſſible to tranſlate the Scriptural name of our LORD but by a paraphraſe. No doubt theſe, and ſuch as theſe, were wiſe reaſons for the non-adoption of the vernacular; and others have been well ſtated by a late writer:—

"But when the nations and kingdoms of modern Europe were

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" at length formed, and their languages fixed, the diſturbing in-
" fluences of their ſeparate nationalities became ſo ſtrong that
" they could hardly be kept together in eccleſiaſtical unity, even
" though they had all one and the ſame faith, Church Law, and
" Ritual, and one common clergy, with a language of its own,
" interpenetrating them all, and concentrated in one common
" independent centre at Rome. Under ſuch circumſtances, any
" change which ſhould tend to ſtrengthen ſtill further the ſeparate
" nationalities, and to divide and nationalize that common clergy,
" which, like the citizens of old Rome, being mixed everywhere
" with the provincials, bound the whole into unity, would be
" manifeſtly moſt dangerous; and exactly the ſame reaſons which
" would move an hereſiarch or a tyrant who wiſhed to try with
" impunity to introduce the uſe of the vulgar tongue for the pur-
" poſes of religion, to aboliſh the celibacy of the clergy, and to
" baniſh monks and friars, would weigh with biſhops and popes
" to make them oppoſe or forbid ſuch changes."

But it is now time to turn to the two great ſtruggles which Rome carried on in defence of this principle, in both of which ſhe conceded it, and in both with only partial ſucceſs. And let us firſt fix our eyes on the miſſion of SS. Cyril and Methodius.

It was while Conſtantinople was alternately diſguſted by the buffooneries, and horror-ſtruck at the ferocity, of the Emperor Michael III, that a deputation arrived from the Prince of the Khazares, to ſolicit inſtruction in Chriſtianity. His kingdom ſtretched from the Caſpian to Wallachia and Moldavia; it had paſſed the zenith of its greatneſs, and many of the Slavic tribes that had been his tributaries, were beginning to throw off the yoke of the Hunno-Tartar. By the advice of the Patriarch S. Ignatius, Conſtantine (better known by his laſt name of Cyril), a native of Theſſalonica, was appointed to the miſſion; and after having been raiſed to the prieſthood, he ſpent ſome time in Kherſon, where he maſtered the Khazaric language. He was ſo far ſucceſsful as to convert and baptize the Khan, whoſe example was followed by a large portion of his people; and the miſſionary had his attention next directed to the neighbouring Bulgarians. He found them uſing a language of inexhauſtible richneſs and beauty, abounding with inflexions, capable of expreſſing various ſhades of meaning with a felicity peculiar to itſelf—the rival of Greek in flexibility, its ſuperior in copiouſneſs: he found a people deſirous of receiving the true faith, and he became the parent of their literature, as well as their apoſtle. He firſt had to invent an alphabet, and this he did with great ſkill and judgment. He adopted the Greek characters ſo far as they went; but its twenty-two literal forms went but a little way in

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ſupplying the forty-three which he found to be neceſſary to his ſyſtem. He therefore varied ſome of theſe, where he ſaw an analogy between the old ſound and the new. For example: the ſound B was unknown to ancient Greek (it is expreſſed in Romaic by μπ), and that ſymbol repreſents V. But it exiſted in Bulgarian, and therefore Conſtantine expreſſed it by docking a part of the upper loop. Some of his characters he derived from the Weſtern Slavonic (Glagolita), and ſome few he invented for himſelf; and thus he produced the Cyrillic alphabet—the ſacred language to this day of all the Slavonians of the Eaſtern Church. He is ſaid to have perfected his work on his return to Conſtantinople, and there to have commenced his tranſlation of the Scriptures with the aſſiſtance of his brother Methodius, who aſſociated himſelf in the labour. A few years later, Roſtiſlaff, Prince of Moravia (then one of the Slavonic peoples), ſent an embaſſy, requeſting that Conſtantine might be deſpatched to them, not only to confirm them in the faith which they had already received from the Weſtern Church, but "to teach them to read,"—that is, to introduce his new alphabet. The two brothers accordingly ſet forth, and were received with the greateſt joy.

Nicolas I, one of the ableſt and moſt enterpriſing among the Popes, at this time filled the chair of S. Peter. Hearing of the ſucceſs of the new miſſionaries, he requeſted their preſence at Rome, where, however, they did not arrive till after the conſecration of his ſucceſſor, Hadrian II. By that Pontiff they were raiſed to the epiſcopal dignity; and ſhortly afterwards, Conſtantine, having changed his name to Cyril, departed this life. Methodius returned the ſame year, A. D. 868, into Moravia, and occupied himſelf in preaching the Goſpel there and in Pannonia.

It is not wonderful that the people, who had before been accuſtomed to the Latin Rite, were delighted at hearing the Liturgy in their own language, and deſerted the Weſtern miſſionaries for the new comers. It is alſo not wonderful that the former, chagrined at the turn of affairs, appealed to Rome, denouncing Methodius as a heretic, and his Liturgy as impious and profane.

"We are informed," writes Pope John VIII. to that prelate, "that you ſing maſs in the Slavonic tongue. We have already forbidden this, in the letters ſent by Paul, Biſhop of Ancona; and we enjoin that you celebrate maſs in Latin or in Greek, as is the uſe of the Church in all the countries of the world; but you can preach to the people in their own language."

At the ſame time, he requires Methodius to preſent himſelf at Rome.

Here therefore, for the firſt time, we find Rome brought into colliſion with a vernacular rite. But the miſſionary had great

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advantages on his ſide. The talents and learning of Photius had made him a moſt formidable rival to the papal chair; the two Churches had entered on their terrible and fatal ſtruggle; Moravia, and Pannonia, and Bulgaria were the border lands; and it was neceſſary either to conciliate their peoples, or a rival might offer more advantageous terms. To Rome Methodius came, and there ſatisfied the Pope as to his orthodoxy, and alſo as to his uſe of the vernacular.

"We approve," writes John VIII. to Sviatopolk, Prince of Moravia, "of the Slavonic letters invented by Conſtantine the Philoſopher, and we will that the doings and the praiſes of JESUS CHRIST be publiſhed in that tongue, becauſe S. Paul teaches that every tongue ought to confeſs that CHRIST is LORD, to the glory of GOD the FATHER. For it is not contrary to the faith that the ſame Slavonic tongue ſhould be employed in celebrating maſs, in reading the Goſpel, or the other Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtaments well tranſlated, and in chanting the other offices of the Hours. He Who has made the three principal languages, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, has made alſo all others to His glory. We will, however, that, to the end more reverence be paid to the Goſpel, it be read firſt in Latin, and then in Slavonic, for the ſake of thoſe who do not underſtand Latin, as the practice is in ſome churches. And if you and your principal men prefer to hear the maſs in Latin, we will that it be ſung to you in Latin."

The letter is of June, 880.

On this Methodius returned to his labours; but the oppoſition to the vernacular ſervice was not entirely at an end. The Pope, however, ſtood firm, and the ſucceſs of the energetic miſſionary proved the wiſdom of the permiſſion. Bohemia had already been, to ſome ſmall extent, evangelized, but had almoſt relapſed into idolatry. Carrying his Liturgy and his tranſlation with him, Methodius advanced into that land, and, in 894, converted the Duke Borzivog, and his wife S. Ludmilla,—the latter afterwards the protomartyr of her country. But the nation again relapſed into Paganiſm, and its final emerſion from darkneſs was owing to miſſionaries of the Latin Church. Theſe indefatigably put down the Slavic Liturgy wherever they found it, both in Moravia, Pannonia, and Bohemia; and the latter people, afterwards to exerciſe ſuch an important influence on the queſtion, were at firſt ſcarcely even familiarized, as their neighbours had been, to a vernacular rite.

We paſs over nearly two hundred years; and it is worth while to give a glance at the altered circumſtances of theſe border lands. The two Churches were now irreconcilably ſeparated. Bulgaria, ſo long the object of their contention, had attached itſelf to the Oriental faith, and maintained with all its might the Eaſtern Liturgy in the Cyrillic verſion and with the Cyrillic characters. Not the province that it is now, but a vaſt king-

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dom, it ſtretched from the Save to the Gulf of Lepanto, embracing Servia, Albania, and parts of Roumelia, and teeming with all the young life of that ſecond ſpring in the Byzantine Church. To the north lay the vaſt province of Strigonium, in the Latin obedience, comprehending Hungary and Tranſylvania; compriſing on its north the provinces of Gneſne, which embraced Poland; on its north-weſt that of Mayence, which contained a part of Bohemia and Moravia; and on its weſt that of Salzburg, in which lay the reſt of theſe two countries. In all theſe, the vernacular Liturgy was nearly at an end. Bohemia alone ſtill ſtruggled for it. The Archbiſhop of Magdeburg had inſiſted, in 997, on a Latin Liturgy: a deputation, headed by two of the nobility, Bolchoſi and Myſlibor, went to Rome, and obtained permiſſion from Benedict VIII. to uſe the vernacular rite, a privilege which they maintained precarioufly for nearly a century. But in the province of Dioclea, in Boſnia, Croatia, and Dalmatia, it ſtill ſtrove for the pre-eminence. The Eaſtern rite was given up; but the Latin Maſs was ſaid in Slavonic, and with Cyrillic letters. Rome had been unceaſingly on the watch to withdraw the privilege accorded to Methodius, and the hiſtory of Spalato records a ſeries of attempts, ſometimes on the part of the Metropolitan, ſometimes on the part of the Pope. In the obſcure Dalmatian annals of the commencement of the tenth century, we meet with the name of one prelate, who was clearly a man with wiſdom beyond his age,—Gregory of Nona.* In the Council of Spalato, held about 910, he alone ſtood up for the vernacular rite, and, undeterred by the threats of his brethren, he refuſed to pay obedience to the canon of the ſynod which proſcribed it. The matter went by appeal to John X, the moſt execrable wretch (if we except Alexander VI.) who ever wore the tiara—the infamous lover of the more infamous Theodora. The ſtupid letter in which he confirms the Council is given at length by Farlati: it makes, however, this exception,—that where a diſtrict is ill ſupplied with prieſts, if one of them is unacquainted with any tongue but Slavonic, he may apply to Rome for a diſpenſation, and continue to employ it. The people, notwithſtanding, were not to be coerced into the change: the Slavonic Liturgy remained in uſe, till in 1058 another council was held againſt it. The proſcription was now more rigorous than ever, and the Croats actually roſe in rebellion, headed by one Ulf. This perſonage, however, was no honour to the cauſe: he went

* It would ſeem that the ſee of Nona had ſome ſuch metropolitical pretenſions over Croatia. How far a rivalry on this point with Spalato might have embittered the other diſpute, it is now impoſſible to ſay.

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to Rome, came back with a ſham biſhop, whom he intruded into the ſee of Veglia, and kept up the impoſition for ſome years. When it was diſcovered, the perpetrators ſuffered according to their deſerts; but it was by this time that an attempt to eradicate the national rite was hopeleſs. At another Council of Spalato, in 1064, the matter ſeems to have been, to a certain extent, compromiſed. "A great part of the inhabitants of Illyria," ſays that clever writer who aſſumes the name of Talvi, "remained, "nevertheleſs, faithful to their language, and to a worſhip "familiar to their minds through their language. A ſingular "means, Dobrovſky aſſerts, was found by ſome of the ſhrewder "prieſts to reconcile their inclinations. A new alphabet was "invented, or rather the Cyrillic letters were altered and tranſ- "formed in ſuch a way, as to approach in a certain meaſure to "the Coptic characters. To give ſome authority to the new "invention, it was aſcribed to S. Jerome. This, it was main- "tained is the Glagolitic alphabet ſo called, uſed by the Slavic "prieſts of Dalmatia and Croatia until the preſent time. Cyril's "tranſlation of the Bible and Liturgic books were copied in theſe "characters with a very few deviations in the language, which "probably had their foundation in the difference of the Dalmatian "dialect, or were the reſult of the progreſs of time; for this "event took place at leaſt 360 years after the invention of the "Cyrillic alphabet. With this modification, the prieſts ſuc- "ceeded in ſatisfying both the people and the chair of Rome. "It ſounded the ſame to the people, and looked different to the "Pope. The people ſubmitted eaſily to the ceremonies of the "Romiſh worſhip if only their beloved language was preſerved; "and the Pope, fearing juſtly the tranſlation of the whole Slavic "population of thoſe provinces to the Greek Church, permitted "the maſs to be read in Slavonic in order to preſerve his in- "fluence in general."

It has ſince, however, been demonſtrated that the Glagolitic alphabet—the rudeſt, coarſeſt, and clumſieſt of European ſymbols—is of a much earlier date, and that probably the indigenous prieſts reintroduced it for the purpoſes above mentioned. After this, the oppoſition to the national rite ceaſed in a great meaſure. The ninth canon of the fourth Lateran Council, where Bernard, Metropolitan of Spalato, was preſent, decrees that, in caſe of different rites or language, the Biſhop ſhall provide *ſacerdotes qui ſecundum varietatem rituum et linguarum divina officia celebrent*; and may even, under the ſame circumſtances, appoint a Vicar-Biſhop. This canon was underſtood to bear eſpecial reference to Illyria.

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By degrees, however, Rome obtained one great object of her deſires,—the adoption of Latin letters in the Illyrian maſs. We ſhall ſee, preſently, that the Cyrillic character was always exceſſively obnoxious to Ultramontanes; and that, at whatever expenſe of philology, the Roman alphabet was introduced wherever circumſtances permitted. The then exiſting verſion was corrected by Raphael Levacovich, under Urban VIII, both in the Breviary and Miſſal: this was not well done, and gave riſe to ſome diſcontent. The ritual was tranſlated by Bartholomew Carſio. Theſe verſions were again corrected by Caramanus, Biſhop of Jadera, a thorough Slavonic ſcholar, and appeared in 1741; his edition is a good one, but we have been told that the language is rather too fine.

There are, therefore, in theſe provinces three diſtinct rites of the Roman uſe: the Roman rite, with the Latin language; the Roman rite, with the Slavonic language; and the Eaſtern rite (Uniat), with the Slavonic. The way in which theſe Uniats are (or at leaſt were, till the end of the laſt century) ſupplied with prieſts, is remarkable. The Uniats inſiſt on having their clergy ordained according to the Greek rite. This, notwithſtanding many applications to Rome, the Biſhops of the Uniat communion have never been allowed to uſe. Application is therefore made to the prelates of the Eaſtern Church: the prieſt is ordained by them; is then made to renounce "ſchiſm," and ſo inſtituted to the paſtoral office.

It may not be amiſs, before we quit theſe remarkable nations, to give the reader ſome idea of their numbers, and of their reſpective attachment to the two Churches. Putting Ruſſia aſide, the Eaſtern Slavonians are divided into the Illyrico-Servian and Bulgarian branches; the Weſtern, into Czekho-Slovakians, Poles, Suabian Vendes, and Tchacones. The numbers ſtand about thus:—

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	Total Number.	Eaſtern Church.	Weſtern Church.
Illyrico-Servians:			
1. Servians (in Servia) . .	1,100,000	1,000,000	100,000
2. Servians (in Hungary) .	400,000	300,000	100,000
3. Boſnians (many are Mahometans)	500,000	300,000	80,000
4. Tchernogortzi, or Montenegrins	60,000	60,000	
5. Slavonians (Kingdom of Slavonia and Duchy of Syrmia)	500,000	200,000	300,000
6. Dalmatians	500,000	80,000	420,000
7. Croatians	800,000	200,000	600,000
8. Slovenzi, or Vendes (in Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola).	1,100,000		1,000,000 the reſt Proteſtants.
Bulgarians:			
1. Bulgarians proper . .	3,500,000	3,200,000	300,000
2. Bulgarians in Beſſarabia.	80,000	80,000	
Czekho-Slovakians:			
1. Bohemians & Moravians	4,500,000		4,400,000
2. Slovaks (principally in North Hungary) . .	2,400,000	500,000	1,000,000
Poles:			
(Ruſſian Poliſh provinces, Galicia and Lodomiria)	10,000,000	2,000,000	7,500,000
Suabian Vendes:			
(Luſatia, and ſome part of Brunſwick, now Germaniſed).	2,000,000		1,000,000
Tchacones:			
(Eaſtern part of Peloponneſus, ſay, ...	20,000	20,000	
	27,460,000	7,940,000	16,800,000

Of courſe, when we add the 38,000,000 of Ruſſians proper, and the 13,000,000 of Ruſſniaks, who belong to the Eaſtern Church, we quite reverſe the proportion. But the dependence of theſe eighteen or nineteen millions on the Roman Church is owing, in great meaſure, to the uſe of their vernacular language in euchariſtic offices. Let us now look at the remarkable ſtruggle in Bohemia on this ſubject.

We have ſeen that in A.D. 977 the Bohemians wreſted from the Court of Rome the uſe of the vernacular language in their Liturgies. This privilege was again taken from them in the pontificate of S. Gregory VII, though the reſolute ſpirit of that people ſtill maintained the Slavonic Ritual as they beſt could, in ſpite of the decrees of councils and of popes. Towards the end of the fourteenth century, the cry for a vernacular ſervice

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became loud throughout Bohemia. Mixing itſelf alſo with the demand for the free accordance of the chalice to the laity, it found a mouth-piece in John Huſs and Hieronymus von Faulfiſch, better known as Jerome of Prague. Thoſe to whom the fate of Huſs is as a houſehold word, may not be ſo generally aware that he was the ſettler of Bohemian orthography, and the framer of its language as it now exiſts. Bohemian is the moſt copious and the moſt exact of the Slavonic tongues, and its forty-two letters received their ultimate name and diſpoſition from Huſs. Whatever were his errors, and whatever abſurdities may have been promulgated regarding the violation of his ſafe-conduct by the Council of Conſtance—which ſafe-conduct never exiſted, and therefore could never have been violated—Huſs is thus to be honourably diſtinguiſhed, when compared with Jerome of Prague, a man of but doubtful morality, violent, ſelf-willed, and inſincere. If his fate be remembered, it muſt alſo be remembered that he himſelf had ordered the murder of a monk who oppoſed one of his ſervices. Then came the ſplit between the ſo-called reformers in Bohemia; the Calixtines or Utraquiſts contenting themſelves with the demand for the permiſſion of the chalice, and of a vernacular ſervice; the Taborites, and their various ſchiſms, being heretics of the worſt deſcription, and ready to repeat the enormities of their ferocious leader, Ziſka.

The Council of Baſle, that ſtanding proteſt againſt Ultramontanes, and equally abhorred and feared by members of that faction, proved its wiſdom and moderation by admitting the delegates of the Bohemians to a free and open conference. We may ſmile when we read of the tedious manner in which deputies ſpoke, and members of the Council anſwered—of the three days the famous Calixtine Rokitſana conſumed in proving the advantage of communion in both kinds, and the length which John de Prague required for his reply. But it is never to be forgotten that the decree of the Council which ſucceeded theſe diſputations, was the means of preſerving a whole nation in the unity of the Church.

As to the Communion in both kinds, the intention of the Council is not to tolerate it as an evil connived at on account of the baſeneſs of heart of thoſe that demand it, but as one uſeful and ſalutary to them that receive this Sacrament worthily. The Council will examine the queſtion more thoroughly; but the prieſts, who give the Communion in both kinds, are to teach that JESUS CHRIST is received whole and entire in each.

With this, the queſtion of the vernacular ſervice was alſo mixed up, and that conceſſion united the Calixtines with the Roman Church, and cruſhed the Taborites; yet Bohemia

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eagerly accepted the Reformation, and when it elected Frederick the Elector Palatine, the imbecile ſon-in-law of James I, as its king, three-fourths of its inhabitants had embraced different kinds of hereſy. The battle of the White Mountain, in 1620, ſettled the religious as well as the political ſtate of the country. The Catholic Church was triumphant, and Bohemia may conteſt with the Tyrol and Brittany the honour of being the moſt Catholic country in Europe. But the great reſult ſtill remained; and that Slavonic people retained their vernacular Liturgy.

The writer well remembers how, having arrived late in that glorious city of Prague on a Saturday night, and ſtanding early next morning on the bridge—the ſcene of the martyrdom of S. John Nepomucene—the maſſes of worſhippers pouring to their various churches, ſeemed to him more ſtriking than anything of the kind he had ever witneſſed in any other Catholic city: how the long hill on the one ſide that leads up to the Cathedral and the Strahoff monaſtery, on the heights where the Hradſchin ſtands, was one ſtream of heads; while, on the other, the main arterial ſtreet that goes to the Theinkirche, was equally crammed. Add to all, the clamour of countleſs bells, and the contraſt of the gentle Moldau, with the life and animation of both its banks, all lit up by a bright ſpring ſun, and the writer's firſt acquaintance with a vernacular Roman ſervice was made under very pleaſurable circumſtances. It ſeemed ſtrange, in the Theinkirche, to ſee the well-known poſtures, and to hear the familiar chants, accompanied with Slavonic *formulæ*—the *Hoſpodine pomiluy*, for example, inſtead of the *Kyrie eleiſon*. One concluding remark on Bohemia may not be out of place.

It was the faſhion, ſome ten years ago, among Anglo-Romaniſts, to propheſy the ſpeedy converſion of England. The droppings from our ranks they took to be the forerunners of the whole hoſt, and muſt have been bitterly diſappointed that the few went and came, and made but little difference on the one ſide or the other. Their own ill-ſucceſs, deſpite ſo much zeal, ſo much energy, ſo much munificence, ſeemed a ſtartling fact. Theories are not difficult to make; and the lateſt ſeems to be this, that where a country, *as* a country, has apoſtatized from the faith, *as* a country there is no regeneration for it; that the utmoſt the Church can hope to effect, is to ſnatch individuals from the maſs of hereſy or unbelief; and that this is the object to which ſhe is to lend her aim, and the goal with the attainment of which ſhe is to remain content—a moſt unſatisfactory thing, if it could be proved, but contrary to all the teaching of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. Witneſs this very country of Bohemia, which, in the beginning

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of the ſeventeenth century, had almoſt totally apoſtatized to Lutheraniſm or Calviniſm, but which was, humanly ſpeaking, by that one battle of the White Mountain, brought back to the Church.

We will now turn our eyes to another remarkable inſtance in which a national rite and a vernacular language has been allowed: we mean the Greek Liturgy of Sicily, Calabria, and Apulia.

And here again we are brought into that mournful portion of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, the ſtruggle between the Eaſtern and Weſtern Churches. One is apt to forget, how weak, in the ninth and tenth centuries, was the actual authority poſſeſſed by the Roman Pontiffs; how Conſtantinople had invaded even their ſtronghold, Italy, elbowing them from Calabria and Apulia; while Sicily, under the temporal dominion of the Saracens, regarded the Œcumenical Patriarch as its ſpiritual head. In fact, the Eaſt gained further and further in this direction on the Weſt, and at one period threatened to exclude the papal authority from the whole of South Italy; nor was it till the Normans, devoted to the intereſts of the Holy See, ſpread themſelves over that country, that Rome ſucceeded in this quarter in her ſtruggle with Conſtantinople. But though the Eaſtern Church was here driven out, the Eaſtern Liturgies remained behind, and they found a greater protection from the See of Rome than from their Norman conquerors, who abhorred them.* At Naples, eſpecially, the Chriſtians of both rites lived† in the greateſt concord and amity; the Latins uſing the Latin, the Greeks the Greek, Liturgy. The Collegiate Church of S. Januarius, for inſtance, had, in 1300, mixed chapters of Latins and Greeks. How the choir could, eccleſiologically, have been filled for the two rites, it is not eaſy to underſtand. So in the Chronicle of S. Maria de Piombino, which is ſuppoſed to have been written in the thirteenth century, it is mentioned that, on Eaſter-eve, the ſix Primicerii of the ſix Greek churches were under obligation to aſſiſt at the Latin office, and to ſing ſix leſſons in Greek, and at Eaſter other dignitaries of the ſame churches were in like manner to ſay the Creed in their native language. The Church of

* "L' origine del rito Greco nelle Provincie che compongono i due Reami di Napoli, e di Sicilia per mezzo degli Orientale nel ſecolo ottavo, e la ſua decadenza proccurata con maraviglioſa deſtrezza dai Principi Normanni nell' undecimo, ſono i due poli tra ſi oppoſti, ai quali l' argomento di queſto primo libro dovra interamente aggorarſi." So ſays Rodotà, at the commencement of his hiſtory.

† So Petrus Subdiaconus, in his life of S. Athanaſius of Naples, where he is ſpeaking of the interment of that prelate, "Confluebant uterque ſexus et ætas diverſa, et qualiter poterant, pſalmodiæ Græce et Latine ſuavi modulatione reſonabant."

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S. Maria del Poggio, in the diſtrict of Revello, petitioned Pius V, in 1572, to be allowed to paſs from the Greek to the Latin rite. The Pope aſſented. The Chapter then altered its mind, and reſolved to retain the Liturgy of its predeceſſors. But Spinelli, the biſhop, obliged them to avail themſelves of the diſpenſation for which they had aſked. In Brunduſium the Greek rite was given up in 1173, but a trace of it ſtill remains, or did remain, in the laſt century. On Palm Sunday, a ſolemn proceſſion took place from the cathedral to the church called *Hoſanna*, in which the Epiſtle and Goſpel were ſung with extraordinary ſolemnity in Greek. It appears that in 1609 the Archbiſhop, Dionyſio Odriſcol, one of thoſe perſons who were for ſquaring everything to the exacteſt dimenſions of the Latin rite, reſolved to put an end to theſe ancient cuſtoms. The Chapter ſtrenuouſly oppoſed him, and, on his perſiſting in his mandate, appealed to Rome. The caſe was heard, and judgment given againſt the Archbiſhop, to his extreme chagrin. In a Dioceſan Synod holden at Otranto, about the year 1580, no fewer than two hundred prieſts of the Greek rite were preſent. It ſeems that in ſome places, as at Galatena, the Greek prieſts had a reputation for piety ſo far exceeding that of the other rite, that the Latin population flocked to them, although unacquainted with their idiom. Where everything elſe has diſappeared, the name of the church will ſometimes tell of the great prevalence of the Greek rite there: thus the Cathedral of Bova is called S. Maria dell' *Iſodia*, and another church in the ſame city, the *Theotocos*. The Cathedral of Roſſano was entirely Greek till 1461, when the Archbiſhop, Matteo Saraceni, introduced the Latin rite by force, and cauſed the exploit to be recorded on his tomb:—

> Hanc, quam cernis, ille, cujus laus eſt perennis
> Tranſtulit in Latinum, eccleſiam, de Græco ad cultum divinum,
> Cui nomen eſt Matthæus, quem in Præſulem elegit æternus Deus.
> Ordinis fuit minorum, qui in numero fuit magnus Prædicatorum.

So again, in ſome places, as in the famous Church of S. Maria del Grafeo, otherwiſe called *La Catholica*, in Meſſina, the language was Greek, but the veſtments were Latin, and azymes were employed.

The Greek rite in Italy received conſiderable augmentation by the immigration of a large body of Albanians when their country fell under the dominion of the Turks. They were eſpecially protected by Leo X. and Paul III, notwithſtanding the various and repeated attacks of Latin Biſhops. This, among other cauſes gave riſe to the eſtabliſhment of the Greek College in Rome, by Gregory XIII, in 1577. And for the ſame reaſon

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Clement VIII, in 1695, inſtituted a Greek Biſhop in the Church of S. Athanaſius at Rome, to confer holy orders on thoſe of that nation. The Baſilians, too, would form an intereſting illuſtration of our ſubject, did time permit us to enter on that part of it. When Rodotà wrote, in 1760, there were three houſes of theſe monks in the States of the Church, eighteen in Neapolitan Italy, and twenty-three in Sicily.

The pleaſing character of the union between Greeks and Latins in Italy, forms a mournful contraſt with the Unia in Ruſſia and Poland, to which we muſt now direct our thoughts.

At the time when Sigiſmund III. was ſeated on the Poliſh throne, his territory, be it remembered, extending over a great part of White Ruſſia, wreſted from that power by the Poles, an attempt of a novel nature was made to bring over a portion of the Eaſtern Church to the Roman Communion. The king himſelf had long been employing the uſual methods of ſemi-perſecution: the nobles who held to the faith of their forefathers were in every way diſcouraged: the churches were given to the Latins, and the orthodox were forbidden to erect new ones: a large emigration took place into Great Ruſſia, and thoſe who remained were of courſe the more diſpirited and weakened. There was one Cyril Terletſky, Biſhop of Oſtrog, a man of bad character, who, angry at ſome reproof that his miſdeeds had brought down on him, and wiſhing to better his poſition, determined to join the Roman Church, and offered his ſervices to the King, to induce others to imitate his example. The Metropolitan of Kieff, Michael Ragoſa, a timid man, was much under the influence of Cyril; and ſecret offers were made by Rome, which induced him to enliſt in her cauſe. The rites were to be entirely unchanged; the *Filioque* was not even to be added to the Creed; the United Greek Church was to be perfectly free from the control of the Latin Biſhops, and its members were not to be allowed to embrace the Latin Rite. All the privileges and prerogatives of the prelates were to remain; and Clement VIII. engaged to procure for them a ſeat in the National Diet.

A Synod met at Brzeſc, in Lithuania, and the point at iſſue was warmly diſputed. Several of the prelates ſtood firm; but ſeven reſolved on giving in their adherence to Rome. There were, beſides the Metropolitan of Kieff and Terletſky himſelf, the Biſhops of Brzeſc, Polotſk, Chelm, Pinſk, and a coadjutor of the latter. Hypatius of Brzeſc and Cyril were deſpatched by the Synod to Rome, with an offer of obedience, but not unconditional; for it contains this remarkable clauſe: "We have "given it them in charge to wait on your Holineſs, and (*if* your "Holineſs will guarantee that we ſhall retain the adminiſtration

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" of the Sacraments, and the rites and ceremonies of the Eaſtern " Church entirely, inviolably, and as we hold them at the mo- " ment of union; and will promiſe that your ſucceſſors will " never innovate in this matter) to pay in their own, and in the " name of us, and of the flocks committed to us, the obedience " due to the See of Saint Peter, and to your Holineſs, as the " Chief Shepherd of the flock of CHRIST." Two more prelates, thoſe of Lemberg and Przmiſl, had by this time been won over, and the letter was therefore* ſigned by nine, of whom one died almoſt immediately. It is dated June 12 (O.S.), 1595.

Such an acceſſion of prelates and territory was to be accepted on any terms. The deputies were moſt graciouſly received, and the Vigil of the Nativity, which was alſo Ember Saturday, was appointed for the public profeſſion of their faith. It is curious to ſee how, in the account given of this Union, in the Bull *Magnus Dominus*, the prelates are treated as if they repreſented the whole Ruſſian Church, inſtead of comparatively an inſignificant portion of it. The part which treats on the reception of their Liturgy is as follows:—

We receive them as fellow members of CHRIST into the unity of the Catholic and the boſom of the holy Roman Church, unite, annect, and incorporate: and, for the greater ſignification of our love towards them, we permit, of our apoſtolic clemency, concede, and allow, to the ſame Ruſſian Biſhops and Clergy the ceremonies which, according to the inſtitution of the holy Greek Fathers, they employ in the Divine Offices, in the Sacrifice of the Maſs, in the adminiſtration of the other Sacraments and other rites, ſo that they be not oppoſed to truth and to the Catholic faith, and do not exclude communion with the Roman Church.

And Paul V. ſtill further confirmed and ſtrengthened this permiſſion by a Bull of 1615.

Hypatius and Cyril had no ſooner returned home, than a ſecond council was held at Brzeſc, in which the proceedings of the deputies were approved, and the acts of the Union received. Thus began that Unia, which, after making ſuch extraordinary progreſs at its commencement, fell ſuddenly, and was ſwallowed up by a truer Union in our own time. Job, Patriarch of Moſcow, loſt no time in condemning the acts of the Council of Brzeſc, and in excommunicating the prelates concerned in it; and thenceforward began a terrible and bloody ſtruggle between the partiſans of the Orthodox and Uniat Rites in Poland, Lithuania, and White Ruſſia. Under the Uniat Metropolitans of Kieff, Michael Ragoſa, and Hypatius Phocieu, conſiderable

* It can be read in the Appendix of Documents to Theiner's *Neueſten Zuſtände der Katholiſchen Kirche beider Ritus*, at p. 11.

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progreſs was made by gentle means. The people, ſeeing no difference in outward rites, retaining their own Slavonic, hearing the unaltered Creed, knowing that the profeſſion of the Unia was a ſtepping-ſtone to honours and emoluments, and caring very little for a papal ſupremacy, which they did not underſtand, flocked into the new Church by thouſands, and thus emboldened its authorities to proceed to greater changes. The Creed was altered, the ſervices ſhortened, Latin veſtments introduced, and, curiouſly enough, Poliſh made to take the place of the old Church Slavonic in ſome of the ſervices. Hence great diſcontent and complaints. The Biſhops of Lemberg and Przemiſl had ſcarcely joined the Union, when (influenced by the authority of Conſtantine, Duke of Oſtrog, a centenarian, who yet retained almoſt the full vigour of his youth, and at whoſe expenſe, and by whoſe ſolicitations, the Scriptures were firſt tranſlated into the language of White Ruſſia) they again forſook it. But it was under the Uniat Metropolitan, Joſeph Rudſky (1613—1635), ſurnamed by Pope Urban VIII. the Athanaſius of Ruſſia, and the Atlas of the Union, that more violent means were adopted to compel the peaſantry to embrace it. The tyrannical landed proprietors of Poland cloſed all the Orthodox churches; whole villages remained without a ſacrament; Orthodox churches were given on leaſe to the Jews, who exacted a rent for every Euchariſt. Such violence naturally arouſed reſiſtance: the ſucceſſor of Rudſky, Kuncievicz, was murdered, and conſequently beatified by Rome; and then began a perſecution which has ſcarcely a parallel. Multitudes who perſiſted in retaining the Orthodox faith, were tortured to death at Warſaw. Some were boiled alive, ſome burnt, ſome roaſted, ſome torn to pieces with iron cats; while, in White Ruſſia, children were in like manner butchered, for no other crime but that of their baptiſm. The horrible barbarities which for twenty or thirty years branded Poland with infamy, make one ceaſe to wonder that ſhe has long ſince been blotted out from the category of nations. In proceſs of time the Unia loſt her Little Ruſſia; the Uniats in that province returned to their native faith, and the ſtrength of the Uniat Church lay in Poland chiefly. Yet here its clergy were deſpiſed by both Roman Catholics and Orthodox; its Biſhops were never allowed their promiſed ſeat in the Senate, and, notwithſtanding the papal authority had forbidden thoſe of one rite to forſake it for the other, it was univerſally regarded as a ſtepping-ſtone to the pure Roman Church. Still, on the diviſion of Poland, the Uniat Church remained, and reckoned, in 1825, under its Metropolitan of Wilno, and its three Biſhops of Polotſk, Lvoff, and Brzeſc, more than fourteen hundred thou-

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ſand perſons capable of receiving the Sacraments. It is well known that, on the 6th of March, 1839, all this multitude, amounting (children included) to nearly two millions, were received, under their three Biſhops, into the unity of the Eaſtern Church. "Ex tam atroci Catholicæ Eccleſiæ inflicto vulnere, "perſpicitis, venerabiles Fratres," ſaid Gregory XVI; "quo "tandem animo ſumus, quaque intrinſecus ægritudine confi- "ciamur. Dolemus atque imo ex corde ingemiſcimus redactas "in æternæ ſalutis diſcrimen tot animas, quas Chriſtus ſuo ſan- "guine redemerat; dolemus violatam turpiter per diſcolores "Epiſcopos fidem illam, quam Romanæ Eccleſiæ prius deſpon- "derant; dolemus peſſime deſpectum ab iis characterem ſacra- "tiſſimum, quo ex hujus Apoſtolicæ Sedis auctoritate fuerant "inſigniti."

In the Neſtorian Unia, ſo often attempted, we do not, indeed, find a vernacular ſervice, becauſe the Syrian Liturgy of that body preſents, of courſe, a dead language to them, as well as to us; but it embraced the element of a national language, and ſo far falls within our ſubject. The office of the Patriarch of the Neſtorians had become hereditary, deſcending from uncle to nephew in the ſame family. Theſe claims were rejected by the clergy in 1551, who choſe one Sulaka to fill the vacant poſt. But being unable to obtain the requiſite number of three Metropolitans for his ordination, they applied to the "Pope of the Weſt;" and on his conſecration by Julius III, the uſe of the ancient Liturgy, with a few corrections, was allowed, and the Neſtorian body was thus rent in two, the Latinizing portion being governed by Mar Simons, the original communion by Mar Eliaſes. The former ſoon again renounced connection with Rome, and thus two Neſtorian Patriarchs aroſe inſtead of one. But in 1681 commenced a Unia, as well from Neſtorians as from Jacobites, which continues to this day; and here alſo unaltered rites and unchanged language have been found very uſeful in bringing over converts to the new Church.

We are now in a condition to offer ſome remarks on the courſe purſued by Rome with reſpect to a vernacular language.

And, firſt, it muſt be admitted that there are ſome very great advantages to be derived from the adoption of one eccleſiaſtical tongue in one patriarchate. At the time, to tranſlate the Liturgy into hundreds of barbaric languages was in itſelf impoſſible; and from the very nature of the caſe, could it have been preferred, would have been moſt perilous to the faith. Again, when they were conſolidated into ſhape and form, when they developed ſtrength and beauty of their own, when long theological teaching had given them theological terms, then aroſe

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more ſtrongly the rivalry of nations, which wanted ſome external ſign that they belonged to one Church. Their office-books were not verbally the ſame. Three large diſtricts of weſtern Europe—Milan, Spain, and Gaul—long maintained, as the former does ſtill, eſſentially different rites; and the Latin language was the only outward ſymbol of internal union. It muſt alſo be allowed that the clamour for a vernacular ſervice has generally been rather national than religious. Whatever might have been the caſe with Huſs and Jerome of Prague, thoſe fierce Bohemian chiefs who drew the ſword at their command, did it for the ſake of Tcheck, and not of religion; juſt as in former times, princes of Bulgaria and Bans of Croatia had diſdained to ſee their native Slavonic expelled by the uſurping Latin. But when a great part of Germany might have been preſerved to the Church by the ſame conceſſion that was early made to Illyria—the Roman Office-books in their own tongue—the caſe ſurely becomes widely different. What was at firſt prudent caution is now converted into jealous obſtinacy. Why might not Rome have obtained the advantages which Luther wreſted from her—that of not only giving a tranſlation of the Scriptures, but, by that tranſlation, of actually forming a language? For every one knows that his verſion formed that *German*, which we at preſent allow to be the queen of all Teutonic dialects, and that to his reſidence at Wittenberg is owing its greater affinity with the Alemannic than with the Platt Deutſch. And ſo, to a certain extent, it is with our own Engliſh verſion.

"Who will not ſay," aſks a writer in the *Dublin Review*, "that the uncommon beauty and marvellous Engliſh of the Proteſtant Bible is not one of the great ſtrongholds of hereſy in this country? It lives on the ear like a muſic that can never be forgotten, like the ſound of the church bell, which the convert hardly knows how he can forego. Its felicities often ſeem to be almoſt things rather than mere words. It is part of the national mind, and the anchor of national ſerioufneſs. The memory of the dead paſſes into it. The potent traditions of childhood are ſtereotyped in its verſes. The power of all the gifts and trials of a man is hidden beneath its words. It is the repreſentative of his beſt moments, and all that there has been about him of ſoft, and gentle, and pure, and penitent, and good, ſpeaks to him for ever out of the Engliſh Bible. It is his ſacred thing, which doubt has never dimmed, and controverſy never ſoiled. In the length and breadth of the land there is not a Proteſtant with one ſpark of righteouſneſs about him whoſe ſpiritual biography is not in his Saxon Bible."

One ſhould think that a queſtion muſt naturally follow in the mind of a Roman Catholic,—"Why did not we do this? Why "did we leave it to 'heretics' to frame ſo tremendous an engine "againſt us?" If a verſion had never been made at all, it

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might have been eaſier to reply; but, as this principle has been ſince abandoned, why was it not yielded when it might have been yielded with ſuch comparative graciouſneſs, and to ſuch exceeding advantage?

To return to the language of eccleſiaſtical ſervices. It is clear that only three ſyſtems are practicable; and that the diviſion which they involve is exhauſtive. You may, as Rome does, employ a dead, immoveable tongue; you may, as England and Ruſſia do, take a bygone period of your own language, and cryſtallize your prayers in that; or you may reviſe them every forty or fifty years, ſo as to render them intelligible through the varying phaſes and improvements or corruptions of the tongue.

Of the three, we cannot but feel that the laſt is the worſt. Continually to be altering the Creeds, the Litany, the other prayers, has the look of tampering with the Truth itſelf. If the poor ſaw the words of their Prayer-book altered, they would be leſs ſhocked at its doctrines being touched. The words are the Malakoff, ſo to ſpeak, which defends the Sebaſtopol of our faith. Aſſault them ſucceſsfully, and the ſtronghold will ere long ſurrender. It is a grand ſymbol of the changeleſſneſs, or, as Dr. Newman happily expreſſes it, the *incorrigibility* of the Church, to find that, though her expreſſions go out of faſhion, ſhe retains them ſtill; though, in the mouth of the world, they have come to mean the very contrary of that which ſhe means, ſhe will not, for all that, give them up. It is well alſo that there ſhould be a language of devotion, which is ſo utterly different from the expreſſions of every-day life; that, as the Church retains her ancient architecture, in all its contraſt to the fittings of a modern drawing-room, ſo her ſtern, maſculine,—if it be ſo, uncouth—expreſſions ſtand out againſt the mincingneſs and effeminacy of the terms of a luxuriant age. And therein are we eſpecially happy, that by our adoption of *thou* and *ye*, we can elevate and devotionalize our ſtyle at once. No other European people can do it to a ſimilar extent. The German *du* muſt ſuggeſt the fond intimacy, the ὀαριστύς, of intimate friends, as well as the addreſs ſuited to the voice of prayer; and the French *vous* muſt, ſave from long habit, be painfully familiar. It is ſtrange that French writers have not attempted to introduce, in their tranſlations of Holy Scripture and of the Breviary, that more venerable and impreſſive idiom which they might poſſeſs if they would; ſuch, for example, as thoſe lines which ſum up the Ten Commandments in every Catechiſm from Antwerp to Bayonne:—

> Un ſeul DIEU tu adoreras, et aimeras parfaitement.
> DIEU en vain tu ne jureras ni autre choſe pareillement.
> Les dimanches tu garderas, en ſervant DIEU dévotement.

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Tes père et mère honoreras, afin de vivre longuement.
Homicide point ne ſeras, de fait ni voluntairement.
Luxurieux point ne ſeras de corps ni de conſentement.
Le bien d'autrui tu ne prendras, ni retiendras injuſtement.
Faux témoignage ne diras, ni mentiras aucunement.
L'œuvre de chair ne deſireras, qu'en mariage ſeulement.
Biens d'autrui ne convoiteras, pour les avoir injuſtement.

This reads like a ſection from our own Prayer-book: and what a wonderful contraſt does it preſent with the modern language of the LORD'S Prayer!—"Notre Père qui êtes aux Cieux, "Que votre Nom ſoit ſanctifié, Que votre règne arrive, Que "votre volonté ſoit faite ſur la terre comme au Ciel," &c.

Theſe difficulties of language naturally ſuggeſt the queſtion, Whether, after all, it is not poſſible that the preſent Roman ſyſtem of parallel tranſlations, explanations in the moſt familiar language, and ſo on, may not after all give her poor a far more intelligent idea (we are now ſpeaking ſimply of the intellect, not of the affections) of her offices than is generally imagined? while our Elizabethan dialect, not being ſo explained, is much leſs comprehenſible to them than we chooſe to believe it? To thoſe of tolerable education there can be no doubt that ours is the ſyſtem which beſt enables them to worſhip with the underſtanding as well as with the ſpirit. The loweſt claſſes, who cannot read, can certainly comprehend ſome part of our Prayer-book, can certainly not underſtand one word of the Breviary—or rather Veſperal, the only part of it with which he is likely to be converſant. But for the poor man who can read, and that is all, the "Petit Paroiſſien," and works of a ſimilar ſtamp, muſt be more comprehenſible, we think, than our own office, ſo that they were made as acceſſible to them—which they certainly are not.

But then it muſt be remembered that, in the point of a vernacular uſe, Rome has more nearly retraced her ſteps than in any other point of diſcipline which ſhe ever maintained. At the outbreak of the Reformation, ſhe oppoſed it with all her might. Her controverſialiſts poured the moſt bitter ſcorn upon it; her advocates, then often more zealous than learned, denounced it as unheard-of, as profane, as ſcandalous. And yet gradually, and almoſt imperceptibly, the uſe gained ſtrength within her communion, and ſhe accommodated herſelf to its permiſſion,—in hymns, eſpecially in proceſſional hymns; in the reading of the Goſpel in French or German after its having been read in Latin; in Litanies; then in tranſlation of the Breviary, or of the Miſſal (the Canon excepted). And though the verſions which ſo often occupied the pens of the Janſeniſts were ſo loudly and bitterly condemned, everywhere throughout Europe the practice of ver-

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nacular ſervices has increaſed, and is on the increaſe. And the laſt phaſe of active Romaniſm, Oratorianiſm, as it exiſts in England, ſeems utterly to regret all the old traditions of the Latin language, to vernacularize as far as poſſible, (and in what wretched, ſlip-ſlop Engliſh !) and to aſſume that the new practice will be one great means of bringing back this country to the fold of S. Peter. Why what is now ſo much put forward was three hundred years ago ſo bitterly to be oppoſed? is a queſtion which we are not called to anſwer.

One natural conſequence of this uſe is the general diſregard which has attached itſelf among the people to every ſervice, excepting Maſs only, and which has, by the addition of the Benediction at Veſpers, made that office a ſort of adjunct or correlative to Maſs. And this is a late introduction, deſigned, as it has moſt amply done, to popularize a ſervice at a convenient time of the day, and of a convenient length. The enormous congregations which flow to Benedictions in one of thoſe glorious old cities of Belgium, or in the Tyrol—what a wonderful ſight they preſent! How they make the heart of an Engliſhman burn within him, that his own Church Service could be rendered as popular, could attract ſuch thouſands of worſhippers !

Again, the vernacular Litanies now ſpreading ſo widely, and encouraged ſo freely throughout Europe, form a great change from mediæval Rome. We remember when, ſome years ago, a recently eſtabliſhed confraternity took poſſeſſion of, and reſtored, one of the little *igrejinhas* with which Madeira abounds, and ſaid a Portugueſe Litany there early on Sunday morning, that a gentleman with whom we were acquainted went to hear it, accompanied by his man-ſervant, a Scotch Preſbyterian. "Ah! ſir," ſaid the latter, when they came away, "it did my heart good to hear that! It put me in mind, for all the world, of our ſinging in —— Kirk." In Spain too, and principally by the effects of the aſſociation called the *Corte de Maria*, the ſame Litanies are coming into vogue. But the moſt remarkable thing of the kind we ever witneſſed, was in one of the wildeſt mountain glens of Portugal, and at a little chapel called *Noſſa Senhora do Deſterro*. It was in the grey of the morning, and our party were about to mount their mules; when the weſt door of the *ermida* opened, and the prieſt, an elderly man, came out on all-fours, followed by a congregation of ſome twenty or twenty-five, in a ſimilar faſhion. They thus went round the chapel by the north ſide firſt, and, having finiſhed its circuit, re-entered by the weſt door; and as they went, they recited—for there was no kind of attempt at chanting—one of theſe Latinies. The ground was exceſſively rough and broken, and the effect any-

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thing but edifying; nor did we ever ſee another exhibition of a ſimilar kind; yet, as our muleteer took it as a matter of courſe, it cannot be uncommon in that unviſited diſtrict of the Eſtrella.

Rome, then, at the preſent moment, would ſeem to be ſanctioning what ſhe does not openly command—the very general uſe of vernacular prayers in church. One thing would ſeem from paſt hiſtory to be certain, that no civilized nation which has ever left the Church has been brought back to it without this permiſſion. Belgium is ſcarcely an exception, for that country can hardly be ſaid to poſſeſs a national language, divided as it is into Flemiſh, and Walloon, and mixed diſtricts. Had Rome, with her uſual tact, ſeized the moment at the reconciliation of England by Cardinal Pole, and given, together with a ſtrict reviſion (ſuch as was beſtowed on the Romans), a verſion of the Sarum Breviary and Miſſal, who can ſay what would have been the effect among a people then well accuſtomed to a national rite, what on our language, and what on ourſelves?

This is a mere dream. But an intereſting and very difficult problem of the ſame nature is likely ſoon to come before us. The reviſion, or rather enlargement of the Prayer-book, is a work which cannot be much longer delayed. When once the ſubject is fairly brought before Engliſh Churchmen, they will ſee that the cautious conſervatiſm of merely working up old materials into new ſervices, is one which can ſatisfy nobody, and will equally offend thoſe who would be offended by any change. We *muſt* have a new Evening Service. We *muſt* have an authorized Office for the Conſecration of Churches and Churchyards. We *muſt* have a greater variety of Collects for the great variety of temporal wants; for example, thoſe of travellers, and for the infinite number of ſpiritual neceſſities unmentioned in the Prayer-book. Theſe things lie ready made to our hand in the ſame treaſury whence our former Collects were derived; and they need only tranſlation to be, as they once were, the ſupport and comfort of many Chriſtian ſouls.

But then, how is this tranſlation to be done? If we are to have the moderniſms, the verbiage, the diluted wretchedneſs that appears every now and then in our occaſional ſervices, it will be indeed the new cloth faſtened on to the old garment, and it is eaſy to foreſee the event. As it is, the hundred and twenty years which elapſed between the earlieſt and lateſt parts of our Prayer-book have made no difference, except perhaps to the ear of a philologiſt, between its moſt ancient and its moſt modern parts. The prayer for All Sorts and Conditions of Men, and the General Thankſgiving, would ſcarcely be recognized by an uninſtructed perſon as emanating from a different age than that

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which produced the Sunday Collects, *ſo far as language goes.* And it is remarkable that, in the reviſion of the Prayer-book threatened by William III, the principle was clearly adopted of writing the new Collects in the old Church language. One ſits down to a peruſal of that book with a moſt lawful and righteous prejudice againſt all its contents; but it is impoſſible not to allow that, incomparably inferior as theſe Collects are to thoſe which they were intended to ſupplant, they are better in matter, and infinitely better in expreſſion, to that which might have been expected from their writers. Again, in their ſtill later reviſion, the non-jurors carefully retained the older language; and the Scottiſh Church, in its Communion Office, has, with ſcarcely an exception, done the ſame. It is earneſtly to be hoped that ſimilar care will be taken by our future reviſers, whoever they may be; and that while they ſteer clear on the one ſide of the affectation of archaiſing, ſo on the other their language will be in ſimple harmony with that of the older book; that they will not ſo write as that a common reader may ſay, "Here the old ends, and here the new begins;" that they will not, in ſhort, build on a claſſical chapel to a Middle Pointed church.

It is only ſince the above article was in type that Mr. Trench's "Engliſh, Paſt and Preſent," has come in our way. We mention this, with the double purpoſe of warmly recommending this little book, and of defending ourſelves againſt a charge of plagiariſm, from the coincidence of ſome of its remarks with the obſervations on the Prayer-book which have been offered above.

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VIII.

THE NEW "ANNALES ECCLESIASTICI."*

IF ever the adage—"a great book, a great evil"—received a palpable and ſtriking exemplification, the new *Annales Eccleſiaſtici* may claim to have impreſſed it on their readers. We approached the work with very great intereſt; we hoped that, as the new Bollandiſts in Bruſſels are forwarding and ſucceſſfully proſecuting the gigantic labours of former generations, and ſlowly but ſurely accompliſhing the enormous edifice of the *Acta Sanctorum*—ſo the prodigious undertaking of Baronius was now, though his two immediate ſucceſſors had ceaſed from their labours, to receive its tardy accompliſhment. One word on the original *Annales*, before we ſpeak of their continuation.

It was naſcent Proteſtantiſm which firſt ſeized on the idea of an Univerſal Hiſtory of the Church, as a means to fortify its own poſition, and propagate its own tenets. The Magdeburg Centuriators, whatever were their deficiencies both in learning and moral qualities, and however defective—when tried by the rules of a truer criticiſm—they are found, won for themſelves a prodigious reputation, and amazed Europe with their ponderous and gigantic learning. Rome found that ſhe needed her own labourers in the ſame field; and, with her uſual tact, ſhe ſent forth the fitting champion to preſerve her reputation. Cæſar Baronius, born at Sora in the year 1540, and entered as a member of the Oratory at an early age, commenced his *Annales Ec-*

* Annales Eccleſiaſtici: quos poſt Cæſarem S. R. E. Cardinalem Baronium, Odoricum Raynaldum ac Jacobum Laderchium, Preſb. Cong. Oratorii de Urbe; ab anno MDLXXII. ad noſtra uſque Tempora continuat Auguſtinus Theiner, ejuſd. congreg. Preſbyter. Romæ: e Typographiâ Tiberniâ. Folio, Tom. I. 1856, pp. 560; Tom. II. 1856, pp. 642; Tom III. 1856, pp. 844.

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cleſiaſtici at thirty, laboured on them till ſeventy, bringing them down, in what now form nineteen folio volumes, to 1198. His mantle deſcended on Odoricus Raynaldus, of the ſame congregation, who cloſed his labours with his fifteenth volume, and at the year 1565. To theſe Manſi added his notes, and Pagi ſuch laborious chronological reſearches, as almoſt to have made that part of the hiſtory his own. Laderchius took up the hiſtory in 1565, and brought it down ſeven years further. There it remained unfiniſhed, and many had been the wiſhes expreſſed that it were poſſible

> To call up him who left half told
> The ſtory of Cambuſcan bold:

or, failing that, that Moſes might find his Joſhua, and Elijah be ſucceeded by his Eliſha. The late Pontiff, Gregory XVI, entreated, and almoſt commanded another member of the ſame congregation, Auguſtine Theiner, to continue a work which ſeemed to belong to his own order. After the labours of twenty years, we have the firſt-fruits of the reſult in the three volumes of which we have juſt quoted the title.

The firſt thing which will ſtrike the ordinary reader, is the vaſt length to which theſe Annals run. The firſt volume, in 560 pages, contains only three years; the ſecond, in 642, only four; the third, with 844, is made to embrace ſeven years. It is eaſy to calculate that, at a ſimilar length of narration, it would require between ſixty and ſeventy volumes to reach the preſent time. What eſtimate M. Theiner may have made of the probable exiſtence of human life we know not; but at the end of his preface he ſpeaks of intending, when his taſk is accompliſhed, to re-edit the continuation of Raynaldus, with large additions. One is reminded of the queſtion aſked by the Pope, when the plan of Bollandus for the Lives of the Saints was firſt laid before him,—"Does the man expect to live two hundred years?"

Of courſe, when we ſee an eccleſiaſtical hiſtory iſſuing from a Roman preſs in all the elegance of the Tiberine typography, and with the imprimatur of the maſter of the palace and other Roman officials, we know exactly what its ſentiments will be. It would be abſurd to look for anything but Ultramontaniſm, according to the ſtraiteſt ſect of that religion. On that ſcore, therefore, we are not about to make any complaint; but we are bound to confeſs, at the very outſet, that, coming as we did to the peruſal of this work with every expectation of finding it a worthy continuation of the greateſt of annaliſts, we have been moſt grievouſly and bitterly diſappointed. Putting aſide the claſſical elegance of the Latinity, we can hardly conceive a

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more complete historical failure than these ponderous volumes. Having thus expressed a strong opinion, it is but fair that we should endeavour to make our assertions good.

We are not now called to consider the question, whether any history can be satisfactorily written in the shape of annals; whether a great work of art can condescend to be thus fettered by the trammels of chronology; whether of all histories, that of the Church is not the most impatient of such restrictions, leaping, as it necessarily must do, from East to West, narrating a little event in Asia, and then another little event in America, and finishing off with an occurrence in Africa. Baronius had chosen the form of annals; Theiner had to continue his work. He professes to arrange his materials thus. He commences each year with the affairs of Germany; he proceeds to those nations, including Scandinavia, which are in any way connected with the German empire; next relates the events which occurred in France; then goes to Spain and Portugal, and to the American and Asiatic colonies of both. The plan would seem theoretically excellent; and as, on the avowed principles of the author, we are to expect no account of the Eastern, Russian, or English Churches, except so far as Roman missions to them may be concerned, we have no ground of complaint on that head. But what we do complain of is this: that instead of taking the trouble to cast the documents placed at his disposal into a history, to give the sense in his own words, to separate the dross from the gold, to evolve one lucid narrative from a farrago of parchments, our annalist prints brief after brief, letter after letter, one official document after another, leaving the reader to find the grain, very often a single one, and sometimes not even that, if he can, in a heap of chaff. This is our first charge, and we will proceed to prove it.

The year 1572, the first of Gregory XIII, the ninth of the Emperor Maximilian II, occupies seventy-two pages. Let us see how they are composed. It commences thus:—

> The Piacular Sacrifices, which are commonly called Novendialia, having been, in the accustomed manner, offered to GOD for the Pontiff who had departed this life, and all things else having been well and wisely disposed, for the preservation of order, and the government of the city, the Cardinals, as many as were then present in Rome, to the number of forty-seven, entered the conclave on Monday, the 12th day of May, in order that, by the inspiration of the HOLY GHOST, they might decide on him whom it might be thought meet to elevate to the chair of S. Peter.

Then follows a very long extract from the diary of Mucanzi, Master of the Ceremonies, as to the official proceedings of the occasion, including a list of all the cardinals, their titles at full

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length, as well thoſe who were as thoſe who were not in the conclave. The three pages which this account occupies might have been compreſſed into twice as many lines. Mucanzi is indignant, as well he may be, that, on account of the confuſion and preparations, the firſt veſpers of the Aſcenſion and of Pentecoſt, as well as maſs on Aſcenſion-day, were entirely omitted by the cardinals. We may remark that their brother dignitaries at S. Paul's ſeem to have a happy knack of imitating, at leaſt, theſe proceedings at S. Peter's. Hugo Buoncompagni, having been unanimouſly elected, aſſumed the title of Gregory XIII. And now ſee how M. Theiner overwhelms us with documents. Firſt we have a letter from the Emperor Maximilan, commending his ambaſſador, Count Archis, to the new Pope. Take a literal tranſlation of it as a ſpecimen of the worth of ſuch documents.

To the moſt bleſſed Father in CHRIST the Lord Gregory XIII, by Divine Providence Chief Pontiff of the Holy Roman and univerſal Church, his moſt reverent Lord.

Moſt bleſſed Father in CHRIST, moſt reverend Lord, after our moſt earneſt commendation, accept the continual increaſe of our filial obſervance. When the moſt deſirable and happy tidings were ſome days ſince brought to us, that your holineſs was, on the late death of Pius V, Chief Pontiff, of happy memory, elected and aſſumed, by the unanimous conſent of the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, as ſucceſſor of the ſame, we entruſted our well-beloved couſin, Proſper Count Archis, of our council, and our ambaſſador to your Holineſs, with the charge of making ſome communications to you in our name, as you will underſtand from himſelf. Therefore we earneſtly requeſt your Holineſs, not only to give your favourable attention to our aforeſaid ambaſſador on thoſe ſubjects on which he is about to ſpeak in our own words, and to honour him with the ſame credit which you would give to us; but alſo, ſince the affair committed to him is of ſuch a kind as is of deep importance to the dignity of ourſelves and of the holy Roman Empire, our authority and juriſdiction, and therefore naturally is very cloſe to our heart, that your Holineſs would adopt ſuch a line of conduct as we have every reaſon to expect will be the caſe, from your Holineſs's ſingular equanimity, of which we have heard from many witneſſes, and your deſire for the public quiet and tranquillity. In which your Holineſs will purſue a line of conduct worthy of your own reputation, juſt in itſelf, and moſt acceptable to us, which on every occaſion we will endeavour to merit, by the effort of our filial obſervance. For the reſt we beſeech GOD, beſt and greateſt, that He may long vouchſafe to preſerve your Holineſs in health and ſafety, for the benefit of His Church.

Given in our Caſtle of Eberſdorff, the 23rd day of the month of May, in the year of our Lord 1572, and of our reigns, the Roman the tenth, the Hungarian the ninth, the Bohemian the twenty-fourth.

And of your holineſs

The obedient Son,

MAXIMILIAN.

And can our annaliſt really have perſuaded himſelf that to conglomerate documents of this kind is to write hiſtory? The

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one fact that Count Archis was accredited by the Emperor to the new Pope, might surely have been dismissed in one line. But if the reader thinks that he is to get off for this single letter, he is very much mistaken. M. Theiner unfortunately had at his elbow the thirty-sixth manuscript volume of the *Literæ Principum*, in the Vatican Library, and the consequence is, that after the word "Maximilian," as above, he proceeds thus:—

He did the same thing in other letters, in which he informs the Pontiff, that the ambassadors who were to profess obedience to him in the Emperor's name, might soon be expected at Rome.

"To the most blessed Father in CHRIST, the Lord Gregory XIII, by Divine Providence Chief Pontiff of the Holy Roman and Universal Church, his most reverent Lord.

"Most blessed Father in CHRIST, most reverend Lord: after our most earnest commendation, a perpetual increase of filial observance. In sending our present ambassadors, the noble and honourable and learned, trustworthy subjects of ourselves as of the holy empire, Seyfrid Preyner, Baron of Stubing, Hadnitz, and Rabenstain, and John Hegenmüller, doctor of both laws, our Aulic Counsellors to your Holiness, to express in our name the singular joy which we have received from the happy assumption of your holiness to the chief office and dignity of the Apostolate, and to declare also the desire of filial observance to your Holiness, and our most sincere good-will, as your Holiness will learn from themselves—we again and again entreat your said Holiness to give your favourable attention to our aforesaid ambassadors, and not only to trust them, as regards those things which they will say in our name, with the same confidence with which you would honour us, but to vouchsafe in the same place, and at the same time, to embrace ourselves together with the holy empire, over which by Divine will we are placed in authority, and our hereditary kingdoms and dominions, with the same paternal benevolence which we fully expect from your Holiness. Your Holiness may, in return, promise yourself from us, all the duty of an obedient son. For the rest, we beseech GOD, best and greatest, that He would vouchsafe long to preserve your Holiness in health and safety, for the benefit of His Church.

"Given in our city of Vienna, the 28th day of the month of June, in the year of our Lord 1572, and of our reigns, the Roman the tenth, the Hungarian the ninth, and the Bohemian the twenty-fourth.

"And of your holiness

"The obedient Son,

"MAXIMILIAN."

Is that enough? By no means. Our indefatigable *historian* proceeds:—

The Archdukes Rodolph and Ernest united themselves with their loving father in their illustrious testimony of affection to the Pontiff.

"To the most blessed lord and father in CHRIST, the Lord Gregory XIII, by Divine Providence Chief Pontiff of the Holy Roman and Universal Church, their venerable lord.

"Most blessed father and lord in CHRIST, our venerable lord: after our humble commendation, the continual increase of filial observance. Since his sacred Imperial Majesty, our ever-to-be-respected lord and father, has, for the manifesting his reverence to the Holy Apostolic See, despatched the noble and honourable and learned, our faithful and beloved Seyfrid Preyner, Baron

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in Stubing, Hadnitz and Rabenſtain, and John Hegenmüller, doctor in both laws, Aulic Counſellors of his Majeſty to your Holineſs, in order to expreſs his congratulations—"

But we ſhall ſend our readers to ſleep; and we can aſſure them that no more compoſing anodyne could be preſcribed than the peruſal of twenty or thirty pages of ſuch letters, the mere compoſition of ſecretaries, no more worth reprinting in a hiſtory of the Church than would be the writs for the aſſembling of a new parliament in a hiſtory of England. They did not even merit a place in a collection of documents at the end of the volume. Will the reader believe that, in this one year, there are more than ſixty of this ſort of documents, moſt of them of no more value than thoſe which we have already noticed? But we muſt give one ſtill more ſtriking example of the ſame thing. The Jeſuits, it appears—no very unuſual thing with them—had caſt longing eyes on the Auguſtinian Monaſtery at Augſburg, which they thought would be at leaſt as convenient to themſelves as to its exiſting poſſeſſors. The great banking-houſe of the Fuggers lent themſelves to the views of the company, but addreſſed a letter as from themſelves to Gregory, ſetting forth the relaxed ſtate of diſcipline among the Auguſtinians, and requeſting him to transfer their houſe to the Jeſuits. Our author remarks at ſome length that, though writing in the form of annals, he ought not to ſay ſo much; yet, in the 38th ſection of the year 1574, all the accuſations of the Fuggers will be found completely diſproved. Having ſaid thus much,—"Behold," continues he, "the moſt impudent letters of the Fuggers, and the Ilſungen." ("*En demum impudentiſſimas Fuggerorum et Ilſungorum literas.*") As if any one in their ſenſes, having juſt been informed that they contained nothing but falſehoods, could wiſh to behold them! However, they follow, and take up more than three folio pages. Then comes an epiſtle of Albert, Duke of Bavaria, in ſupport of the Fuggers; next of William, ſon of Albert, in ſupport of his father; then of Ferdinand, Archduke of Auſtria, in ſupport of both Albert and William—for all the world like an eccleſiaſtical houſe that Jack built,—and all this about a miſerable intrigue, which was not worth relating at all. And yet this wretched attempt to turn the Auguſtinian fathers out of their houſe occupies exactly double the ſpace that is allotted to the hiſtory, or rather the non-hiſtory, of the maſſacre of S. Bartholomew. All we can ſay is, if this be to continue Baronius, the taſk is, as the advertiſements ſay, "practicable by the meaneſt capacity."

One more example we muſt give. The year 1575 was that of the Jubilee. Here we are overwhelmed with letters from

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various potentates, requeſting, either for themſelves or for ſome favoured ſervant, a participation in the indulgences to be acquired at Rome, although unable perſonally to viſit the Eternal City. Nine weariſome ſections are devoted to communications of this kind. One can only aſk again, *Is* this, in any ſenſe of the word, eccleſiaſtical hiſtory?

It is fair, however, to let our author defend himſelf. He ſays, that it has been his aim to avoid copying, as Raynaldus and Laderchius did, paſſages from printed works, and not even to make uſe, except in a few rare inſtances, of documents that have already been printed. "But," ſays he, "we have not thought "it right to abbreviate the documents which we quote, but have "tranſcribed them whole, and have endeavoured to remedy the "lengthineſs which may be occaſioned by their extent, by adding "the feweſt poſſible words of our own in explanation of the event "related. For we have conſidered that documents impreſſed "with the very character of the times, and the men who put "them forth, are of infinitely greater value than a hiſtory which "may be poliſhed, indeed, and elaborated, but which is compoſed "in words of the preſent day." That is, M. Theiner throws down before us his cart-load of bricks, and deſires us to build his edifice for ourſelves, juſt being kind enough, here and there, to point out where the materials thus furniſhed ought to go. But another difficulty remains to be ſolved. We find at the end of each volume, and taking up about a third of its bulk, a *mantiſſa documentorum*, containing a whole chaos of documents not interwoven into the hiſtory. What are theſe? Why, theſe are "monuments which we found written in foreign languages, and "which we did not think fit to turn into Latin, leſt their native "piquancy ſhould periſh." Conſidering that many of theſe are documents of the moſt official and drieſt character, there is very little piquancy to be evaporated in the proceſs of tranſlation; add to which, that the letters of the Papal legates, which, if anything (containing as they do important matter), ſhould have been worked into the hiſtory, are rejected here alſo. No; the reaſon is plain. It is a work of infinitely leſs labour to ſtring together two or three hundred documents, for the moſt part containing but a grain of gold to a pound of droſs, by a few conjunctional ſentences, than to extract the precious metal, and to fuſe it into one continuous hiſtoric chain. A remark of Baronius himſelf might well be quoted to the continuer of Baronius. Speaking of the vaſt but hurried labours of Origen, "an inheri-"tance," ſays he, "may be gotten haſtily at the beginning, but "the end thereof ſhall not be bleſſed." It is a very eaſy thing for an hiſtorian, who is ſupplied with the funds, the amanuenſes,

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and the library which are placed at M. Theiner's diſpoſal, to bring out three, or, if the preſſes be large enough, thirty ſuch folio volumes a-year; *the* difficulty is to find readers, or, we might ſay, a reader, when the work is publiſhed.

After all, it may be ſaid, if you have the droſs, you have the gold too; if the jewels are packed in bales of wool, there they are, if you chooſe to hunt for them. Then here is our ſecond charge: that to make room for page after page of the moſt formal matter-of-courſe documents, events of the greateſt importance are not only ſlurred over, but are abſolutely unmentioned. Of the maſſacre of S. Bartholomew we ſhall have to ſpeak preſently. But to take the year 1572 alone. This was remarkable in the annals of the Roman Church for the martyrs of Gorcum, in the compoſition of the acts of whom the celebrated Eſtius employed ſeveral years. It is ſcarcely credible that our hiſtorian ſhould only have referred to this moſt intereſting and edifying hiſtory accidentally, and as a kind of ſet-off to the maſſacre of S. Bartholomew. He ſimply reminds his reader of the cruelties exerciſed on certain unarmed Catholic prieſts at Gorcum and Briel, and refers to the work of Eſtius and the Bollandiſts. Does M. Theiner really think that an intrigue of the Fuggers ought to occupy more of his pages than an alluſion to the ſufferings of theſe ſervants of GOD does lines? Again, on the 10th of December in this ſame year, the juſtly celebrated Cornelius Muſius ſuffered martyrdom at Leyden. *The martyrdom of Muſius does not even occur in the annals.* But then Muſius only died for the faith, and did not, like the little princes of Germany, write fulſome letters to the Pope, requeſting the extenſion of Jubilee indulgences to his ſervants. Alſo the hiſtory of the martyrs of Gorcum and of Muſius muſt have been written by the hiſtorian, and could not have been compiled by the mere ſtringing together of documents. This ſame year, alſo, may boaſt a conſiderable number of the ſixty-five martyrs, whom Peter Opmeer has chronicled in his *Hiſtoria Martyrum Batavorum.* Not one of theſe does M. Theiner conſider to merit the ſlighteſt commemoration. Again, the year 1575 is notorious, in the hiſtory of the Church of the Netherlands, for the ſavage maſſacre known by the name of the Nones of Haarlem. To this, again, not the ſlighteſt alluſion is made. Once more, during the pontificate of Gregory XIII, the Church of Japan ſent a multitude of martyrs to glory. The whole hiſtory of that Church, ſo far as M. Theiner is concerned, is embraced in a few ſections, and thoſe principally filled with Papal Briefs and the letters which elicited them.

Again, the ſingular apathy of our hiſtorian as regards Catholic literature and Catholic biography is perfectly aſtoniſhing. It

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has always been the cuſtom, when hiſtory takes the form of annals, that the year of the death of any one who has diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the ſervice of the Church ſhould be that in which ſome account is given of his life. M. Theiner, completely buried in his documents, ſeems to entertain a ſingular diſlike to biography. The moſt pious and beautiful death-bed of S. Pius V. is paſſed over without a ſingle comment, except that his life has been written by Gabutius and Bzovius. That of S. Francis Borgia receives a like notice.

Nor would it be difficult to make out a liſt of celebrated men who, having died within the period embraced by the three volumes of our work, ſhould have been mentioned, according to the ſtanding rule of annals, in the year of their deaths, but have not received any notice whatever. Maldonatus, for example, who has acquired a world-wide fame for his admirable commentaries on Holy Scripture, and whoſe whole life was one long ſeries of labours for the Church, only receives a ſingle caſual notice, and that in connection with his oppoſition to the reception of the Immaculate Conception as an article of faith. Salmeron, again, one of the beſt and ableſt of the early Jeſuits, and who was employed in the moſt arduous and delicate negotiations and labours all over Europe, is not ſo much as mentioned. Simon Rodriguez, whoſe labours in Portugal were truly apoſtolic, who was the means, under GOD, of working a marvellous reformation in that country, and who was the firſt prop and ſtay of its early miſſions, is paſſed over with equal ſilence. He died in 1579.

Not one word, again, of Hubert Galtz, a Chriſtian antiquary of no ſmall fame, when Catholic archæology was very little underſtood. Nor of Covillon, a native of Lille, who aſſiſted at the Council of Trent, and ended his life at Rome, and whoſe ſkill and gentleneſs in receiving confeſſions was ſuch that the ſaying of ſome penitent paſſed into a proverb, "I had rather be left "without abſolution by Covillon, than abſolved by any other "prieſt." Nor of Molanus, one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed writers of his age againſt Lutherans and Calviniſts, and even more celebrated, among thoſe who knew him, for his tenderneſs and liberality to the poor. His defence of pictures and images, his annals of Belgian Saints, his annotations on canoniſed phyſicians, his treatiſe that faith ought to be kept with heretics—works not without their value, even in our own day—ſurely deſerved ſome little notice in a profeſſed hiſtory of the Church. Again, one ſeeks in vain for any notice of Cornelius Janſenius, to be carefully diſtinguiſhed from his more celebrated nameſake, but who acquired for himſelf no ſmall reputation by his Evangelical Harmony, his Paraphraſe on the Pſalms, on the Canticles of the

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Old Teſtament uſed by the Church, and on the Proverbs and Eccleſiaſtes, and by his annotations on the Wiſdom of Solomon. He had been Vicar of S. Martin at Courtray, Dean of S. James at Louvain, Deputy to the Council of Trent, and finally died firſt Biſhop of Ghent. Nor do we find any notice of Michael Debay, better known by his name of Baius, further than his acquieſcence in the condemnation of the articles extracted from his writings. Of him it is recorded, that he had read the works of S. Auguſtine nine times, and on the tenth peruſal declared that he found more to intereſt and edify him than he had done at firſt. In the ſame manner we find not a word of Sonnius, firſt Biſhop of Antwerp, whoſe treatiſe on the Sacraments, Confutation of the Calvinian ſect, and Demonſtration of the Chriſtian Religion, are conſidered maſterpieces of reaſoning. And this liſt might be almoſt indefinitely extended. We may ſafely aſſert, that the biography of any one of the authors whom we have juſt named, even if given ſomewhat at length, would be far more intereſting than the greater part of the documents which our author has collected with ſuch labour, and reprinted with ſuch tediouſneſs.

Again, nothing can be more unimpaſſioned, more cold, more matter-of-fact, than the way in which M. Theiner relates the moſt thrilling incidents. It is as if his heart were not at all in his ſubject; he ſpeaks of the trials and victories of the Church juſt as he might of any dry fact with which he had no poſſible concern. As to anything like ſketches of character, trying to graſp a contemporary point of view, throwing himſelf into the place or perſon of which he is ſpeaking, it never ſeems to enter his mind that this may be the duty of a hiſtorian. His phraſes are ſtereotyped, and give you the impreſſion of meaning nothing. All his Catholic biſhops are "vigilant and laborious;" all his heretics are "crafty and impudent;" till the reader attaches no more meaning to his epithets than one does to the "gallant," or "learned," or "honourable" member of parliamentary debate. That even among thoſe heretics there were real and earneſt men; that they ſometimes erred rather from holding a truth not according to the analogy of the faith than in clinging to a falſehood; that the Church, in the latter part of the ſixteenth century, was ſuffering for the monſtrous corruptions and ſchiſms of the fifteenth—theſe things are quite kept out of ſight. Of the worldlineſs, too, that clung to many of the moſt eminent biſhops of the time, ſuch men as Cardinal Granville, the Cardinal de Bourbon, and others, not one word, not one hint. Now Baronius, tedious though he may ſometimes be, yet neverthelefs writes as if the real internal life of the Church were the ſubject cloſeſt and deareſt to his heart—as if he were not following a cunningly deviſed fable;

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and the conſequence is, that every now and then he takes fire in his narrative, and his words glow and live. Who can forget that paſſage where, ſpeaking of the horrors of the tenth perſecution, he contraſts the preſent glory with the paſt ſufferings of the martyrs? Or, in dwelling on the fearful corruption of the Roman See in the tenth century, when abominations were openly practiſed by the Popes at which the very heathen would have bluſhed, his pathetic complaint, that the LORD was then aſleep in the veſſel of Peter? It once fell to our lot to be watching the ſick-bed of one who was ſuffering from nervous fever. The phyſician in attendance ſtrictly forbade all kind of exciting reading. "I would not," ſaid he to the patient, "if I were "you, read anything which could poſſibly affect the feelings. "Now, don't read the Bible, becauſe I know it has that effect." "Indeed, I muſt aſk you not to ſay that: I ſhould never get on "without it." "Well, then, if it muſt be ſo, it muſt; but ſup- "poſe you confine yourſelf to the Book of Proverbs." The hiſtory we are conſidering would have the ſame anodynic effect in a ſimilar diſeaſe which the worthy phyſician attributed in that caſe to the Proverbs.

And yet, if we look at it in a broad point of view, few periods of the hiſtory of the Weſtern Church are more intereſting and exciting than that pontificate of Gregory XIII. The barque of S. Peter was beginning to right itſelf after the ſtorm of the Reformation; the Council of Trent, far ſhort as it had fallen of reforming the Church in her head and members, had yet cut away her worſt abuſes; the ſee of Rome was no longer filled by monſters like Alexander VI, eaſy-living ſceptics like Leo X, or indefatigable warriors like Julius II. She had learnt that ſhe had a higher miſſion than by a long courſe of miſerable intrigues to wreſt a paltry town or ſtarveling duchy from ſome other Italian potentate; that the ſucceſſor of S. Peter ſhould have higher aims than the depreſſion of political enemies, or the exaltation of the Cardinal nephew. The anti-Reformation had already ſet in, though the turn of the tide might not as yet be very viſible, ſave to an experienced eye.

If we look round Europe, France, torn by inteſtine diviſions, ſeemed to tremble between her ancient faith and the ſtill increaſing power of the Huguenots. Her three factions, afterwards to be more clearly developed; the ſtrict Catholics, who looked to the Houſe of Guiſe as their natural leaders; the Politics, who followed the fortunes of the king; and the Calviniſts, ſtill clinging to Henry of Navarre, had many a bloody battle to fight, before the marvellous removal, one after another, of the corrupt royal family. The victories of Henry IV, eſpecially that crown-

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ing one of Ivry, and his return to the Roman Church, eſtabliſhed at once his kingdom, ſtrengthened his new faith, and ſent down both unimpaired to his ſon and to his grandſon. Spain, however, ſtill formidable in external appearance, had already entered on her downward courſe; the gold of her weſtern conqueſts amply avenging the cruelties of Pizarro and of Cortes. In the Low Countries, a great conteſt with the ſeven United Provinces was about to commence; the league of liberty ſtill profeſſed to be for the maintenance of the Catholic faith, as well as for its other ends; and Requeſens was about to enter on that career of victory which nearly terminated the projects of William of Orange. In Germany, Maximilian II. was only too anxious to leave the world quiet, if the world would let him alone; and his phlegmatic diſpoſition, which deſcended to Rudolph II, ſtaved off for a while that thirty years' war, which was even now inevitable; and which, commencing at the Defeneſtration of Prague, and witneſſing the whole career of the unconquered king, Guſtavus Adolphus, terminated in the peace of Weſtphalia. Sweden ſhowed great ſigns of deſiring to return to the unity of the Church; and the Roman Catholic miſſionaries in England never ceaſed to flatter Gregory XIII. with the hope that the ſeparation of this country was merely temporary, and that it would end at furtheſt with the death of Elizabeth. Rome was certainly beginning again to make head againſt her enemies; but it needed the convulſions of another half century to mark out clearly the limits of her regained influence, and to draw the ſtrong line between her opponents and herſelf into which Europe has from that time been divided.

In turning away our eyes from the domain of the Roman Church, we find that of Conſtantinople already entering on that ſeries of negotiations which ended in the eſtabliſhment of a fifth patriarchate at Moſcow; her own patriarchs groaning more and more under the prevalence of that ſimony which offered a larger and larger *charatzion* at each vacancy of the Œcumenical throne; which ſupplanted a Jeremiah by a Metrophanes, and a Metrophanes again by a Jeremiah. Negotiations—to end in nothing—were going on between the Lutheran party in Germany and the eaſtern patriarchs. In Ruſſia, the laſt remains of the Tartaric invaſion had been ſwept away; the ſubjugation of Siberia by Yermak was laying the foundations of her Aſiatic greatneſs; the horde of the Crimea alone remained of the once mighty empire of the Mongols in Europe. John the Terrible was about to terminate his bloody career, after having diſappointed the expectations of the Weſt, belied the fair promiſes of his youth, and deluged his kingdom with blood; to become from the fearful

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Ivan the ſimple monk Jonah, that he might meet in the Angelic Habit the heavenly Judge of his terrible reign on earth. In England, the tide of Calviniſm was beginning to turn; Andrewes was growing up to maturity; Laud, and Montague, and Overall, and Neale, were yet in childhood. Scotland, torn into a thouſand factions, ſtill clung in part to her ancient faith; the laſt abbeys were not as yet deſtroyed then; and it yet hung in balance whether the party of the Queen or of the Regent would prevail.

Let us now ſee how ſome of the moſt important events of this period are treated by our hiſtorian; and let us commence with the maſſacre of S. Bartholomew. Three methods of treating that terrible hiſtory have been adopted by Roman Catholic hiſtorians. The firſt, to juſtify it. This, after the firſt few years, was ſcarcely attempted, till in the middle of the laſt century, the Abbé de Caveirac undertook to palliate, if not to excuſe it; and in this his example has been followed by de Falloux and Rohrbacher. The ſecond, while deploring the event, to attribute it ſolely to politics, and not to religion. The third, while admitting all its atrocity, to remind the reader that the example had been ſet, and was afterwards followed, by the Proteſtants. It is to the ſecond of theſe that our annaliſt attaches himſelf.

Let us hear what a moſt impartial writer, the Abbé Guettée, tells us of the complicity of Rome in the maſſacre of S. Bartholomew. His teſtimony is the more valuable, as rendering acceſſible to us, for the firſt time, many of thoſe contemporary documents on which M. Theiner profeſſes to baſe his narrative, but of which he actually quotes ſo few. Speaking of the conveyance of the intelligence to Rome, he ſays:—

> The firſt meſſenger ſent to Rome, to carry to the Pope, and to the Cardinal of Lorraine, the news of S. Bartholomew, arrived there on the 6th of September. The cardinals immediately aſſembled in council; they read the letters brought by the meſſenger, and went the ſame day to the Church of S. Mark, to ſing *Te Deum*. They decided that, the following Monday, a Maſs of thankſgiving ſhould be celebrated in the Church of Minerva. The evening of the ſame day, cannons were repeatedly fired from the caſtle of S. Angelo, and bonfires were lighted all over the city. It is ſaid that the Cardinal of Lorraine gave a thouſand crowns to him who firſt brought the news of the maſſacre. Two days after, that is to ſay, on the 8th of September, a grand ſolemnity was held in the Church of Saint Louis des Français, at which the Pope, the Cardinals, and the Ambaſſadors were preſent. The Cardinal of Lorraine cauſed this placard to be affixed to the great doors of the church.
>
> Charles de Lorraine diſcharged with zeal the commiſſion entruſted to him by Charles IX. He gave an account of his proceedings to the queen-mother, as may be ſeen by the following letter addreſſed to the king, on the 10th of September:—

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"To the Sovereign Lord the king:

"Sire, the Sieur Beauville having arrived with letters from your Majeſty, which confirmed the news of the VERY CHRISTIAN AND HEROIC deliberations and EXECUTIONS made not only in Paris, but alſo THROUGHOUT YOUR PRINCIPAL CITIES, I am confident that it will pleaſe you thus to honour me, knowing my wiſhes and deſires, to aſſure you that, among all your humble ſubjects, I am not the laſt to praiſe GOD and to rejoice for it.* And indeed, Sire, IT IS QUITE THE BEST THAT I EVER COULD HAVE DESIRED OR HOPED. I am confident that, from the beginning, your Majeſty's actions will increaſe every day the glory of GOD and the immortality of your name; cauſing your empire to be enlarged, and making your power feared; that the LORD GOD will ſo maintain it, that He will ſhortly manifeſt His grace and favour to you. Sire, kneeling on the ground, I humbly kiſs the hands of your Majeſty, whom, after GOD, and more than ever, I will faithfully ſerve, obey, and reverence, all my life, without intermiſſion; relying ſo much on the goodneſs and piety of your Majeſty, as again to recommend to you the juſtice of the cauſe of the Abbey of Clairvaux.

"To conclude my letter, I will pray GOD that He may give your Majeſty a happy and glorious reign, with long life, AS YOUR VERY CHRISTIAN AND GLORIOUS ACTIONS MERIT.

"From Rome, this 10th September. "C. CARDINAL DE LORRAINE."

Gregory XIII. wiſhed to immortalize the remembrance of the maſſacre of the Huguenots; and to this end he cauſed a medal to be ſtruck, on which may be ſeen, on one ſide, the likeneſs of the Pontiff; on the other, a deſtroying angel, who ſtrikes the heretics. On the exergue are theſe words: *Ugonotorum ſtrages.*

Bonanni, a Jeſuit, after having exactly reproduced this medal, explains it in theſe words, in a book printed at Rome:—

"This refers to the maſſacre of the Calviniſt rebels, called Huguenots; a maſſacre blamed by ſo many heretics, and approved by ſo many Catholic defenders; a maſſacre which was received by the applauſe *of Rome* and Spain."

After having mentioned the battles where the Proteſtants were defeated, Bonanni adds:—

"Two years later, there was another kind of carnage at Paris, and in other places. . . . . Charles IX, having reſolved to exterminate the heretics, put to death *a great number in different places*, on a given day, which was that of the Feaſt of S. Bartholomew. This maſſacre began at Paris, on the 9th of the Calends of September (Auguſt 24), in the year 1572. *During three days and nights, without interruption, ſixty thouſand men made a horrible butchery of the rebels and heretics.* In ſhort, ſix hundred houſes were abandoned to pillage and fire, and *four thouſand men* were killed. But the carnage was not confined to the ſingle city of Paris; it extended to ſeveral other cities, and by means of ſimilar executions *they got rid of twenty-five thouſand individuals.* This unhoped-for change filled the Pope and Italy with a joy the more lively, from their having feared to ſee even the Peninſula itſelf infected with hereſy."

The Pope ordered beſides from George Vaſari a picture repreſenting the

* This is the meaning of the original; what the ſenſe may be, it is leſs eaſy to diſcover.

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murder of Coligny. The picture was placed in the Vatican, with this inſcription:—

"*Pontifex Colinii necem probat.*"

Charles IX. alſo wiſhed to immortalize his glorious victory by cauſing two medals to be ſtruck, of which Favier, maſter of the Mint, gave the following deſcription:—

"To perpetuate, therefore, after the example of the ancient monarchs, in medals, the overthrow of Gaſpard de Coligny, formerly admiral of France, and of his accomplices, and to leave the witneſs of it to poſterity, the popular medal contains the likeneſs of King Charles the Ninth, ſitting on his royal throne, holding his ſceptre in one hand, and the naked ſword in the other, ſurrounding which is the palm branch denoting victory, with the crown on his head, having under his feet the dead bodies of the rebels. The legend is, *Virtus in rebelles*. On the reverſe of this are the arms of France, with the two columns, and the device long taken by the king ſet on the front: *Pietas excitavit juſtitiam*. Over theſe two columns are two chaplets of olive, ſignifying the peace obtained by the ſubjugation of the rebels; and near, two branches of laurel, for the triumph of victory. Furthermore we have over the crown the letter T upright—a ſalutary ſign, ſignifying the croſs of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, and to the Jews a type of the end, as being their final letter, ſuch as we hope this blow will be to the new ſect. The croſs alſo was, as the true token of the ſoldiers in the Chriſtian Church, always carried, ſince the 24th of Auguſt, as a ſignal for the hats of good Catholics and true ſubjects of the king, as Ezekiel ſaw it marked by the angel on the foreheads of the faithful. The other medal, *à l'antique*, contains the effigy of the king, with his arms and French legend: *Charles IX, dompteur des rebelles, 24 Août*, 1572; on the reverſe of this, Hercules is repreſented, covered with the lion's ſkin, his heavy club in one hand, a burning torch in the other, by the means of which he defeated the many-headed hydra, in which, for every head that was cruſhed, another ſprang up in its place; repreſenting the faction of theſe rebels, who, for each chief that was killed, did not fail to ſupply his place, and three times to renew open war, and this clandeſtine war for the fourth; but to exterminate it, beſides ſteel and fire, water and rope, added on the edge of the medal, have ſerved as inſtruments."

But no one was deceived; and France always preſerved the horror that ſuch an execution, cowardly as it was cruel and unworthy of the French character, ought to inſpire in every generous heart. Thus all authors regard S. Bartholomew as an Italian crime. Catherine de Medicis, an Italian, conceived it with two Italians, Gondi de Retz, and Birague; the Italian, Gonzague, duke of Nevers, was one of its moſt earneſt executors, and the Italians, Capilupis and Davila, were its warmeſt apologiſts. As to our French hiſtorians, they have made efforts too uſeleſs to efface from our annals this ſocial crime, more worthy of a ſavage people than a Chriſtian and civilized nation.

The Abbé Theiner, as we have ſeen, conſiders this ſame hiſtory worthy of as much as half the ſpace he allots to the intrigue of the Fuggers for the poſſeſſion of the Church at Augſburg. "Having thus briefly related the events which occurred "in Germany, the order which we have preſcribed to ourſelves "requires us to turn our attention to France. In going through "the occurrences of that nation, we are firſt called to that ſavage

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" and truly horrible deed by which, on the feaſt of S. Bartholo-
" mew, France polluted herſelf by the general and precipitate
" ſlaughter of the Huguenots. It is no duty of ours"—(but why not? for this maſſacre has, at leaſt, as much to do with Church hiſtory as the intrigues of pettifogging bankers, or the complimentary briefs of Popes)—" to enter minutely into the
" hiſtory of a cruel crime, which every one muſt abhor, unleſs
" devoid of all humanity. This is the duty of the profane, but
" more eſpecially of the French, hiſtorian. It is impoſſible,
" however, not to expreſs our thanks to God, that all the
" writers, not belonging to the Catholic Church in our own
" time, who have been celebrated for talent and eloquence, have,
" with a wonderful unanimity, confeſſed the Catholic Church
" and the Roman See to be free from all guilt, and neither to
" have counſelled ſo wicked a deed, nor to have been an accom-
" plice after the fact. We may, for the ſake of doing them
" honour, refer more eſpecially to Ranke, Reimer, and Solden,
" who have affirmed and proved that the accuſations of more
" ancient hiſtorians are worthleſs. On no hiſtorical action has
" more been written, or have more varying opinions paſſed, than
" on this celebrated ſlaughter of the Huguenots. Eſpecially
" thoſe who did not belong to the Catholic Church, and were
" deſirous of attacking her, gladly ſeized the opportunity of
" dwelling on this act of violence, thinking it a fit occaſion for
" vomiting forth the poiſon they had conceived in their mind."
It is needleſs to remind the reader with what limitations the teſtimonies which our hiſtorian alleges would ſerve his purpoſe, if quoted in full. He muſt have known that ſome French ultramontanes have been found, not only to allow, but to glory in the participation by the Roman See. He muſt have ſeen the Abbé Guettée's work, publiſhed three years before his own, with all the documents which it contained; but he finds it convenient to ignore everything but what ſeemed to make for his own ſide of the queſtion. And, after all, judged by his own evidence, his ſtory is very lame. He continues—" Countleſs contemporary
" documents, connected with this ſubject, have been dragged out
" from their hiding-places and made public; but only in our own
" time have thoſe letters been publiſhed, which were written by
" the ſeveral ambaſſadors to their maſters; in which, eye-wit-
" neſſes themſelves, they endeavour to relate what had happened,
" with the moſt perfect good faith. Theſe epiſtles are moſt
" proper to explain the whole courſe of the hiſtory. The moſt
" important among them are thoſe addreſſed by Antony Maria
" Salviati, biſhop of Saint Papoul, and legate from the Pontiff
" to Charles IX, firſt publiſhed by the celebrated Châteaubriand,
" then ambaſſador from France to the See of Rome, from the

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" autographs in the Vatican. By him they were ſupplied to " James Mackintoſh, a celebrated Engliſh hiſtorian, who added " them as an appendix to his work on Engliſh hiſtory. They " have partly alſo been reprinted by Eugenio Albero, in his life " of Catherine de Medicis. We may be allowed to reprint them " again after collating them with the original autographs. With " the aſſiſtance of theſe writings and ſome others which have, " up to this time, remained hidden in the ſame Vatican library, " we hope that we ſhall be able entirely to diſpel every cloud of " doubt, if any ſuch remains, with reſpect to this ſlaughter of " the Huguenots."

Our hiſtorian then proceeds to argue: firſtly, that the whole affair was no long deviſed and organized conſpiracy, but the mere haſty reſolution of one or two days; ſecondly, that it was a mere political maſſacre, and no further connected with the Huguenots than as a faction ready to take up arms againſt their lawful ſovereign; thirdly, that Gregory XIII, in characterizing the maſſacre as a pious and laudable work, did ſo under the belief that it was a mere political execution of miſcreants, as hoſtile to the eſtabliſhed government as they were to the Church. " No " one," ſays our hiſtorian, " will wonder if, on receiving the " letters from his legates, which ſpoke of a detected conſpiracy " of the Huguenots, and the puniſhment of the guilty, the " Pontiff ſhould have rendered thanks to GOD for the preſerva- " tion of the monarch's life in ſuch danger." We have already ſeen, however, by contemporary documents, that the maſſacre of the Huguenots throughout France had long before been contrived; and it needs only common ſenſe to be aſſured that, though the facts of the caſe might have been diſtorted in the firſt accounts which reached Rome, the Pope muſt ſoon have received, as did the other ſovereigns of Europe, truer intelligence. Did he ever retract what he had at firſt affirmed? Was not the medal which he ſtruck diſtributed long after the facts had been clearly aſcertained? Did not Vaſari's picture, with its epigraph, " the Pontiff approves the death of Coligni," remain in the Vatican? Had Gregory XIII. really changed his mind? Why could not the ſucceſſor of S. Peter do as the ſucceſſor of the Roman Emperors did? In a very intereſting letter, written by Maximilian to his ambaſſador at the Court of Paris, and reprinted by M. Theiner, he ſays:—

With reſpect to that celebrated deed, which the French tyrannically perpetrated on the Admiral and his companions, I can in no reſpect approve it; and it gave me the greateſt pain to be informed that my ſon-in-law ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded to conſent to ſo foul a butchery. It is true, I know, that others have greater power than himſelf. But this is not ſuffi-

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cient to excuſe the deed: it is not even enough to palliate the crime. Would that he had taken me into his counſel! I would have given him faithful and paternal advice, and never ſhould he have acted as he has done through following my counſels. By this enormity he has marked himſelf with a ſtain which he will not eaſily be able to waſh out, or to wipe off. GOD forgive thoſe who have to bear the guilt of the proceeding! I greatly fear that, in proceſs of time, they will learn what is the conſequence of acting in this way. The fact is that, as you well and wiſely write, religious affairs ought not to be ſettled by the ſword. Nor can any one think differently who has any deſire after piety and goodneſs, or even peace and tranquillity. Furthermore, CHRIST and His Apoſtles have taught us far differently. For their ſword was their tongue, a doctrine worthy of the Word of GOD and the life of CHRIST; and their behaviour ought to invite and allure us to follow them as they did CHRIST. I ſay nothing on another ſubject; that that mad ſet of men ought, in the courſe of ſo many years, and from the nature and event of circumſtances themſelves, to have been perſuaded, that this affair cannot be managed by cruel puniſhments, ſuch as quartering and the ſtake. In brief, their actions do not pleaſe me at all; nor ſhall I ever be induced to praiſe them, unleſs (which I ſincerely pray GOD may never happen) I ſhould fall into raging madneſs. But I do not wiſh to hide from you that there are certain impudent and mendacious ſcoundrels, who do not bluſh to affirm, that whatever the Frenchman has done, he did not only with my complicity, but at my ſuggeſtion. In which aſſertion I call GOD to witneſs that an injuſtice is done to me, before Him and before all the world. But lies, and calumnies of this ſort, are no new things to me; I have often had to put up with them before. I commit all theſe matters to my GOD, Who knows how, in His own time, to repel and vindicate me from ſuch injuries.

With this letter M. Theiner cloſes his account of the maſſacre of S. Bartholomew. *Account* we call it by courteſy, for unleſs the reader were acquainted with the hiſtory before, all he could learn from the "Annals" is, that a ſlaughter of ſome kind took place among the Huguenots in Paris, of which the author was extremely anxious to prove the Roman Church entirely innocent. But under what circumſtances it was perpetrated; what was the number of victims; what was the organization of the murderers; what the reſiſtance offered; what the feeling with which the intelligence was received throughout Chriſtendom,—in fact, anything and everything about the whole hiſtory, M. Theiner does not tell us. It is impoſſible to conceive any pages more deſtitute of information than the ſix which he devotes to the ſubject. It is worthy, too, of notice, that there is not the ſlighteſt alluſion to the general maſſacre throughout France, which followed that in Paris. One can only again aſk in what ſenſe can this work be called a hiſtory?

If ever there were an event in the annals of modern Europe which gave ſcope to, and which deſerved, the beſt efforts of the hiſtorian, it was the fatal battle of Alcacer Quibir, and the virtual deſtruction of the Portugueſe monarchy. The myſtery which envelopes the whole of this laſt of the Cruſades; the ſud-

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den fall from a glory never till that time attained by any European people to a miſerable ſubjugation to a foreign power,—the warnings and portents which preceded the expedition. Now, let us ſee how M. Theiner treats this ſubject under the year 1578; and the following notices are all that he allots to one of the moſt remarkable occurrences of European hiſtory. "Gre- "gory alſo exhorts Catholic princes, and eſpecially the Italians, "to aſſiſt by advice and money, Sebaſtian, King of Portugal, "then with juvenile ardour about to undertake a war againſt the "Saracens of Africa. Here are his letters to the Genoeſe. "[They follow.] João, Duke of Bragança, who contributed "not a little to this war, having ſent João Tovari to condole "with thoſe princes who were relations of the deceaſed Maria, "Ducheſs of Parma, entreated the Pontiff to beſtow on him ſome "ſpiritual graces for the excitement of his own piety and that of "his family." Then follows a very long letter, referring the Pope to this Tovari for an explanation of what the Duke wanted: a letter which contains not one ſingle line worth reprinting. "Gregory beſtowed on him that which he requeſted, on account "of his laudable piety and care in ſending his eldeſt ſon, yet a "child, to the African war." One ſhould have thought that, had the war been deſirable, the Duke's piety would have been ſtill more laudable, had he gone himſelf, inſtead of ſending a boy, eleven years old, as his proxy. However, the Duke's letter ſerves as a peg for Gregory's anſwer, which, of courſe, follows at length. Now we come to the war itſelf. "But the incon- "venience to which the Chriſtian republic was then expoſed "from the event of that war is never ſufficiently to be deplored. "For Sebaſtian, a king moſt excellent, both from his piety and "from his military courage, in the very flower of his age, for he "was not yet twenty-four, and unmarried, fighting near the "town of Alcacer Quibir, in the foremoſt ranks, fell, pierced "with many wounds: on which, nearly his whole army was de- "ſtroyed. In which lamentable war, the ſon of the Duke of "Bragança was taken priſoner; and the father, with many "tears, gave information to the Pontiff of this unhappy event." Then follows a long letter from the Duke, containing nothing further than the general ſtatement of the king's death, and of his ſon's captivity; and two briefs, the one to Cardinal Henrique, ſucceſſor of Sebaſtian, the other to the Duke of Bragança, conclude all the notice which our author thinks fit to take of the event: he does not even refer to the much diſputed queſtion, whether Sebaſtian really fell in the battle or not. And this, again, is what it ſeems we are to call writing hiſtory. One might have thought that the very coldeſt imagination would

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have taken fire in relating the gradual approach and development of the fate which, like the avenging fury of the Greek tragedy, ſeemed to dog the kingdom of Portugal. The fabulous riches poured in from India and Brazil,—the romantic victories which ſeemed to make good the tales of knight errantry,—the rapid diſcoveries and as rapid conqueſts of regions whoſe wealth ſeemed boundleſs, and whoſe monarchs vied with each other in ſubmitting to the Portugueſe crown,—the magnificence of the courts of Dom Manoel, and Dom João III,—the marvellous ſtructures they reared,—eſpecially the crowning glory of all, the Capella do Fundador at Batalha,—theſe things might well inflame the fancy of a hot-headed and ill-educated prince like Sebaſtian into ideas of univerſal monarchy. His very piety aſſiſted in the deluſion; it would be but little to make the whole of Africa a Portugueſe dependency, and a Catholic continent; when that was done, he propoſed to wreſt Conſtantinople from the Turks, to expel them from Aſia Minor, and then to cruſh the Tartars in Central Aſia. And this at a time when his little kingdom had over-exerted its ſtrength, and ſquandered its reſources; when there were not wanting tokens to men of political wiſdom, that the preſtige of Indian conqueſts was already on the wane; when the weſtern ſettlements of Africa had ſome time previouſly been from neceſſity contracted; when other claimants of the dominion of the ſeas were riſing up; when the very exiſtence of the kingdom depended on the life of the monarch (the decrepit Cardinal Henrique being the only ſurvivor of the ancient family in its male line); and, above all things, when the general corruption and diſſoluteneſs of manners ſeemed to threaten that the tranſgreſſors were come to the full, and that a heavy retribution was in ſtore for Portugal. Yet Sebaſtian, aſcending the throne in early childhood, brooded over theſe wild dreams till the conqueſt of Africa became almoſt a monomania. Already, in the year 1574, he had made one inglorious, although ſafe, expedition thither; in which he had not only ſhown his deſtitution of every ſingle quality neceſſary to a general, except perſonal courage; but had alſo proved that Portugal poſſeſſed not one ſingle leader endowed with the talents neceſſary for ſuch an expedition. Of this previous attempt, our hiſtorian ſcarcely ſays a word.*

* While omitting all mention of this unfortunate monarch's firſt cruſade, M. Theiner fills up the dreary annals of this ſame year with twaddle even more intolerable than uſual. A certain doctor, a canon of Olmutz, by name Illicinus, having been accuſed of hereſy, defends himſelf (as, poor man, it was only reaſonable that he ſhould) to his Biſhop and to the Pope; on which he was honourably acquitted. But our author not only gives a moſt lengthened and weary correſpondence, but actually prints a poem by which

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In the early part of 1578 the preparations of Don Sebaſtian were complete. We have ſeen, in the archives at Coimbra, the letter written in his own bold daſhing hand,—in which, however, a connoiſſeur might, perhaps, ſee a trace of weakneſs too,—by which he demands from the Prior of Santa Cruz the loan of the ſword of Affonſo Henriques, the founder of the Portugueſe monarchy, and promiſes, on his return, to reſtore it to its owners, ſo that it may be preſerved, with the veneration due to it, for ever. Then came the gathering at Liſbon. The fathers of then living men muſt have remembered how, with the benediction of the Church, and in the preſence of an innumerable multitude, Vaſco da Gama and his brave companions went forth from the pier of Belem to the diſcovery and the conqueſt of an unknown world. Nine thouſand native troops were all that Portugal could now

the accuſed man ſought to propitiate his Biſhop: it commences in this faſhion:—

"Non ſemper Boreas ſpirat in Alpibus;
Nec ſemper nivibus celſa cacumina
Stant, nec ſemper hyems ſævit in arbore;
Non et dira Jovis dextera fulminat," &c. &c.

At all events, if M. Theiner *will* print ſuch poetry, he might at leaſt give us metre and ſenſe, and not inflict upon us ſuch lines as:—

"Quem multis decorant *Pu*erides roſis,
Quem ſacrata Themis, quem *Diva* pervehit."

Or, again:—

"Qui uſurpare tuum concu*pivit* locum."

Part of this long correſpondence turns on the important queſtion of a dinner. Illicinus, it ſeems, had accuſed his Biſhop of ſpending five hundred florins on one meal. *Hinc illæ lacyrmæ.* "It is not ſo," writes the Biſhop in the third column of his Epiſtle to Cardinal Commendono; "there were but a hundred and thirty covers for the gueſts; and of theſe, forty were taken up by deſſert, which came from my own gardens at Viſcoff and Cremiſir. On what diſhes, then," ſays the Prelate, becoming eloquent, "*could* five hundred dollars have been expended, when nothing was ſerved up except beef (ferinam bubulam), veal, chickens, and other domeſtic matters, which my farms of Crémiſir and Viſcoff ſupplied? But the matter may be ſet in a perfectly clear light, if the ordinary account books of my chef-de-cuiſine be examined. How much is ſet down for my ſupport, and what for that of my family? My table is frequently without wine, becauſe on account of the ſtate of my health, I am content with but little wine, and drink beer." It is worth while to quote this paſſage as another ſpecimen of the art of book-making, which has ſwelled theſe volumes to ſo unreadable an extent. A Chriſtian kingdom may be in the laſt ſtruggle of its effort for empire, and for the propagation of the faith—not one word from the hiſtorian; but let Canon This ſay of Biſhop That that he kept too expenſive a table, and the Biſhop muſt by all means, in theſe *Annales Eccleſiaſtici*, tell you what he ate, and where it came from; what he drank, what he did not drink, and why he did not drink it.

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furniſh; but Germans, Caſtilians, and other adventurers, ſwelled the number to nearly nineteen thouſand. The Tagus was alive with boats; the nobility, about to embark in ſo arduous a campaign, vied with each other in the richneſs of their ſails, which were made of the moſt expenſive ſilks, while the boats themſelves ſeemed, to uſe the expreſſion of an eye-witneſs, turned into water-gardens by the profuſion of tropical flowers with which they were embelliſhed. Thoſe who could not procure natural plants from their "Indian gardens" decked their balconies and their galleys with wax flowers. As to the banquets—the ſervices of gold and ſilver—the richneſs of the throne occupied during the final benediction by the papal legate, covered with crimſon velvet, and ſparkling with innumerable diamonds—the hiſtorians of the period ſeemed to find words fail them to deſcribe the ſcene. It was after hearing maſs on S. John the Baptiſt's Day, in 1578, that Sebaſtian the Regretted embarked from the ſteps of Belem in his own galley; and as it paſſed ſlowly down the Tagus—its gold and enamels glittering in all the radiance of a Portugueſe midſummer ſun—the cannon at each port ſaluting the royal veſſel as ſhe paſſed—his favourite page began, with univerſal applauſe, to ſing the ballad—

> Ayer fuiſteis rei de Eſpaña:
> Oy no teneis un caſtello:

a fact afterwards remembered and dwelt upon by many a chronicler. At that very ſame period, moreover (one of thoſe remarkable examples in which, as Schiller ſays:—

> ——The ſpirits
> Of great events paſs on before the events,
> And in to-day already walks to-morrow),

a rumour had ſpread through the mountain diſtrict of central Beira, that the armament had already periſhed, that the king had fallen, and that Ichabod might be written on all the glory of Portugal.

It was toward the end of July that the armament diſembarked on the coaſt of Africa. Its profeſſed deſign was to reſtore Muley Ahmed to the throne of Morocco, then occupied by Muley Moluc. Biſhops, abbats, and priors, accompanied the expedition; but could not avert the judicial infatuation which, from the beginning, ſeemed alike to poſſeſs king, generals, and ſoldiers. In the firſt place, no one, but by a ſpecies of madneſs, would have choſen the very fierceſt height of ſummer for an African expedition. Then it ſo happened that that particular ſummer was hot beyond any in the memory of man. The Moors who accompa-

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nied the Chriſtian army affirmed that they had never known anything at all equal to the awful power of the heat. The words of the chroniclers are expreſſed almoſt in the very phraſe of Coleridge :—

> All in a hot and copper ſky,
> The bloody ſun at noon
> Right up above the maſt did ſtand,
> No bigger than the moon.

It was determined to make a pounce upon Larache, as the Portugueſe call it,—that is, Al Araiſh. In ſpite of the oppoſition of ſome of the inferior officers, the infatuated king perſiſted in loading his ſoldiers with five days' proviſions, and marching them acroſs the burning plain, while he ordered his fleet to ſail round the coaſt and rejoin them oppoſite the fortreſs which was to be attacked. As ſoon as the ſcouts of Muley Moluc ſaw the Chriſtian army fairly committed to its advance acroſs the deſert, they returned to their maſter, himſelf in the laſt ſtage of a mortal diſeaſe, and informed him that he had little to do but to allow the heat to fight for him, and then to ſtep in and reap the triumph. Accordingly, he moved his vaſt army of a hundred and fifty thouſand men ſlowly forward, and took up a poſition on the vaſt plain of Alcacer Quibir. On the night of the 3rd of Auguſt, Don Sebaſtian had, by mere chance, taken up on his part a poſition almoſt impregnable: his right wing reſting on the river Makkzan; his left on extenſive marſhes. With the ſame infatuation which diſtinguiſhed his whole proceedings, he voluntarily deſerted this camp, intrenched for him, as it were, by nature; and, himſelf taking the command of his left wing, and entruſting the right to the Duke of Aveiro, marched out upon the plain itſelf. He had thirty-ſix pieces of artillery, but it was ſo placed as to be unable to do any execution on the enemy without inflicting greater injury on his own troops. That of the Moors, on the contrary, under the direction of ſome Italian renegades, was well ſerved, and reſerved till the very moment at which it could be moſt effective. Notwithſtanding all theſe diſadvantages, it is allowed by all the eye-witneſſes who wrote on the ſubject, that at the firſt onſet the battle was almoſt won on both wings; and that it probably muſt have been gained, had not the Duke of Aveiro—with the fatal impetuoſity which in our own country loſt Naſeby and Marſton Moor—purſued the flying enemy ſo far, that the main body of the army was, in his abſence, overpowered. It was never known how the panic began which ſeized the Portugueſe troops. Some conſidered it the work of a traitor: ſome believed it to ariſe from a miſtaken order; but certain it is, that the Chriſtian army began to give

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way juſt at the very moment that, worn out by his own exertion, Muley Moluc expired in his litter. His attendants, keeping his death a ſecret, carried the corpſe up and down the ranks, till the victory was ſecure. Three thouſand Chriſtians periſhed on the field of battle; almoſt as many more died in the river or in the marſh, or were deſtroyed by hunger, thirſt, and wild beaſts. The fate of Sebaſtian himſelf, as is well known, was never aſcertained; his return to Portugal and his univerſal empire was fondly believed in for two centuries and a-half after his death, and is clung to, even now, by the mountain peaſants of Beira and the remoter inhabitants of Brazil. Whether he did indeed periſh at Alcacer Quibir; or was conſigned to the dungeons of Madrid by his rival and ſucceſſor Philip II; or entered a monaſtery; or took arms in the Eaſt, and was the veritable monarch whom Europe, ſome thirty years later, believed to be a pretender—will never be known till the end of all things.

Surely the hiſtory of this laſt of the Cruſades had, in itſelf, been more worthy of a relation by M. Theiner than the bill of fare of the biſhop of Olmutz, or the weariſome and complimentary letters of the fifth-rate potentates of Europe. But even more worthy of the relation of any one who profeſſed to write the hiſtory of the Church, were the heroic actions and ſufferings of the captives. Chief among theſe was Father Thomas de Jéſus, an Auguſtinian hermit. He had been taken priſoner in the battle, but had been ranſomed, and might have returned. He reſolved, however, to devote his life to the ſervice of thoſe who had no hope of ever again reviſiting their country. With a large company of thoſe he was cloſely impriſoned in a dungeon in Morocco, where he compoſed his celebrated work, *The Labours of Jeſus*. The priſon was ſo dark that he could only write for about two hours in the middle of each day, at which time the light came in more ſtrongly from an aperture in the roof. On the title-page it is ſaid to be compoſed "by a captive in Barbary, in the fiftieth year of his exile from the celeſtial country." It is not wonderful that a work ſo written ſhould have been ſo much bleſſed as this has been. It commences with a letter to the Portugueſe nation on the ſubject of the diſaſters conſequent on Alcacer Quibir, and more eſpecially addreſſed to his fellow-ſufferers:—"A heart,"—ſays he, "afflicted with the labours "which encircle it, muſt fix the eyes of the ſoul on the Labours of "JESUS, and acquire new ſtrength, and live in more certain and "conſolatory hopes of its true remedy. And—which is greater "ſtill—if it perſiſts in this company and converſation, it re-"ceives from GOD ſuch grace as to find that afflictions by

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" degrees become ſweet, and to account that to be the beſt part " of life which was troubled as our LORD was troubled. For " this reaſon our LORD raiſed the ſeals and ſigns of His labours " to heaven in His five wounds; that when we ſaw how He " vouchſafed to live a life full of afflictions, and to end it with a " death of matchleſs ſufferings, not for Himſelf, but for us; and " that He raiſed the tokens of them to heaven, we might under- " ſtand that He left tribulations and croſſes to us upon earth for " ſecure treaſures of the ſoul, of the gifts of grace and of " heaven: and that in heaven He has ſet for us five moſt rich " pledges, that from them and by them, we might ſecurely hope " for true conſolations; which He will not deny to the Portu- " gueſe, if they will only bear thoſe wounds in their hearts, " which they glory to carry in their ſhields and banners." The work conſiſts of fifty " Labours: " each meditation being followed by an " exerciſe " to be offered to GOD. The five-and-twenty contained in the firſt volume refer to the ſufferings of our LORD'S life; thoſe in the ſecond, to the ſufferings of His death. It is to us a matter of great ſurpriſe, that this moſt pious and edifying book has never been tranſlated into Engliſh; and that thoſe who cannot read Portugueſe can only peruſe it in a miſerable French tranſlation, itſelf hard to be procured. Yet this devoted ſervant of GOD is not regarded by our author as worthy of a ſingle line; nor does he vouchſafe the ſlighteſt alluſion to the innumerable other confeſſors and martyrs who ſuffered in the ſame captivity. Yet it is exactly theſe and ſuch-like deeds to which a true hiſtorian of the Church would ſo gladl turn aſide from the weariſome, though neceſſary, details of worldly intrigues and mere earthly victories. Such traces, in the midſt of the drier annals of ſucceſſions, whether of biſhops or princes, ſpeaking ſo clearly to the continual preſence of our Bleſſed LORD with His Church to the end, by no means appear to the taſte of M. Theiner, who, if even he unwillingly finds himſelf in ſuch an oaſis, loſes no time in getting back to the deſert of dates, documents, and intrigues.

One naturally turns to ſee what our author ſays of the ſtate of the Roman Catholics in England during the earlier years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. If we might not expect a very fair account of the general ſtate of affairs, at leaſt the hair-breadth eſcapes and almoſt ſuperhuman exertions which diſtinguiſh thoſe eccleſiaſtics who had the courage to remain in this country, notwithſtanding the ſavage perſecution excited againſt them, might have afforded great ſcope for a very intereſting hiſtory.

But M. Theiner ſeems entirely to have diſcarded the labours of thoſe who have treated of this ſubject: of the moſt intereſting

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work of their chief annaliſts, writing under the name of Dod, and its new edition by Mr. Tierney, he has made no uſe, but has confined himſelf to a few letters extracted from the Vatican documents, which throw very little light on the real hiſtory, and are principally concerned with the political intrigues connected with the depoſition of Elizabeth and the ſubſtitution of Mary, Queen of Scots. In 1573, we have a long letter from James Boyd (M. Theiner does not ſeem to have been aware of his ſurname), Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, who reſided at Paris, on the ſtate of Scotland; but it is rather taken up with the firſt converſion of that country and the Pelagian hereſy, than any later events. In the next year John Leſlie, Biſhop of Roſs, and James Irving, a Knight of Malta, addreſs the Pope on the ſame ſubject, but give not one fact of the ſlighteſt intereſt. In 1575, our author thus writes :—

> In England there was no end to the vexation of the Catholics. The Earl of Kildare, in Ireland, with his two ſons, were carried captive into England. As many as had incurred any ſuſpicion of writing or hearing from the Queen of Scots, whether only on domeſtic affairs, or concerning the Catholic Church, were thrown into priſon or exiled. To give one example of the miſerable condition of the Catholics, it is ſufficient to obſerve that Ford and Atiſley, Catholic phyſicians, were impriſoned in the Tower of London, only for this cauſe, that they had given medical advice, and that very brief, to that unhappy queen, for the recovery of her health.

Of the labours and eſcapes of Percy, Bennett, Stevenſon, Pearſon, Weſton, Hayward, and Worthington, he has not one ſyllable to ſay. In 1584, our hiſtorian enters at ſomewhat greater length on the ſubject, and prints ſome letters of the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, Seyton, and others, which might, interwoven in a hiſtory, be read with intereſt and profit; but, ſtanding as they do by themſelves, they ſimply convey the impreſſion that M. Theiner had no very clear idea of the ſtate of affairs in England at that time. Even, however, from the account given by him, we ſee how miſerably the exaggerated pretenſions of the Papal See were mixed up with queſtions of faith in the ſufferings of the Roman Catholic prieſts, and more eſpecially of the Jeſuits. To the following queſtions there is probably now no Roman Catholic who would not unheſitatingly anſwer in the negative; as indeed was done at the end of the laſt century, when the penal laws were relaxed or abrogated. Yet, hampered as they were, by confuſed ideas of the Pope's temporal ſupremacy over kings, it was for theſe, and not for their faith, that the prieſts in queſtion—however unjuſtly and cruelly—were put to death. One cannot but feel, with reſpect to them, that which is alſo true with regard to the followers of the Stuarts, the Church of

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Scotland—that, in admiring their courage and ſelf-devotion in the ſupport of a dogma which they firmly held, they were not the leſs miſtaken in embracing it as a part of the faith; and that their lives and ſufferings, except ſo far as they themſelves were concerned, were in vain.

"You have," writes M. Theiner, "the queſtions by which the Queen of England perſuaded herſelf that ſhe could tempt and prevail upon the conſcience of Catholic prieſts.

"Queſtions or articles propoſed by order of the Queen, to thoſe preſbyters who had lain under ſentence of death for ſome months; to which had they replied according to the wiſh and intention of the ſaid Queen, they would have been exempted from capital puniſhment, notwithſtanding the profeſſion of Catholic faith in other reſpects."

Notice the captious manner in which this ſtatement is made, as if to have given a negative anſwer to the queſtions would have been to deny a part of the Catholic faith.

1. Whether the bull of Pius V, by which he excommunicated and depoſed the Queen, is valid, and contains a legitimate ſentence, and whether the ſubjects of the Engliſh Kingdom are bound to obey it?

2. Whether the Queen, notwithſtanding that ſentence, or any other pronounced againſt her, or hereafter to be pronounced againſt her by the Pope, does not juſtly and legitimately reign; and whether her ſubjects do not owe her all obedience?

3. Whether the Pope has any power or authority to command or give licence to the Earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, or other Engliſhmen, to rebel and take arms againſt her Majeſty; or of giving power to Dr. Saunders and others to invade the kingdom of Ireland and other poſſeſſions of her Majeſty; and whether Saunders and others did ſo rightly or not?

4. Whether the Pope has the power of abſolving the ſubjects of her Majeſty or of any other prince, from their oath of allegiance, or their duty of obedience and ſubmiſſion, for any cauſe whatever?

5. Whether Dr. Saunders, in his book on the *Viſible Monarchy of the Church*, and Briſtow, in his *Motives*, when they write in commendation and approval of the bull of Pius V, have taught, as regards the aforeſaid matters, the truth, or not?

6. If it happens that the Pope, by any bull or ſentence, ſhould declare and pronounce that her Majeſty was deprived of all right of reigning, and exerciſed her authority illegitimately, and that her ſubjects were abſolved from all duty and obedience to her; and after that, by the command or authority of the Pope, the kingdom were attacked by a foreign army, which ſide would you then take, and to which would you exhort the people?

This laſt queſtion was moſt effectively and concluſively anſwered by Lord Howard of Effingham in his reſiſtance to the Spaniſh Armada; a piece of hiſtory which it will be curious to ſee how our hiſtorian will treat. Theſe queſtions, having been propoſed to ſeven prieſts under ſentence of death for high treaſon, Luke Chirby, Thomas Scottam, Laurence Richardſon, Thomas Ford, John Short, Robert Johnſon, and William Filby, ſeemed

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to have perplexed them as to the right reply. Some of them anſwered that they were Catholics, and held on theſe points with the Catholic Church; others, that they were ready to render to Cæſar the things that were Cæſar's, while they gave to GOD the things that were GOD'S. Theſe anſwers not proving ſatisfactory, ſentence was executed on all. It is to be obſerved that M. Theiner expreſſes no direct opinion as to the heſitation of theſe prieſts in denying the temporal power of the Pope over ſovereigns. Writing at Rome, he could not well blame it; dedicating his volume to the Emperor Napoleon, he could not well praiſe it; and therefore he prudently, ſo far, preſerves ſilence on the ſubject. Nor, indeed, could he have juſtified the doubts of theſe prieſts without virtually condemning the ultimate ſucceſsful party of French Catholics who acknowledged Henri IV. as their legitimate ſovereign, notwithſtanding his excommunication and depoſition by the Pope; and who eventually forced that acknowledgment on the court of Rome itſelf.

A ſubject on which our author dwells with conſiderable length, and on which he has already publiſhed a ſeparate work, is the attempted reconciliation, by John III, of the Swediſh Communion with the Roman Church. It is thus that he enters on his account of a very intereſting period of hiſtory.

Among the Proteſtant princes of that age was John III, king of Sweden, who, abhorring the doctrine of the Proteſtants, had ſet his mind on reconciling the Swediſh Church, purified from the errors of Luther, with the Catholic Church. To gain his end with the greater eaſe, he determined to proceed cautiouſly and gradually, ſo that neither popular murmurs, nor open tumults, nor the diſputations of the learned, might cauſe any impediments to his deſign. In the carrying out of that deſign, it occurred to him that the eaſieſt method would be to change the liturgy of the Swediſh Church, retaining as it did ſome veſtiges of the ancient faith, into that form which the liturgy of the Catholic Church, eſpecially in the Maſs, exhibits. . . . . This labour was undertaken by the pious king as early as the year 1572. To forward the accompliſhment of his deſign, he procured with great expenſe, from Germany and Belgium, and introduced into Sweden, correct editions of the works of the holy fathers, and of the writings of modern authors who had defended the venerable rites of the Catholic Church againſt the mad attacks of Luther, Calvin, and their followers. Cardinal Hoſius, biſhop of Varna, had preſented ſeveral elegant copies of theſe works to the king, through Queen Catherine, his wife. With the aſſiſtance of theſe, John III. undertook a work of immenſe difficulty, with the aſſiſtance of the illuſtrious Fechten, his ſecretary, a man verſed in every kind of literature, but eſpecially that of the Church, and who, having long been diſſatisfied with the impious doctrines of the innovators, had, a ſhort time before, ſecretly joined the Catholic Church. That, however, which principally troubled the king's mind was, that the Swediſh Church was in the ſame poſition with the Anglican and Daniſh Churches, which have retained, as all know, and to this day profeſs, a certain form of epiſcopal government, but are without any true and legitimate prieſthood. For Guſtavus Viſa,

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who with incredible and ſavage fury had perſecuted the faith of his forefathers among the Swedes (who with wonderful conſtancy, held faſt to it), and with the greateſt wickedneſs endeavoured to uproot it by ſword and fire, when the Catholic biſhops were either ſlain or baniſhed, had ſubſtituted in their place laymen, partizans of the new doctrine. To cajole his Swedes, in the Aſſembly of Arös, in 1527, he had cauſed them to be conſecrated biſhops, with the old rites and ceremonies of the Catholic Church. And for the rectification of the defect of the true and legitimate prieſthood, King John conſidered that the right opportunity had arrived, when Laurentius Petri, of the ſchool of Luther, who, under King Guſtavus, in the year 1531, had been appointed Archbiſhop of Upſala and Primate of the Church of Sweden, died in 1573.

John III. was the James II. of Sweden. At the ſame time, his Liturgy is a very curious and important, as well as rare, document, and M. Theiner has done well to reprint it in the mantiſſa to his volume.

We have thus touched on ſome of the principal topics which the preſent portion of the *Annales Eccleſiaſtici* embraces. Of M. Theiner's learning, no one can doubt: his great opportunities of reſearch are equally unqueſtionable. He has everything on his ſide,—funds, time, libraries, aſſociates, knowledge,—but all theſe will not make a hiſtorian. He, like a poet, *naſcitur, non fit.* Energy of deſcription, vivid apprehenſion of character, graphic colouring, M. Theiner cannot acquire. But he might, at all events, write, inſtead of compiling; fuſe, inſtead of conglomerating; give us hiſtory, inſtead of a pile of documents; he might be a not unworthy continuator of the *Annales Eccleſiaſtici*, inſtead of merely leaving behind him *Mémoires pour ſervir à l'hiſtoire particulière de l'Egliſe Romaine.*

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IX.

PROSPECTS OF THE ORIENTAL CHURCH.*

SINCE the reception of Ruſſia, previouſly an Aſiatic power, into the family of European nations, no ſecond ſtep of equal importance towards the demolition of the party-wall which ſevers Eaſt and Weſt can compare with the manifeſt and immediate effects of the late peace. Prejudices on both ſides have received a blow from which they can never recover. The Hatti-ſcheriff—let it be of what preſent value it may—will, at no diſtant period, be made to tell. The conceſſion of the Euphrates Railway muſt exhibit us to the Chriſtians as well as to the Mahometans of the Eaſt in the light of a people unequalled for enterpriſe and energy among the nations of the earth; and the Memorial Church at Conſtantinople will, we hope, ſet forth our Church in a truer light than that in which Eaſtern eyes have yet beheld it. It will ſoon be impoſſible for the moſt ignorant Armenian prieſt to tell his congregation: "You wiſh to know whether the Engliſh are Chriſtians. "They *are* Chriſtians; they even have the Euchariſt, ſuch as

* 1. L'Egliſe Orientale: Expoſé hiſtorique de ſa ſéparation et de ſa réunion avec celle de Rome: Accord perpétuel de ces deux Egliſes dans les dogmes de la Foi: la continuation de leur Union: l'apoſtaſie du Clergé de Conſtantinople de l'Egliſe de Rome, ſa violation des Inſtitutions de l'Egliſe Orientale, et ſes vexations contre les Chrétiens de ce rite: ſeuls moyens praticables pour rétablir l'ordre dans l'Egliſe Orientale, et arriver par là à l'union générale et à la reſtauration ſociale de tous le Chrétiens. Par Jaques G. Pitzipios, Fondateur de la Société Chrétienne Orientale. Rome: Imprimerie de la Propagande. 1855.

2. La Ruſſie, ſera-t-elle Catholique? Par le Père Gagarin. Paris: 1856.

3. Quelques Mots par un Chrétien orthodoxe ſur les Communions Occidentales à l'occaſion d'une Brochure de M. Laurentie. Paris: Librairie de A. Franck, Rue Richelieu. 1853.

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"it is. Once a-year the miniſter goes up into the pulpit with a "large baſket, containing pieces of bread, on his arm. Theſe "he flings about among the people, who thus have a ſcramble "for it in the church. They alſo have another religious cere- "mony, called the National Debt, which conſiſts in offering a "large ſum of money every year to the Emperor of the French; "a ceremony much diſliked, and murmured at by the people." —It will ſoon be impoſſible for a Mahometan ſceptic to ſay to a Proteſtant miniſter,—and intending it as a compliment,—"Our "religions are the ſame. You eat pork,—ſo do we: you never "faſt,—no more do we: you ſay no prayers,—and we ſay none "either." And the charity, as well as the worſhip, of the two ſeparated bodies will become better known to each other. If England ſent her Siſters of Mercy, if France deſpatched her *Sœurs de la Charité*, to Scutari and Balaclava, both France and England ſaw Ruſſia encourage her Baſilian Nuns to ſtand ankle-deep in blood in the hoſpital at Sebaſtopol during the awful cannonade that preceded the fall of its ſouthern ſide.

Of this opening up of the Eaſt, Rome, very naturally, is ſtraining every nerve to take advantage. We have already, on more than one occaſion, drawn attention to the Epiſtle of Pius IX, and the encyclic reply of the Eaſtern prelates. The former document breathed only the ſpirit of an unconditional ſurrender. And ſuch has been the language held by thoſe who have been anxious to obtain the good graces of the papal chair. It will never be forgotten that Archbiſhop Sibour, of Paris, in his Paſtoral at the commencement of the war, declared its real and genuine intention to be, not the bridling the ambition of Ruſſia, not the prevention of the diſmemberment of Turkey, but the humiliation of "the Photians:" the grand aim and object—according to his view of hiſtory—of all the Cruſades. Again, when the Abbé Michon, in his *Tour in the Eaſt*, aſſerted boldly that the Pope muſt not proceed as an autocrat; that no real progreſs could be made without the intervention of an Œcumenical Council; that the Eaſterns were ſeparated brothers, indeed, but brothers ſtill;—when he quoted as his authorities thoſe who knew the Eaſt beſt, as Marinelli, Miſſionary Apoſtolic at Syra, and Salviani, Patriarch of the "United Armenians," his work was accuſed of Gallicaniſm, Janſeniſm, and what not elſe; and is, if we miſtake not, at this moment in the Index.

That of M. Pitzipios, which we now propoſe to examine, will ſhare another fate. Coming forth under the ſanction of the Propaganda, and with all the elegance of their paper and print, it forms a goodly octavo of nearly five hundred pages, and is being tranſlated into modern Greek by the author himſelf. Be-

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fore we proceed to its contents, we muſt ſay a word or two on ſome of its minor details.

The author has an undoubted right to plead for himſelf the excuſe: "Quant au ſtyle de cet ouvrage, nous eſpérons que nos "lecteurs, ſurtout les Français, voudront bien uſer d'indulgence "envers un Oriental écrivant une langue qui n'eſt pas la ſienne:" but has the Propaganda no French ſcholar capable of correcting the extraordinary blunders with which almoſt every page abounds? Blunders, we mean, not only againſt the delicate idiom of the language, but againſt mere orthography and the moſt ordinary rules of grammar. How can an inſtitution ſo nobly endowed, that takes for its motto, "*Prædicate evangelium omni creaturæ*" make itſelf reſponſible for ſuch miſtakes as the following?—

Par cet expoſé nous fai*ſon* voir.—P. vi. l. 2.
De plus nos expoſons les *ſoit* diſant arguments.—P. vii. l. 10.
Nous y conſtatons enſuite, que les circonſtances poli*tique*.—P. viii. l. 10.
La Grèce ne de*peut* pas du Patriarche de Conſtantinople.—P. 46, note.
Cantique pour les *mort*.—P. 84.
Auſſi *tous* le monde fut-il très-édifié.—P. 104.

And the orthography *ſoit diſant*, as well as ſuch plurals as *faiſon*, occur again and again.

Still worſe than this is the ſlipſhod ſtyle of quotation in the notes. On pp. 6, 7, we have theſe three references: "Opera St. Léon, Tom. II.:" "Epiſt. Simpli*cis* ad Zénon:" "Idem Epiſt. ad Acac*ius*!" At p. 44: "Zonaras. *Ana*l. Tom. III."

But there are ſtill more ſerious faults. What are we to ſay to a note like this? "The Greek word *Eccleſia* was in uſe "among the ancient Greeks to ſignify the aſſemblies of the peo- "ple as well as the place in which they were held. *It is derived* "*from the verb ἐκκαλέω, which ſignifies to call by heralds.*" Or, again, how are we to characterize ſuch an hiſtorical ſtatement as this? "The Patriarch of Conſtantinople, Acacius, had named, "as Patriarch of *Antioch*, a certain Peter Mongus, excommuni- "cated by Pope Simplicius, in the place of John Talaia, elected "according to the cuſtom by the Clergy of the patriarchate of "*Antioch*." One might ſuppoſe, did this miſtake ſtand ſingly, that the writer had in a hurry ſet down Antioch for Alexandria; but no effort of charity will enable the reader to continue ſuch an hypotheſis, when we read a little further on, that "Pope "Felix III. ſent legates to Conſtantinople to procure the baniſh- "ment of Peter Mongus from the Church of *Antioch:*" and, at the diſtance of nearly forty pages,—"we have ſeen this ſame "Acacius requeſting Pope Felix III. to pardon Peter Mongus, "and to confirm him in his dignity of Patriarch of *Antioch*."

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The work which we are conſidering, then, whatever be the ſenſation which, at the preſent moment, it is creating in Ultramontane circles, and however much it may induce among them the hope that the Eaſt is on the point of an unconditional ſubmiſſion to Rome, is neither more nor leſs than the compoſition of a clever Greek Uniat, tolerably well "read up" in the ordinary hiſtorical ſources of information,—though here and there, as we have ſeen, guilty of a grievous ſlip,—and poſſeſſing a very conſiderable acquaintance with the modern eccleſiaſtical literature and movements of the Eaſtern, but more eſpecially of the Greek, Church. It is divided into four parts, the ſubjects of which we ſhall briefly notice. The firſt contains a ſketch of the gradual diviſion between Rome and Conſtantinople, from the firſt perſonal quarrel between Felix III. and S. Acacius, in 483, down to the completed ſchiſm between Michael Cerularius and Leo IX, in 1054. Of courſe, in theſe annals, Rome is always right, Conſtantinople always wrong. We have the gradual widening of the breach when John the Faſter took the title of Œcumenical Patriarch, and S. Gregory the Great oppoſed it with that of "Servant of the Servants of God;" the conceſſion made by Rome after an obſtinate ſtruggle,—that of receiving her rival to her communion without inſiſting on the eraſure of the name of Acacius from the diptychs; the elevation of Conſtantinople to the ſecond rank by the celebrated XXVIIIth Canon of Chalcedon, and the confirmation and extenſion of that canon by the XXXVIth of the Council in Trullo. Here, again, our author is guilty of one of his unfortunate blunders when he ſays: "En 692 eut lieu le ſixième Concile général "convoqué par l'empereur Juſtinien II. à l'inſtigation du Patri- "arche et du Clergé de Conſtantinople, tenu dans un des palais "impériaux de cette ville, nommé Troulle, et connu pour ce "motif ſous le nomme de *Concile de Troulle*." We ſhould have thought that every ſchoolboy might have known the difference between the ſixth Œcumenical Council, the third of Conſtantinople, held in 681, and that in Trullo, commonly called the Quiniſext Council, as being the ſupplement to the fifth and ſixth Synods which met in 691. Next we are introduced to the more dangerous ſchiſm between Photius and the Pope Nicolas I; then to the diſpute between S. Ignatius and Pope Adrian as to the poſſeſſion of Bulgaria; and then to the firſt dogmatic diſſenſion between the two Churches on the celebrated queſtion of the Proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt. Next, to the uneaſy and ſuſpicious union between Eaſt and Weſt till the acceſſion of Michael Cerularius; the additional controverſy which then ſprang

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up on the ſubject of Azymes; and the final—or rather let us hope the yet unhealed—ſchiſm of 1054.

M. Pitzipios ſums up the differences at preſent exiſting between the Latin and Eaſtern Churches in the number of eleven; ſeven of which he moſt rightly characterizes as merely differences in rites, which in no ſenſe can be ſaid to affect the faith. Theſe ſeven are:—

1. The queſtion of Azymes, which, indeed, was ſo rightly and Chriſtianly concluded in the Council of Florence, by the declaration that the conſecration of our LORD'S Body was made rightly and validly either in leavened or unleavened bread, and that each Church ought to retain its own rite.

2. Baptiſm. Here retaining the ancient practice, the Eaſtern Church—that is to ſay, the four Patriarchates and Greece—inſiſt on the neceſſity of trine immerſion; and, to uſe the language of a Conſtantinopolitan encyclic of the laſt century, "abhor, abominate, and ſpit upon the ſalt-water affuſion" of the Latins. But, on the other hand, the Church of Ruſſia acknowledges baptiſm, not only by affuſion, but alſo by aſperſion, to be a valid ſacrament; while, remarkably enough, the Church of Conſtantinople, refuſing itſelf to re-admit converts from the Weſt without rebaptizing them, is ready enough to receive thoſe who have come by way of Ruſſia without any ſuch preliminary requiſition.

3. The marriage of the prieſthood. This alſo, by the Council of Florence, was left a queſtion of rite; the rule in the Ruſſian Church being, it is well known, more oppoſed to the Roman than is our own. For by it a pariſh prieſt *muſt* be married; and in the event of loſing his wife, either retires from the ſecular to the religious clergy, or, if he marries again, he lays aſide every ſacerdotal function.

4. This is merely the trivial queſtion whether the Clergy ſhould, or ſhould not, wear beards. The Eaſterns muſt have been greatly edified by ſeeing this practice prevail during the late war both among the Engliſh and Roman Catholic Chaplains.

5. The difference between the Eaſtern and Weſtern weekly faſts. The former comprehending Wedneſday and Friday, but regarding Saturday as a kind of ſecond Sunday; the latter obſerving Friday as a faſt, and Saturday as a day of abſtinence. A difference as old as the time of S. Ambroſe, and to be viewed in the ſame light as it was then; both edifying cuſtoms, if only carried out in the right ſpirit.

6. The uſe of kneeling or not kneeling in the prayers of the Church. The horror which the Orientals have of the practice really ſeems baſed on no better a foundation than that it is the practice of the Weſt. But it is to be obſerved that the Ruſſian

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Church, here again ſympathiſing with Rome, not only does not condemn genuflexion, but practiſes it herſelf; nor has ever been condemned, that we know of, by Conſtantinople for this uſage.

7. The communion of infants. We doubt, however, whether, in the eyes of an Oriental Council, this point would be ſo eaſily paſſed over. We muſt always remember, while we condemn the denial of the chalice to the laity as a great and crying corruption, that the diſuſe of the communion of infants is as contrary to primitive practice, is perhaps even more diametrically oppoſed to the expreſs words of Scripture, and is even a later "development." The Eaſterns, of courſe, argue that, if the words of our LORD are expreſs in the one caſe, "Drink ye all of it," no leſs expreſs are they in the other, "Except ye eat the Fleſh of the Son of Man, and drink His Blood, ye have no life in you;" that the ſame rationaliſing ſpirit which, in ſome denominations of Proteſtants, has regarded children as incapable of receiving Baptiſm, has, in the Weſtern Church, debarred them from receiving the Holy Euchariſt; and that the firſt beginning of the new ſyſtem was adopted from the Pelagians. Our author, however, ſlurs over the difficulty by obſerving, that "in the "Eaſtern practice there is more devotion; in the Weſtern, more "good ſenſe."

There are, certainly, other points of difference which are ſcarcely worth notice; as, for example, the queſtion of icons—whether to be ſculptured, or merely painted; and the ſtill more trivial diſagreement reſpecting the ſign of the croſs—whether to be made from left to right, or from right to left. It is not altogether to be wondered at that our author amuſes himſelf with the exceſſive addiction of the Eaſtern Church to turn that which is a mere matter of rubric into an article of faith; and *they* would, of courſe, rejoin that the Weſtern uſage is to diſpoſe of an article of faith as if it were a mere matter of ritual.

"Even the letters," ſays M. Pitzipios, "of the Greek and Latin languages have not been able to avoid taking a ſhare in theſe diſputes. For many centuries, in certain iſlands of the Archipelago, at Conſtantinople, and elſewhere, thouſands of Chriſtians of the Weſtern Church have taken up their abode. They conſidered it their duty to abandon the uſage of the Greek tongue, in order to mark their difference from their fellow-countrymen and brethren of the Oriental rite. But, as they knew no other language than Greek, they, at all events, abandoned its characters, and employed in their books of prayers, and in their correſpondence, the Latin letters, with which they even at the preſent day write the Grecian language, and call this monſtrous jargon the Chian tongue."

That is, they would teach their youth from an Odyſſey which commenced thus:—

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Andra moi ennepe, mouſa, polutropon, hos mala polla
Planchthee, epei Troiees hieron ptoliethron eporthee
Pollwn d'Anthrwpwn iden aſtea, kai noon egnw, &c.

Yet it muſt be remembered that the ſubſtitution,—not made by ignorant Chiotes, but by learned ſcholars of Rome, and under the authority of the Propaganda—of Roman for Cyrillic or Glagolita characters, is not a whit leſs barbarous or ludicrous than the above; or rather, that Slavonic ſuffers more under the transformation than Greek itſelf.

While dwelling on this ſubject, M. Pitzipios takes occaſion to have a hit at the Greeks alſo, and remarks:—

In like manner it came to paſs, in conſequence of principles ſo ſcrupulouſly obſerved and preached up by ſuperſtition or by ignorance, as the chief foundations of Chriſtianity, that the ordinary caps of prieſts ſhould have a particular form, which form was conſidered in an article of faith, and as a part of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline. Thus, every one was exceedingly edified with the celebrated queſtion which was mooted at Conſtantinople ſome fifteen years ſince, as to the form and colour of the ordinary cap worn by Monſeigneur Maximus, Biſhop of the Melchites; a queſtion which, for four years, occupied moſt ſeriouſly the ambaſſadors of the Chriſtian powers of the Sublime Porte. It was only after the moſt ſcrupulous deliberation that they arrived at a final deciſion; and, amidſt the warm acclamations of orthodoxy, it was definitively reſolved, that the cap of Monſeigneur Maximus ſhould have eight corners, and ſhould neither be altogether black, nor altogether crimſon.

Again, the reformed Calendar has ſwelled the number of diſagreements; a reform ſo abſolutely needed, that it muſt eventually break down even Eaſtern prejudices, as in the courſe of years it triumphed over the ſtrong prepoſſeſſions of Proteſtant Europe. Were there no other reaſon for the change, it is impoſſible not to wiſh that,—whatever other diſputes may divide them,—the higheſt feſtival of the LORD of Peace might through the whole Church be obſerved on the ſame day. This does ſometimes happen; as it did in 1841, 1844, 1847, 1848, 1851, 1852, 1855, 1858, 1859, 1862. But ſometimes the difference is very great indeed. Thus, in 1853, the Weſtern Eaſter fell on the 27th of March, the Eaſtern on the 1ſt of May. In 1869 the former will fall on March 28; the latter on May 2. Probably, in any future reconciliation of the Churches, a very great latitude muſt at firſt be left on that point.

The three queſtions which our author allows to preſent real difficulties in the way of reunion are—the ſupremacy of the Pope,—the exiſtence of purgatory,—and the Proceſſion of the HOLY GHOST. We ſhall confine ourſelves to the two former, as more eſpecially intereſting under our own circumſtances; and ſhall ſay a few words on each.

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M. Pitzipios tries hard to prove that, according to her own decrees, authorized prayers, and the writings of her acknowledged ſaints, the Eaſtern Church is bound to acknowledge an autocratical ſupremacy in the chair of Peter. How feeble his attempt is may be judged from the quotations which he ſelects from the Menœa of paſſages which bear on the point. What proof is there of an autocracy in modern Rome in ſuch an *automelon* as this—the firſt at Veſpers on the feaſt of SS. Peter and Paul?

With what crowns of praiſe ſhall we wreathe Peter and Paul, them that were ſeparated in the body, and united in the ſpirit; them that were the *leaders* of the heralds of GOD; the one, as pre-eminent over the Apoſtles, the other, as having laboured more than they all? For theſe, verily and worthily, He That hath the great mercy, CHRIST our GOD, crowns with the diadems of eternal glory.*

To what purpoſe is it to quote paſſages in which S. Peter is called the Κορυφαῖος of the Apoſtles, when the very title of the ſame feſtival is:—τῶν ἁγίων ἐνδόξων πανευφήμων Ἀποστόλων καὶ Πρωτοκορυφαίων Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου; How can any ſcholar put forth, and how could the Propaganda allow, ſuch a tranſlation as this from S. Chryſoſtom on the prieſthood? "Why did "CHRIST pour forth His blood: To acquire to Himſelf the "ſheep which He gave in charge to Peter and to *his ſucceſſors*," —inſtead of *his fellows?* (τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ.)† What is the benefit of bringing forward ſuch exclamations as thoſe of the Six Hundred and Thirty at Chalcedon, at the concluſion of the lection of S. Leo's Epiſtle?—"The faith of the Apoſtles! Anathema to thoſe that gainſay! Peter hath ſpoken by Leo!" By the ſame rule, at the ſame Council, it might have been held that the ſee of Corinth poſſeſſes the primacy of the Church becauſe when Peter, biſhop of that Church, paſſed over from the heretical to the orthodox ſide, he was welcomed with ſhouts of "Peter holds the faith of Peter!"

Inſtead of liſtening to ſuch forced deductions and ſtale arguments, it is far more to the purpoſe to attend to the preſent teaching of the Eaſtern Church. Thus it is that the text-book

* Ποίοις εὐφημιῶν στέμμασιν ἀναδήσωμεν Πέτρον καὶ Παῦλον; τοὺς διηρημένους τοῖς σώμασι, καὶ ἡνωμένους τοῖς πνεύμασι; τοὺς Θεοκηρύκων Πρωτοστάτας, τὸν μὲν, ὡς τῶν Ἀποστόλων προεξάρχοντα, τὸν δὲ, ὡς ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους κοπιάσαντα; τούτους γὰρ ὄντως ἀξίως ἀθανάτου δόξης διαδήμασι στεφανοῖ Χριστὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ ἔχων τὸ μέγα ἔλεος.

† To ſhow that we do our author no injuſtice, we give the original and his verſions: διατὶ τὸ αἷμα ὁ Χριστὸς ἐξέχεεν; ἢ ἵνα τὰ πρόβατα κτήσηται ταῦτα, ἃ τῷ Πέτρῳ καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐνεχείρισεν; Pourquoi Jéſus-Chriſt verſa-t-il ſon ſang, ſi non pour reconquérir ces ovailles, qu'il confia à Pierre et à *ſes ſucceſſeurs?*

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of families, ſchools, and univerſities, the "Catechiſm of Plato," ſpeaks on the ſubject:—

> The Church is governed by the miniſters of the New Teſtament under the One Head, CHRIST. The Church is one well-ordered and well-directed communion: it follows that it has a government: a government, nevertheleſs, not ambitious and tyrannical, but gentle and ſpiritual: becauſe it is put in truſt with ſouls. . . . . Of its ſhepherds, ſome are firſt in authority, as biſhops; and others ſecond, as prieſts. Nevertheleſs, the Head of the government of the Church and of its miniſters is CHRIST; one, one and alone: ſince as He is the chief Captain and the founder of His Church, ſo alſo is He alone its Head and Governor, directing it inviſibly with His Word through the HOLY GHOST. Wherefore the Church cannot follow any other than CHRIST and the plain teſtimony of the Word of GOD, ſo far as concerns the faith.

This, it muſt be confeſſed, is plainer ſenſe than the ſymbolical explanation which is given in another text-book of the Eaſtern Church, the Πηδάλιον, of the five Patriarchates. "They are called," ſays this work "according to the acroſtic of their names "in the Greek language, Οἰκουμένης Κάραι, ſince the K ſignifies "Conſtantinople; A, Alexandria; R, Rome; A, Antioch; "and I, Jeruſalem. But becauſe the firſt patriarch of the "Church has apoſtatized, he of Conſtantinople is now the firſt. "After this, they added the fifth patriarch, him of Moſcow; "but that dignity now exiſts no longer."

It is true that this doctrine of the apoſtacy of Rome is only a dogma of the moſt violent ſection of the Eaſtern Church. The whole communion is probably no more accountable for it than is the Engliſh Church for the belief of ſome of her members that the Popedom is Antichriſt. Nevertheleſs, in the lateſt official expoſition of the Oriental faith, the reply of the Patriarchs to the Encyclic of Pius IX, the ſame ſtatement is made in the ſtrongeſt language. That document which, as is well known, was, in fact, written by Conſtantine Œconomus, and therefore, to a certain extent, repreſents the Ruſſian Church alſo, ſays, in ſo many words—that as GOD, in His ineffable wiſdom, permitted Arianiſm at one time to extend itſelf over the greater portion of the Chriſtian world, ſo He has now allowed Rome to extend her empire throughout the univerſe. And ſo the ſtory is well known of the father, a reſident in one of the iſlands of the Archipelago, who was lamenting to his Biſhop the apoſtacy of one of his ſons to Mahometaniſm. "It is indeed a heavy affliction," ſaid the prelate; "but have you not reaſon to thank GOD that, at all events, he did not become a Latin?" No; it is not by a few detached paſſages, and thoſe generally taken apart from the ſenſe of the context, that M. Pitzipios will perſuade his readers that the Eaſtern Church, on its own principles,

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is bound to ſubmit to Rome; and not only ſo, but that, were it not for the inordinate ambition of the clergy of Conſtantinople, its maſſes would long ago have embraced the Weſtern communion. It is not ſo: hiſtory is againſt it; the popular feeling of the preſent day is againſt it; and the experience of the beſt and wiſeſt of the Latin miſſionaries in the Eaſt may aſſure him that it is not by an autocratic exerciſe of authority on the part of the See of Rome, not by a Paſtoral of Pius IX, nor of any other Pope, that the ſubmiſſion of the one Church to the other will be effected; but that it is only by a free and legitimately aſſembled Œcumenical Council that the reconciliation of one with the other, as equal bodies, and on equal terms, can be brought to paſs.

Let us proceed to the ſecond of our author's *real difficulties*—the ſubject of purgatory and indulgences. One never can think of this point of diſpute between the two Churches without being reminded of the malignant, yet, it muſt be confeſſed, amuſing ſneer of Gibbon at the quarrel raiſed on this point betwixt Greeks and Latins at the Council of Florence. "With regard," he ſays, "to purgatory, both parties were agreed in the belief of "an intermediate ſtate of purgation for the venial ſins of the "faithful; and whether their ſouls were purified by elemental "fire, was a doubtful point, which, in a few years, might be "more conveniently ſettled on the ſpot by the diſputants." But, when we find our author bringing forward the univerſal uſe of prayers for the dead as an argument for purgatory, that is, in the ordinary ſenſe of the word, one cannot but remember the exclamation of the very able author of a work which we noticed ſome few years ago, *Quelques Mots ſur les Communions Orientales:* "Poor Latin! He cannot even pray for a departed "friend, according to his own rationaliſtic principles, without "believing him to be in penal fires!" Let us give our author the full benefit of what he has to ſay on the ſubject:—

The churches, both of Rome and Conſtantinople, have never ceaſed, even to the preſent day, from ſaying both high and low maſſes for the deliverance and the refreſhment of departed ſouls; they have never ceaſed to celebrate particular days in commemoration of the dead; on thoſe days to offer ſpecial prayers, and to recommend almſgiving to the poor; to recommend contributions to religious or charitable houſes, or offerings to churches on behalf of the dead; to give indulgences, or acts of remiſſion for the ſins of the departed (in Greek, μετριότητες or συγχωροχάρται); and, in a word, to exerciſe everything which has to do with this univerſal belief. The very beggars in the ſtreets of Conſtantinople as well as of Rome, of the whole Eaſt as well as of the whole Weſt, relying on this belief, endeavour to obtain the compaſſion of paſſers-by, by ſaying—"For the reſt of the ſoul of your father! For the reſt of the ſoul of your mother! For the refreſhment of the ſouls of

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your relations! For the ſouls of thoſe who have been dear to you!" And the like.

It is ſcarcely poſſible that any one, unleſs he choſe to deceive himſelf, ſhould confound the ſimple and primitive belief of the Eaſtern Church in this matter with the later additions of the Weſt. Only compare the ordinary expreſſions employed by the two communions. Compare the pictures that abound through the whole of the ſouth of Europe of the ſouls in purgatory, identical in everything except eternity with the tablet exhibited by Deſpair to the Red Croſs Knight:—

> To bring him to deſpair, and quite to quail,
> He ſhowed him painted on a table plain
> The damnèd ghoſts that do in torments wail;
> And thouſand fiends that do them endleſs pain
> With fire and brimſtone, which for ever ſhall remain.

Compare alſo the doctrine inculcated in ſuch hymns as thoſe of our modern Engliſh Oratorians:—

> In pains beyond all earthly pains,
> Favourites of JESUS, there they lie;
> Letting the fire purge out their ſtains,
> And worſhipping GOD'S purity.
> O Mary! let thy SON no more
> His lingering ſpouſes thus expect;
> His ranſomed to the LORD reſtore,
> And to the SPIRIT His elect!

Compare them, we ſay, with devotions not of ten years, but of twelve or fourteen centuries, ſuch as theſe in the early Syrian Liturgies:—

And at Thy ſpiritual and holy altar, O LORD, grant reſt, a good memory, and felicity to all the ſouls, bodies, and ſpirits of our fathers, brothers, and maſters, who, in whatever region, in whatever city or part of the world have departed, or were ſuffocated in the ſea or in rivers, or died in journeyings, and of whom there is no memory in the churches which have been eſtabliſhed by Thee upon earth. Give, O LORD, to all of them a good memory, who have departed and migrated to Thee in the orthodox faith, together with them whoſe names are written in Thy Book of Life. And to all of them who, having finiſhed the courſe of this life, have appeared perfect and illuſtrious in Thy preſence, and, having been ſet free from the ſea of their iniquities, have approached to Thee, our Father and Brother according to the fleſh in this life, grant, O LORD, reſt in that ſpiritual and mighty boſom. Give them the ſpirit of joy in the habitations of light and happineſs, in the tabernacles of ſhade and quiet, in the treaſures of bleſſedneſs, wherein every ſorrow is exiled afar; where the ſouls of the pious, without any labour, await the firſt-fruits of life, and the ſpirits of juſt men in like manner look forward to the end of the promiſed reward; to that region where the labourers and the weary look towards paradiſe, and they that are invited long for the wedding-feaſt of the celeſtial bridegroom;

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where they that are called to the banquet wait till they may aſcend thither, and ardently deſire to receive that new garment of glory; where every diſtreſs is baniſhed, and where joys are found.

Or again:—

Remember, O LORD, thoſe alſo who have pleaſed Thee from the beginning; and eſpecially the holy, glorious Mother of GOD, and ever Virgin Mary; John Baptiſt; Stephen, the prince of deacons and proto-martyr; with the other Prophets and Holy Apoſtles, and pious fathers, who have departed. Remember alſo, O LORD, all the departed faithful who have left this life and have gone to Thee. Receive theſe oblations, which we offer to Thee this day for them, and give them reſt in the boſom of bleſſed Abraham. With the hope of Thy mercy, all the departed have received reſt, and look for Thy mercies, O our GOD that art to be worſhipped. Vouchſafe that they may hear that quickening voice to call them and bring them to Thee, and that they may be invited to Thy kingdom. Grant alſo to us a quiet departure, through Thy grace; and do away our ſins through Thy mercy.

Or again:—

By the ſacrifice which we have this day offered, may the LORD and His holy and elect angels be appeaſed; and by it may He beſtow repoſe and good memory on His Mother and His Saints, and all the departed faithful; and principally on him for whom and for whoſe cauſe this ſacrifice has been offered.

Or again:—

Furthermore, alſo, we commemorate all the departed faithful who have departed in the true faith from this holy altar, and from this village, and from whatever region, who have in times paſt fallen aſleep and reſted in the true faith and have come to Thee, the LORD GOD of ſpirits and of all fleſh. We aſk, we beſeech and implore CHRIST our GOD, who has received to Himſelf their ſouls and ſpirits, that through the abundance of His mercy, He would make them worthy of the forgiveneſs of their offences, and the remiſſion of their ſins; and would grant that both they and we may attain to His kingdom in heaven. Remember alſo, O LORD, orthodox prieſts who have departed this life—deacons, ſubdeacons, ſingers, readers, interpreters, choriſters, exorciſts, monks, religious perſons, virgins that have obſerved perpetual chaſtity, and thoſe who have lived in the world, who have departed this life in the true faith, and thoſe of whom each one of us is now thinking. LORD GOD of ſpirits and of all fleſh, remember all whom we remember, who have departed out of this life in the orthodox faith: give reſt to their ſouls, bodies, and ſpirits, ſetting them free from the infinite damnation that is to come, and making them worthy of the joy which is in the boſom of Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob: where the light of Thy countenance ſhines; whence grief, miſery, and lamentation are baniſhed, and impute not to them any of their ſins. Enter not into judgment with Thy ſervants, for in Thy ſight ſhall no man living be juſtified; nor is there any man free from the ſtain of ſin, or free from defilement among men that are upon the earth, except thine only-begotten SON, our LORD JESUS CHRIST, alone; through whom we truſt to obtain the remiſſion of ſins which is given, for His ſake, both for ourſelves and for them.

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If any one chooſes, in the face of theſe and innumerable other like examples, to aſſert that the Weſtern doctrine of purgatory is held by the Eaſtern Church, it is difficult to ſee the uſe of arguing with him further. It is clear, in the firſt place, that the place—call it by what name you will—in which the ſouls of the departed faithful have their preſent habitation, is held, throughout the whole of the Eaſtern Liturgies, to be a place of reſt and gladneſs, and that there is not one ſingle alluſion to, or hypotheſis concerning, the "pains beyond all earthly pains," which modern Latin writers have held: in the ſecond place, that their liturgies pray in exactly the ſame terms for the ſaints, and even, in the earlieſt examples, for the Bleſſed Virgin Mary herſelf, as thoſe in which they intercede for every departed Chriſtian. And an additional proof that the doctrine of the two Churches is not identical may be found in the fact that, in thoſe liturgies which have held their ground among certain Latinizing portions of the Eaſtern Church, the expreſſions in queſtion have been altered, ſo as to become more conſonant with Roman teaching; and inſtead of ſupplicating for the repoſe of the ſaints, they now aſk for their interceſſion.

Our author endeavours to maintain the identity of belief between the two communions, by producing a paſſage or two in which the place of departed ſouls is named *Catharterion*; a fact which proves nothing in the world except (what no one will deny) that the Eaſtern Church believes that departed ſpirits, from the time of their ſeparation from the body till the day of judgment, acquire progreſſive degrees of holineſs, it may alſo be of happineſs, and may therefore be ſaid to paſs through various ſtages of purification. The word *Catharterion* is of very rare uſe in Oriental books of devotion; but were it the eſtabliſhed phraſe, it would no more prove that the Greeks therefore held the Latin idea of purgatory, than their employment of the expreſſion *metouſioſis* proves them to hold the Latin doctrine of tranſubſtantiation. In the latter caſe, as is well known, the Eaſtern Church has authoritatively declared that, while ſhe uſes the word as a convenient one, ſhe does not uſe it in the ſcholaſtic ſenſe; but firmly holding, and unalterably teaching, that the bread and wine are really, truly, and ſubſtantially changed into the Body and Blood of our LORD, and are therefore to be adored, ſhe leaves the manner in which the change is wrought, as regards all ſuch queſtions as thoſe of accidents and ſpecies, undefined.

The other argument relied on by M. Pitzipios is taken from the indulgences, or moderations, as they are called (μετριότητες), given by the Eaſtern prelates; and more eſpecially that remark-

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able rite of the abſolution of the dead. A very early example of a ſimilar uſage occurs in the inſtance of the Empreſs Eudoxia, the perſecutreſs of S. John Chryſoſtom. The legend relates that the ſepulchre of that princeſs was miraculouſly ſhaken with an earthquake for thirty-five years after her death; that when the relics of the ſaint were tranſlated, under Theodoſius the Younger, to Conſtantinople, that emperor deſired the patriarch S. Proclus to offer the liturgy for the repoſe of his mother; and that when that prelate came to the words, "Peace to the people! Peace to Eudoxia!" the trembling of the earth ceaſed, and never afterwards occurred.

Other tales of a ſimilar character are to be found in Oriental hiſtory, but they have no more to do with any belief in a Latin purgatory than our popular traditions of haunted houſes, or ſpirits that "walk," prove our poor people to hold the Roman dogma. As the abſolutions of the dead are explained by the beſt writers, they mean nothing more than a declaration to others either that the deceaſed would have died in the communion of the Church, or with the open profeſſion of repentance, had time and ſpace been allowed. For it is certain that prayers are alſo ſaid in the Eaſt for thoſe who are held to be loſt (ἀφωρίσμενοι), and to have become, as the popular ſuperſtition goes, "katakhanades," "vrukolakai," or vampires, to the effect that it may pleaſe GOD that their bodies ſhould return to duſt; it being held that, in the caſe of thoſe who have died under the ban of the Church, a part of their puniſhment conſiſts in the indiſſolubility of their corpſe.

We will now turn to another portion of our author's work. In its ſecond portion he relates, at conſiderable length, the acts of the Council of Florence, and expoſes with ſome ability the impoſſibility of any general Council of the Eaſt having been held at Conſtantinople ſubſequently to that Synod, and previouſly to the fall of the Byzantine empire, in which the act of reunion was ſolemnly repealed. Long before him, Lequien had proved that the acts of that pretended Council bore on their very face evident tokens of impoſture. Thence our author argues that the reunion, having been formally accepted by the Eaſt as well as the Weſt, is ſtill binding on both. But, in real truth, there was no neceſſity for any ſuch Eaſtern Council to repudiate the union; an union in which, under the miſerable preſſure of circumſtances, and under the hope of at any rate ſtaving off the fall of the imperial city, the Greeks gave up everything, and received nothing in return. It was received with one burſt of diſapprobation throughout the whole of the Oriental communion; and the hero of the day was then, and is ſtill, Mark of Epheſus,

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the uncompromiſing opponent of Latiniſm, and of the union. It is impoſſible to think of the Council of Florence, which, with all its failures, was certainly a memorable aſſembly, without being ſtruck with the enormous conſequences which ſometimes hinge on apparently trivial circumſtances. Had the Eaſtern prelates joined the Council of Baſle inſtead of that of Ferrara, probably the whole ſtate of Chriſtendom would have been changed. Even ſingle-handed, the Fathers of Baſle had very nearly accompliſhed "the reformation of the Church, its head and members," and depoſed Eugenius, as their predeceſſors of Conſtance had depoſed Gregory XII. and John XXII. If they ſo nearly ſucceeded when the balance of Papal power had received ſuch an increaſe by the arrival of the Greeks, their ſucceſs muſt have been abſolutely certain had that balance been thrown on their own ſide. And to what remarkable conſequences might their own oppoſition to Ultramontaniſm, ſtrengthened a thouſandfold as it would have been by the intermixture of Oriental prelates among them, have given riſe in the future deſtinies of Europe and its future hiſtory of the Church! And this great queſtion was ſolved—by what?—by the ſuperior ſwiftneſs of the Papal galleys over thoſe employed by the Council. Both commanders had orders to ſink, if they could, their rivals in the paſſage; and it was on the ſuperior ſkill of Condolmieri, the Papal admiral, that the fate of Chriſtendom hung. One remarkable circumſtance connected with the Council is not generally known, and it would not have ſuited our author's purpoſe to mention. The firſt edition of the Acts of the Synod that were publiſhed entitled it the *Eighth* Œcumenical Council: the Church of Rome thus tacitly allowing that the Synods between the ſecond of Nicæa and that had no claim to the title of univerſal.*

But although it is very true that no general Council of the Eaſt did immediately repudiate the union,† our author forgets, or finds it convenient not to remember, that a general Oriental Council has been held ſince, which completely aſſumes the ſeparation of the two Churches. We refer, of courſe, to that of Bethlehem, in 1672, taken in connection with that of Jaſſy, which immediately preceded it. Though ſeveral of the Fathers who aſſiſted at each, including the patriarch Doſitheus himſelf, were ſuſpected of Roman tendencies, nothing is more clear than

* [See "The Hiſtory of the Council of Florence," tranſlated from the Ruſſ, [by Mr. Popoff. Masters, 1861.]

† [At the ſame time, the Eaſtern patriarchs did, unitedly, before the fall of Conſtantinople, repudiate the Council.]

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that the whole ſpirit of both Councils repudiated every idea of the reunion at Florence then exiſting.

It is only natural that a Uniat like our author ſhould make the moſt of the great corruptions and diſorganization which undoubtedly exiſt in the mutilated and diſmembered Church of the Eaſt. He dwells principally on two; the ſecular power—or, as he calls it, tyranny—exerciſed by the Eaſtern biſhops over thoſe of their own rite, and the final appeal in ſome eccleſiaſtical queſtions lying in a Muſſulman court. On the latter point, he tells a ſtory which, whether true or not, is at leaſt amuſing; and if we tranſlate the Vizier's court into the Privy Council, and the Armenians and Greeks into the Biſhop of Exeter *v.* Gorham, or Ditcher *v.* Deniſon, we may learn a uſeful leſſon for ourſelves. He writes:—

"That is to ſay, the Ottoman government (which cannot "judge any affairs upon other principles than thoſe of the "Koran) is the authority which ought to judge and decide in "final appeal, religious queſtions, and explain, define, and ſolve "all the doubts and diſcuſſions of the Eaſtern patriarchs, when "they cannot agree among themſelves in the exerciſe of their "functions. Indeed, we have had a very ſtriking example of "this ſort of juriſdiction. About fifty years ago, the Clergy of "the Oriental rite, and thoſe of the Armenians, diſputed at Con"ſtantinople, accuſing each other of having corrupted the cuſ"toms of the Chriſtian religion. The former accuſed the latter "of not mixing water with the wine which they uſed in the "Holy Sacrament; and the Armenians accuſed thoſe of the "Oriental rite becauſe they made uſe of it; the diſpute increaſed, "and at laſt, according to the *exiſting rules*, the affair was brought "before the Reiz Effendi of that epoch. The Muſſulman "miniſter, after having heard the complaints of the two parties, "pronounced the following ſentence:—'*Wine is an impure liquor*, "'*accurſed and forbidden by the Koran; it ought not, therefore*, "'*to be employed at all; why do you not uſe pure water?*'"

It will be well that we ſhould give a glance at the affairs of the Conſtantinopolitan Church immediately after the capture of the city by the Turks. The Œcumenical throne was then vacant, and Mahomet II. was at a loſs how to treat with the vaſt body of Chriſtians which abounded in his new empire. He inquired for the patriarch, not knowing of the vacancy of the ſee; and on being appriſed of it, gave orders that the Chriſtians ſhould proceed, according to their uſual cuſtom, to the choice of his ſucceſſor. They obeyed, and the election fell on George Scholarius, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the Council of Florence by his promotion of the union, and who took the name

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of Gennadius. The Sultan reſolved on inveſting the patriarch elect, as the Chriſtian emperors had done; and, accordingly, ſeated on his throne, delivered the paſtoral ſtaff to him, and a mantle, with the words pronounced in Greek, "The HOLY "TRINITY, which has given me the empire, elects thee, by me, "Archbiſhop of Conſtantinople, New Rome, and Œcumenical "Patriarch." At the ſame time, he gave him unlimited juriſdiction over the temporal as well as the ſpiritual affairs of the members of his Church; and, at the emperor's requeſt, Gennadius drew up an epitome of the principles of the Chriſtian religion, which he preſented to Mahomet. Now, Pitzipios argues that the union of Florence did *bonâ fide* ſubſiſt during the patriarchate of this eccleſiaſtic; that if he did not requeſt his confirmation from the Pope, it was becauſe he feared to irritate the Sultan; and that if, in his principles of the Chriſtian religion, he made no reference to the neceſſity of communion with Rome, it was becauſe the Papal See was engaged in the moſt vigorous efforts for the re-eſtabliſhment of the Byzantine empire; as, for example, when Pius II. convoked a Council at Mantua for that purpoſe in 1459, or when, three years earlier, the Turkiſh army of 160,000 men had ſuffered a diſgraceful defeat from Hunniades and the Papal Miſſionary S. John Capiſtran. But there does not ſeem any reaſon to regard Gennadius as any further a Roman partizan than as he might hope for Weſtern aid by purſuing a temporiſing policy; and it is certain that Mark of Epheſus, the undaunted defender of the Oriental faith, would have denounced the new Patriarch as inclined to the Latin communion, had ſuch been the caſe. To Gennadius ſucceeded Iſidore II, who held the ſee but a very ſhort time; to him Joaſaph I, ſurnamed *Cocas*, or *Cuſas*, who, after various diſputes with his Clergy, was baniſhed by the Sultan; and to him again, Mark I, ſurnamed *Xylocarabes*. Theſe four were legitimately and canonically elected as their predeceſſors had been; but after that time began the ſyſtem of ſimony, which has inflicted ſo ſevere a wound on the diſcipline of the Church of Conſtantinople. M. Pitzipios relates the hiſtory as a Latin; but there is, unfortunately, only too much truth in his narration:—

In the year 1467, a ſimple monk of Trebizond, named Symeon, made uſe of ſimony in the nomination of the patriarch. This villain had, in the court of the Sultan, ſome friends among his countrymen who had embraced Iſlamiſm ſince the taking of Conſtantinople; he ſucceeded, through their intervention, in buying the patriarchal ſee, by offering to the government an annual tribute of 1,000 ducats; and, moreover, on condition of renouncing the penſion which the patriarchs had till then received from the public treaſure. But the following year, Dionyſius, Biſhop of Philippopolis, enjoying the protection of the Sultan's mother, increaſed the patriarchal tri-

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bute to 2,000 ducats, and having caused Symeon to be deposed, he became himself Patriarch of Constantinople. A Servian, named Raphael, a vulgar and dissipated man, who passed his life in taverns and in other public places, found means of offering the government to add to the tribute of 2,000 ducats, a sum of 500 ducats, payable at one time, as a present for each new nomination; and having caused Dionysius to be driven away, he occupied, in his turn, the patriarchal see of Constantinople. From this time, the annual tribute of the patriarch was fixed at 2,000 ducats, and 500 ducats as a present to the government for the nomination of each new patriarch. In the meantime, these wolves in sheep's clothing, struggling to seize upon the patriarchal dignity, in order to procure the means of sucking, like vampires, the blood of these unfortunate Christians, soon caused the annual tribute of the patriarch to amount to 3,000 ducats, and 500 ducats present to the Ottoman government for each new nomination. Besides this sum, there were others also, much more considerable, which they paid to the powers of the day, to the eunuchs of the palace, and the favourite women; to the janissaries, to the Jewish bankers in favour with the Turks; to the servants of the great, and to all the most vile intriguers who could favour in any way their efforts to occupy this eminent post. The unhappy Christian people paid by their sufferings and their toils all these enormous sums to procure for themselves tyrants and torturers.

The patriarch, in concert with his Council, or Synod, endeavoured also to obtain the right of naming arbitrarily, and without observing any of the Canons of the Church, all the bishops, and even all the curates. The same system of plunder was employed in the choice which he made of the spiritual, at the same time temporal pastors, which this *soi-disant* chief of the Eastern Church gave to this unfortunate flock. Nevertheless, very often the bishops found it more advantageous to purchase their see through the intervention of some powerful person, or some courtezan, than directly from the patriarch.

Even the Turks were so much struck by the infamous conduct of the patriarchs and higher clergy of Constantinople, that the Sultans no longer themselves gave the new patriarch the investiture with attributes of his dignity. It was the Grand Vizier who subsequently filled this office; he caused the new patriarch to be invested before him with a cloak, recommended him to love and protect the people who were confided to him, to keep them faithful to the government, and to direct them like a true pastor. After this ceremony he dismissed him, and the new patriarch returned to his residence, accompanied by some janissaries. This ceremony is scrupulously observed to the present day.

"The Ottoman government," says our author, in a note, "deprived the patriarchs of Constantinople of the honour of investiture by the Sultan, at the ignominious death of Parthenius III. in 1657." Would not any one think, taking this note in context with what has been quoted before, that it was on account of some great crime on the part of the patriarch that this custom had been interrupted? The real fact being that Parthenius was most unjustly accused of a treasonable correspondence with the Tsar, Michael Theodorovitch, and, without any form of trial, was hung at the gate called Barnak-capi. In like manner, some fourteen years before, Cyril Lucar had perished by the Sultan's order; and in our own times a similar tragedy was enacted, when the aged and venerable patriarch was hung in his

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epiſcopal robes at the door of his own houſe in 1821, on occaſion of the Greek war of liberation.

It is not, then, to be wondered at, that, expoſed to depoſition as an ordinary puniſhment, and occaſionally in danger of death itſelf, Œcumenical patriarchs ſhould have exhibited a blind ſubſerviency to the will of their Mahometan lords. Add to which, that there came down to them, from the times of the Byzantine empire, as ſtrong a tradition of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance as the non-jurors inherited from their predeceſſors, the divines of the Stuarts. Nevertheleſs, there *have* been noble examples of reſolute oppoſition to the will of the Sultan; and not the leaſt remarkable of theſe occurred at the beginning of the Ruſſian war. At that time, when there was conſiderable fear of a Chriſtian outbreak in Conſtantinople, and throughout Turkey in Europe,—an outbreak which would beyond meaſure (on the modern principle of non-interference) have perplexed the allies,—it alſo happened that a practical difference had ariſen, as we have ſeen, between the Church of Conſtantinople and that of Ruſſia on the validity of Latin baptiſm. The Turkiſh miniſtry, availing itſelf adroitly of the diſpute, and not, we fear, unſeconded by the influence of Lord Stratford de Redclyffe, propoſed to the then patriarch, Anthimus, to iſſue a formal declaration that Ruſſia had ſevered itſelf from the orthodox Church, and that the religion for which ſhe profeſſed to be fighting was not the religion of Conſtantinople. "No," ſaid Anthimus, "I am "ready, if need be, to lay down the patriarchate, but ſuch a de-"claration I will never make." And his conduct is deſerving of the higher commendation, becauſe it is well known that Conſtantinople has always regarded, firſt the patriarchate of Moſcow, and, ſubſequently, the holy governing Synod of all the Ruſſias, with ſome natural degree of jealouſy. How far this boldneſs of His Holineſs was remembered by thoſe whom it offended, and led to his depoſition, is a different queſtion.

At the ſame time it cannot be denied that the ſyſtem of the *Peſceſium*, the gratuity demanded by the Sublime Porte at the nomination of every patriarch, has led to the moſt diſaſtrous conſequences. Thoſe who have not freely received have in their turn been unwilling freely to give. And making all allowance for the exaggeration of the picture which Pitzipios draws, here again, alſo, we muſt confeſs there is too much truth in the following picture:—

"The metropolitans of Chalcedon, Epheſus, Derki, Hera-"clia, Cyzicus, and Nicomedia, are of the number of the eight "metropolitans who are members by right of the Supreme "Council or Holy Synod of the patriarchate of Conſtantinople.

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"They have in their hands the administration of all the Church "of the Oriental rite in Turkey, the funds of the general com- "munity of Christians of this rite, and that of the provinces of "the same rite, inhabitants of the Ottoman empire; they only "can be *Ephori*, or agents, of all the other bishoprics of the "provinces of Turkey which belong to the jurisdiction of the "Church of Constantinople; they only can also establish banks, "called by them ἐφορικαὶ κασσαί, give letters of exchange, and "transact other similar business of a banker, with their clients, "clergy, people, Jews, and foreign merchants of every nation. "They have also by distinction the qualification of *Peers* and "*Senators*, or Primates (ἰσοδύναμοι καὶ γέροντες), and the title of "σεβασμιώτατος, which is considered equal to that of the *Eminence* "of the Cardinals of the Church of Rome. These metropoli- "tans had anciently these high ranks and privileges, (which have "been for this reason afterwards confirmed by the Sublime "Porte, on the foundation of a regulation proposed by the "Patriarch Samuel in 1740,) because their sees were formerly "illustrious cities, or chief towns of great provinces. But now "Chalcedon, Ephesus, Derki, Heraclia, Cyzicus, and Nicome- "dia, on account of political changes, are nothing more than "villages, or little hamlets. Now, if the principle is admitted, "that the political change of a country ought to affect the hier- "archical order of its ecclesiastical see, the above-mentioned six "eminent bishoprics ought, since the decay of the cities of their "own sees, to give up their superior rights, as well as their titles "and privileges, to the Bishops of Smyrna, Candia, Thessalo- "nica, Joannina, Chios, Samos, Rhodes, Mitylene, and those "other cities which are the most illustrious and the most populous "of the existing cities of the East. Nevertheless, the bishops "of these actually great and illustrious cities only reckon in the "hierarchical order (which is acted upon in the present day in "the Church of Constantinople,) fifteen, twenty, and thirty "degrees below the above-mentioned privileged eminent metro- "politans, although the sees of the latter are no more than "villages. They preserve, however, intact and entire, all their "ancient rights and privileges, because the Church of Constanti- "nople acknowledges and supports the immutable principle that "*things divine are not to be regulated according to the changes of* "*things human.*"

Or again:—

"This fund was first created to provide for the fines which "the local authorities, and more often private Mussulmans, ex- "acted in the time, of the Janissaries, from indigent Christians

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" under various pretexts. They are of two different kinds: the " fund of the general community of all Chriſtians of the Oriental " rite in the Ottoman empire, and the fund of the provinces of " Chriſtains of the ſame rite, which was created alſo for the ſame " end. Theſe funds are both adminiſtered by theſe privileged " metropolitans, and ſome of the laity, choſen from among the " old ſervants of their Eminences. Theſe individuals form a " ſort of band of robbers, called by courteſy, '*Commiſſion for* " *the debts of the National Community!*' The capital of theſe " funds is formed of ſums, greater or ſmaller, eſpecially the fund " of the general community, contributed by all the Chriſtians of " the Ottoman empire, under the titles of legacies, gratifications, " aids, fines, &c., and loans which their Eminences, and even " the biſhops of the provinces, make in the name of the com- " munity and of the provinces. The people are reſponſible for " the extinction of this debt: their Eminences alſo would render " them an exact account of the employment of the enormous " ſums which fell into their hands, as well as of thoſe which they " borrow, if unfortunately, and through the ordinary malevolence " of the devil, the flames of various conflagrations did not de- " vour from time to time all the archives of the Commiſſion, and " if prudence did not oblige theſe excellent paſtors never to mark " in the documents of the Commiſſion either the names of the " different Muſſulmans to whom they continually give conſider- " able ſums as a preſent, or the circumſtances in which theſe pre- " ſents are given. What, then, do theſe good people know of " the deſtination of the ſums which they offer, and of thoſe " which are borrowed at their expenſe, and which one day they " will have to pay a ſecond time for the extinction of that debt? " All that the people know of this debt is, that in 1830 it " amounted to the ſum of 400,000 piaſtres, and that ſince that " time till the year 1851, though there no longer exiſted in " Turkey either Janiſſaries or pecuniary fines on the part of the " local authorities, or of private Muſſulmans, the ſum of this " debt ſuddenly roſe to the extraordinary amount of 7,000,000 " piaſtres!!! Doubtleſs, it is not to ſuch adminiſtrators that " the LORD will ſay—'Well done, good and faithful ſervant; " 'thou haſt been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler " 'over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy LORD.'"

"The aforeſaid eight eminent metropolitans have ſhared " among themſelves for about ſixty years the ſuperintendence " and the protection of the other 134 biſhops of the provinces, " of which they call themſelves Ephori. The number of the " biſhops of the provinces that each metropolitan Ephor has " under his ſuperintendence, or eſpecial but official protection, is

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"very variable. It is not regulated by any relation or propor-
"tion; it depends abſolutely on the ſkill and addreſs of the
"metropolitan Ephor, or the temporal influence of the protector,
"or aſſociate of this Ephor, who is always one of the lay Chriſ-
"tians in favour with the Ottoman Porte. Thus, there are
"Ephori who have had at certain times a clientage of from
"thirty to forty biſhops. Theſe metropolitan Ephori alone have
"the right of forming the above-mentioned banks. Each has
"his Ephoric funds. The capital of theſe funds is compoſed of
"the pence of widows and orphans, and others of the people,
"from whom their Eminences borrow."

The laſt portion of our author's work is devoted to a conſideration of the poſſibility and practicability of a union between the two Churches. He lays down three preliminaries as neceſſary to ſuch an end. The firſt is, a clearing up of the abſurd miſtakes which exiſt on the one ſide and on the other with reſpect to the Communion; the ſecond, the complete emancipation of Eaſtern Chriſtians from the temporal power of the Patriarch of Conſtantinople; the third, the re-adjuſtment of the hierarchical ſyſtem of the Eaſt in agreement with the requirements of the preſent age.

It is very eaſy to ſee one ſide of any queſtion. Our author forgets to take into conſideration the re-adjuſtment of the Weſtern ſyſtem, at leaſt equally neceſſary before any true union can be realized. For conſider: let us imagine, for one moment, that a doctrinal union between the two Churches were to-morrow to take place; how would Rome find herſelf ſituated with reſpect to the patriarchal ſyſtem, which the Orientals regard as the baſis of the whole government of the Church? In the firſt place, Antipatriarchs of Conſtantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jeruſalem, perſonages whoſe chief function appears to be to ſwell the ranks of proceſſions at Rome, or to figure with the greater luſtre as cenſors of books. Here is a difficulty to begin with; but this is only the commencement. Next, having already a Roman Patriarch of Antioch, we have alſo a Roman Patriarch of the Jacobites, a Roman Patriarch of the Neſtorians, and, beſides all this, a Spaniſh eccleſiaſtic with the title of Patriarch of the Indies; and add to theſe four, a Patriarch of the Maronites. All theſe are recognized and diſtinct officials, whoſe functions have merely had their riſe in that piecemeal ſyſtem of proſelytiſm which the Roman miſſionaries have adopted. Surely, before it could be expected that the orthodox Patriarch of Antioch could come into the communion of Rome, theſe other pretenders to his ſee muſt be ſwept away and aboliſhed. Add to this, the further complication of the Patriarchs of Venice and

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Liſbon—titles which naturally, and indeed rightly, would give the deepeſt offence to the Oriental Church. It is all very well for M. Pitzipios, and ſuch as he, to point out the Eaſtern reforms which would be neceſſary before any union could take place; but it is equally natural that Oriental divines ſhould have their eyes open to the crying abuſes of the Roman hierarchical ſyſtem in the Eaſt, and ſhould ſet down theſe as *their* preliminaries for the intercommunion of the Churches.

Then, with reſpect to Eaſtern rites and liturgies. We will give our author the advantage of excuſing what he conſiders the faults of Rome in this reſpect in his own words.

It is true that, for ſome time, circumſtances ariſing from the anomalous ſtate of the Eaſtern Chriſtians, have cauſed the unchangeable ſyſtem of the Church to be mixed up with the different manners of acting of ſome Catholic miſſionaries in theſe countries, and have occaſioned the wiſh of drawing the Orientals to the Latin rite, to be attributed to the Church of Rome. The clergy of Conſtantinople, profiting by the temporal power which the Ottoman government had conceded to them, ſince the fall of the Byzantine empire, over all Chriſtians of the Oriental rite, ſubjects of the Sublime Porte, fraudulently ſuſpended the continuation of the union of the Churches, accompliſhed by the act of the Council of Florence, and inſenſibly led theſe poor Chriſtians into a new ſchiſm, unjuſtifiable and impoſed by force. Then the Church of Rome, as ſoon as circumſtances allowed her to do ſo, deſpatched, as it was her duty to do, miſſionaries, whoſe taſk was to preach and endeavour to re-eſtabliſh in the Eaſt the union of the Churches, conformably to the act of the Council of Florence, fraudulently ſuſpended. But the miſſionaries delegated to the Eaſt by the Holy See for the purpoſe of bringing back theſe people to the unity of the Church, and eſpecially thoſe who, animated by zeal for the faith, took upon themſelves ſuch a charitable and important taſk, have not all followed the line of conduct which the Church had traced out for them, and from which ſhe herſelf has not for one moment deviated. Inſtead, therefore, of preaching to theſe Eaſtern Chriſtians the re-union of the Church, without attacking their cuſtoms and rites, which the Catholic Church has always reſpected, ſeveral of theſe miſſionaries, carried away by a zeal without knowledge, thought it their duty to convert theſe Chriſtians to the Latin rite. It is exactly the conduct of theſe miſſionaries, ſo praiſeworthy, nevertheleſs, for their zeal, which increaſed the antipathies of Oriental Chriſtians againſt the Church of Rome, ſince theſe miſſionaries, without underſtanding it, and without deſiring it, kindled the fire of diſcord and the hatred of the maſſes againſt the Holy See, and rather ſerved the intereſts of the clergy of Conſtantinople than thoſe of the Church. For theſe clergy, having baſed the conſolidation of their ſchiſm ſolely upon this hatred of the Eaſtern Chriſtians againſt the Holy See, applauded this miſtake of the miſſionaries! They profited admirably from this vicious manner of ſeeking for the re-eſtabliſhment of the union, and made the people believe that it was the aim of Rome to deſtroy the Eaſtern rite. Nevertheleſs, though ſhe has ſuffered all the conſequences, the Church of Rome cannot be accuſed of, nor conſidered reſponſible for, a ſyſtem which ſhe has never tolerated, but, on the contrary, has always authentically diſapproved of and condemned in all her official acts. Never has the Holy See, nor the Propaganda, which is her only official organ, given to any one the miſſion of converting the Eaſtern Chriſtians to the Latin rite.

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This, thanks to the ſuperior eccleſiaſtical knowledge of modern times, is true to a certain extent. But never let it be forgotten that the ſame Rome which aboliſhed the early Gallican liturgies —which cruſhed the Mozarabic rite till thoſe of that ſyſtem can be numbered by hundreds—which, at the Engliſh Reformation, refuſed to tolerate the Sarum and York books—which is now extirpating in France the national offices of the ſeventeenth and eighteenth centuries,—would have, had it lain in her power, deſtroyed, with equal readineſs, the venerable liturgies of the Eaſt. One of her moſt zealous miſſionaries, and, ſpite of all his faults, a true-hearted and excellent man, Menezes, Archbiſhop of Goa, ſo completely extirpated the rites of one of the moſt ancient Churches in the world—the Chriſtians of S. Thomas—that they are now abſolutely unknown. Of him it is recorded that, holding all their ordinations as invalid, becauſe not performed according to the Roman ritual, he cauſed thoſe prieſts who adhered to him to be re-ordained; and then, becauſe ſome miſtake had occurred in the details of the ceremony, to be ordained over again the third time. Every one knows—and no one complains more bitterly than Renaudot—that the Roman reviſions of Eaſtern liturgies make them abſolutely worthleſs; and that the changes wrought in the Syrian and Armenian offices have rendered them utterly unlike their original ſelves.

If any one deſires to know the view which the more intellectual portion of the Eaſtern Church takes, both of its own poſition, and of that of the "two Weſtern Communions," namely, Romaniſm and Proteſtantiſm, it cannot better be learnt than in that moſt able pamphlet to which we have already directed the attention of our readers, and which ſtands third on our liſt. There it will be ſeen that, juſt as a Proteſtant eye can ſee no difference between Romaniſm and Orientaliſm, ſo an Eaſtern eye can diſcover no eſſential diſcrepancy between the Latin and the Proteſtant Communions; regarding both as the religions of intellect, not of faith; both as the mere development, though it may be in different directions, of rationaliſm. To an Oriental, the ſubſtitution of affuſion for immerſion in baptiſm differs only in degree, not in kind, from the procraſtination of that ſacrament, as among Anabaptiſts, or its abſolute rejection, as among Quakers. The Eaſterns can ſee no eſſential difference between the denial of the chalice to the laity, the refuſal of confirmation and communion to infants, and the utter rejection of every pretence at apoſtolic ordination, which is the badge of ſo many diſſenting bodies.

It muſt be confeſſed, that one remarkable feature of the Eaſtern ſyſtem is the check which it holds—and which Rome is perfectly

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unable to hold—on rationaliſm. Our author relates, at ſome length, one of the moſt remarkable inſtances of its propagation.

Theophilus Caïry, prieſt of the Eaſtern Church, native of Andros, a man of great learning and exemplary morality, had, after the Greek revolution, travelled over all the cities of Europe, where there were any Chriſtians of his rite, and made a rich collection for eſtabliſhing, in Greece, a ſchool deſtined for the education of the orphan and indigent children of that nation. He founded it at Andros, in 1834, under the name of the *Inſtitution for Orphans*. The order, good morals, and progreſs which the pupils made in this ſchool, attracted thither a great number of young people from Greece and Turkey. Caïry, either from unmeaſured ambition, or for ſome political end, or from ſome other motive, then undertook to introduce into the Eaſt a new religion, under the name of Caïriſm, which was nothing elſe but the ſyſtem of the Deiſts, modified by ſome innovations of his own. In ſhort, he ſucceeded in attracting to this new religion, not only all the pupils of his ſchool, but alſo almoſt all the inhabitants of Andros, and even a great part of the curates of the villages, and a large number of the inhabitants of the neighbouring iſlands. The pupils of this ſchool, going to paſs their holidays with their parents, or returning to their country after having finiſhed their ſtudies, propagated everywhere the new religion, and in leſs than ſix years Caïriſm extended immenſely in Turkey and in Greece. The Government in Greece, on the one ſide, and the Patriarchate in Turkey on the other, put everything into motion to prevent its propagation. But, notwithſtanding their perſevering efforts, the committees of Caïriſm exiſt to the preſent day in the Eaſt, and work, although in ſecret, with the greateſt activity. Caïry was arreſted for the laſt time in Greece in 1851, for teaching religious principles forbidden by the laws of the country. Notwithſtanding the powerful oppoſition of his partizans, the government cauſed him to be tried. He was condemned by the tribunals to ſeven years' impriſonment. He died in priſon at the age of eighty-two years, ſome days after his condemnation.

Our author does not relate—perhaps becauſe it would not have ſtrengthened his poſition—the ſublime manner in which this deiſt was compelled to unmaſk himſelf. Called before an aſſembly of the prelates of Greece, he had prepared a long and ſophiſtical ſpeech, in which he had endeavoured to blind the eyes of his judges to his real deſigns. "We are perfectly ready," ſaid the preſident of the aſſembly, "to hear anything which you "can allege on your own behalf, and to give you every advan- "tage which you may fairly claim. But we are biſhops, and "you are a prieſt of the holy Eaſtern Church. Before, there- "fore, we proceed further, we ſhould wiſh you to repeat to us "the Creed of Nicæa." "With all my heart," ſaid Caïry; and he was about to begin, when the preſident again ſtopped him. "Stay," he ſaid; "that which you are now about to re- "peat with your lips you of courſe believe in your heart: and "in that ſenſe only my brethren and myſelf will hear you." "Why," returned Caïry, "in that caſe—I—in that caſe—per- "haps it would be better that you ſhould hear my apology, and "then I am ready to repeat anything that you may deſire."

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"You will repeat the Creed of Nicæa," returned the preſident, "as that which you yourſelf hold, or you will not be heard at "all." "I cannot do that," replied Caïry; "but I will defend "myſelf, if you will allow me." And on his refuſal to take this watchword of the Church in his own lips, this unhappy man was condemned without further ceremony.

From the brief account, then, which we have given of its contents, our readers will ſee that we conſider our author's work—awkward as is its arrangement, and barbarous as is its language—well worthy of their peruſal. But it is not by publications ſuch as theſe, where the one ſide is to gain, and the other to ſurrender, all, that the real cauſe of union will be promoted. It is of no uſe to tell us that the act of the Council of Florence has never been formally reſcinded; nor that—another argument of our author's—till the treaty of Münſter, the Pope was recognized by European diplomacy as the chief of all baptized Chriſtians. And the work of a convert will always fare ill with the communion from whom he has been converted: to them it will be the compoſition of an apoſtate, and, in the very nature of things, is ſure to be written with unneceſſary bitterneſs. We never have been, we never will be, advocates of that ſyſtem which would regard the Engliſh Church as perfection. But, nevertheleſs, it does ſeem as if, in the inſcrutable providence of GOD, a way were open to us to take the lead in that reconciliation of Chriſtendom, which we can hardly hope to ſee, but which thoſe who come after us certainly will. "Show Thy ſervants Thy work, and their children Thy glory." Once before, at all events, Britiſh biſhops have trembled on the verge of a reconciliation with the Eaſt. Once before, negotiations were far advanced between the Engliſh and Gallican churches. In treating with the Eaſt, *we* come with no pretenſions of ſuperiority, with no claims to domination; we come, free from many of the ſtumbling-blocks which Latin Chriſtianity preſents to their eyes—purgatory, indulgences, the denial of the cup to the laity, azymes; and in two of the liturgies out of the three branches of our communion, the Scotch and the American, we approximate very cloſely; we are identical, on all eſſential points, with thoſe of S. Chryſoſtom and S. Baſil. The queſtion of a married clergy would be no ſtumbling-block to the Orientals: and even our acknowledged faults, our miſerable Eraſtianiſm and dependence on ſtate tribunals, would not ſo much ſhock thoſe who are accuſtomed to the ſupremacy of the Tſar at S. Peterſburgh, or of the Sultan at Conſtantinople.

We hear much of the proſelytiſm exerciſed by Rome in the Eaſt, and of her great ſucceſs in bringing over converts to her-

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ſelf. It may be very much doubted whether the loſs of the Uniat Church in Ruſſia has not more than counterbalanced all the gain which, whether among individuals or ſcattered pariſhes, the Papal See has made during the laſt century. It is well known that the Armenians have a greater readineſs for reconciliation with Rome than any other communion of Oriental Chriſtians. Yet according to the account of Roman miſſionaries, during the laſt one hundred and fifty years, 200,000 is the outſide limit of converts. It muſt alſo be remembered, that beſides the great event of 1839, a perpetual proſelytiſm is carried on on the other ſide, and that the reſults of the two depend rather on political than on religious influence; much more on the preponderance of France or Ruſſia than on the zeal of Latin or Greek miſſionaries. Add to this, the paralyſed ſtate of the Roman church in Greece, its bondage and Eraſtianiſm, ſince the time of the infamous Siezenſtrevitch, in Ruſſia, and the degraded ſtate to which the Unia had been reduced in Poland, where Uniat and ſerf, noble and Catholic (that is, not merely of the Roman Church, but of the Latin rite) were convertible terms. In Ruſſia, then, in Greece, in the Principalities, and in the Oriental communion of the ſouth-eaſtern Auſtrian empire, the Eaſtern Church may be conſidered to be gaining ground upon her weſtern rival. But at Conſtantinople itſelf, in Aſia Minor, and, above all, in Paleſtine, the ſtate of things is reverſed, and there Rome reaps a plentiful harveſt, as well from the orthodox as from Armenians, Jacobites, and Neſtorians.

Although it is ſcarcely to be expected in our time, yet there can be but one concluſion to this miſerable ſtate of diſruption and laceration; the one remedy, which moderate Latins, like the Abbé Michon, have propoſed, which moderate Orientals, ſuch as his late Holineſs, Methodius of Antioch, would accept, a free and legitimate Œcumenical Council; not a council in which, like that of Florence, the extreme political diſtreſs of one party would oblige them to accept any conditions from the other, but the meeting of equals on an equality, and the ſettlement of differences, not by autocratic influence, whether ſecular or religious, but after a full and fair diſcuſſion, and by an unbiaſſed deciſion. So, and ſo only, may we hope that that bleſſed prophecy will be fulfilled—"The envy alſo of Ephraim ſhall depart, "and the adverſaries of Judah ſhall be cut off; Ephraim ſhall "not envy Judah, and Judah ſhall not vex Ephraim; but they "ſhall fly upon the ſhoulders of the Philiſtines, they ſhall lay "their hands upon Edom and Moab, and the children of Ammon "ſhall obey them."

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X.

THE LAW OF PRIMATES AND METROPOLITANS.

IT is curious to observe how the increasing strength and wide spread of the English Church has made some questions of immediately pressing importance, which, fifty years ago, would only have had an antiquarian interest. Had any one,—in the days, say, when the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews were first set up,—sat down to furnish a paper to either of them on the nature and extent of metropolitical jurisdiction, he would have known that he was only writing it for those who took an interest in Ecclesiastical antiquities, and that the so-called practical man, whether concerned with the politics of the State or the Church, would pass it by. The case is now widely altered. The authority of the metropolitans over their suffragans is a subject which must shortly be settled in some way or other; and the right or wrong settlement of which will further, or will retard, the welfare of the English Church and its various branches, more than almost any other that can be named.

Up to the beginning of the present century, what was the case with regard to our foreign possessions? When we had discovered, too late, that the want of a national Episcopate had been one of the causes which brought about the separation of the United States from the British Crown, we planted a Bishopric in Canada. The enormously increasing interests of India at length shamed us into sending a bishop to Calcutta. But with those two exceptions all our foreign dependencies were, or were supposed to be, under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London. Truly, when one looks back to that time, and compares the then with the present state of the English Church, it is enough to make us

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exclaim, "This is the LORD'S doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes." The poor little "United Church of England and Ireland," out of communion with Scotland, out of communion with America, with only its two foreign biſhops: that on the one ſide. On the other, the Engliſh Church now, with its Scotch ſiſter and American daughter, the latter outnumbering in its Epiſcopate the mother, and the colonial churches in all parts of the world increaſing in a ratio to which paſt Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory affords no parallel.

In thoſe old times what was the Metropolitical ſyſtem as regards ourſelves? At one period,—for nearly thirty years, eight metropolitans held rule in great Britain. The two of England, Canterbury and York; the four of Ireland, Armagh, Dublin, Tuam, and Caſhel; the two of Scotland, S. Andrew's and Glaſgow. The acceſſion of William of Orange aboliſhed the two laſt. Tuam and Caſhel fell before Lord Stanley's ſpoliation bill. But, "Inſtead of thy fathers thou ſhalt have children, whom thou mayeſt make princes in all lands."

And behold, we have already four, and ought to have five new metropolitans. Calcutta for India, Capetown for South Africa, Sydney for Auſtralia; New Zealand; thoſe we have already gained. It is clearly neceſſary that Canada ſhould have its own metropolitan; and ſurely the Weſt Indies are important enough to have a metropolitan of their own. The queſtion, then, which will ſoon have to be ſolved, is this: Do theſe new metropolitans owe any obedience whatever to the See of Canterbury? If ſo, what are its limits? In caſe—which is not only within the limits of poſſibility, but far within thoſe of probability—that Auſtralia ſhould ſome day contain within itſelf five or ſix independent republics, united only by good-will and Anglo-Saxon blood with England,—and we may make the ſame ſuppoſition with regard to Canada,—and how ſhould we ſtand in an eccleſiaſtical point of view then?

Notice further this: that while the primacy of Canterbury is almoſt, and that of York entirely, a dead letter, in the new metropolitanates the primatial power is a living and moving thing. The Biſhop of Calcutta is bound to viſit, metropolitically, the dioceſes of his ſuffragans once in three years; and, in order to do ſo with the utmoſt freedom, he is in the habit, when entering the dioceſe of his ſuffragans, of ſuſpending the inferior biſhop from all authority during his viſitation. Alſo we muſt notice that, in conſequence of their being unſhackled by the State, the colonial dioceſes, with their independent ſynods, with, in Canada, their free election of biſhops, and with their further removal from the ſeat of political government, are ſure to out-

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ſtrip the Mother Church in energy and progreſs. The two queſtions then, are: "What authority has the Colonial Metropolitan over his ſuffragans?" and, "What authority has the Archbiſhop of Canterbury over him?"

Now we will go back to the paſt, and ſee what we can learn from that. It is not worth while to carry our inveſtigations earlier than the fourth century; becauſe, till the Church was at external peace, it was hardly at liberty to attend to its internal organization. Look, then, at this organization as it exiſted after the Second Œcumenical Council. In the time of S. Ambroſe, and S. Auguſtine, and S. Jerome, what was it?

And firſt we have the three great patriarchates, though not as yet known by that name; Rome, Alexandria, Antioch. Next to them in poſition, though far inferior in power, Jeruſalem. Next came the three exarchates; Epheſus, with the dioceſe of Aſia, and twelve provinces; Cæſarea, with the dioceſe of Pontus, and thirteen provinces; Heraclea, with the dioceſe of Thrace, and ſix provinces. Next again to theſe came the primates of Theſſalonica, Carthage, and Milan. Now let us ſee of what ſize were the metropolitical provinces which made up theſe patriarchates and exarchates; and as Aſia Minor was then the garden of the Church, let us take that for our example. And firſt look at the dioceſe at Pontus. The firſt of its metropoles was that of Cappadocia, afterwards divided into three, but at this time one eccleſiaſtical province. This was ſomething more than 330 miles in its greateſt length, and 220 in its greateſt breadth. Truly an enormous province, and with ſingularly few biſhops. In this vaſt province we know but of fifteen ſees; each of which muſt therefore have been conſiderably larger than Engliſh biſhoprics of the preſent day. The next province was Armenia, afterwards in like manner divided into two, with its eighteen biſhoprics. Then we come to Galatia, alſo ſubſequently divided into two; about 220 miles in length, by half that diſtance in breadth. Here we have nineteen biſhoprics. Next comes the province of Pontus Polemoniacus, with eight biſhoprics, and about two-thirds the ſize of Galatia. Next to this Helenopontus, with eight biſhops alſo. After this we come to Paphlagonia, with Gangra for its metropolis. This, leſs in ſize than the other, had ſix biſhops. Bithynia, afterwards ſplit into three, holds the next place, with its metropolis Nicomedia; and could boaſt as many as thirty biſhops. Theſe compoſe the Pontic dioceſe; a total of ſeven, afterwards thirteen, provinces, and one hundred and four biſhops.

If we go on to the Aſiatic dioceſe, very much the ſuperior of the others in wealth and population, we ſhall find the number

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of biſhoprics increaſe in the ſame proportion. The province of Aſia, which included nearly Lydia and Myſia, had forty-three biſhops. Helleſpontus, under Cyzicum, had ſeventeen. Phrygia, afterwards divided into two, had under the metropolis of Laodicea no leſs than ſixty-two. Lydia, under Sardis, only a part of the ſecular province of that name, had twenty-ſix. Little Caria, under Miletus, had alſo twenty-ſix. The ſcattered Cyclades, under Rhodes, had nineteen. Lycia, the ſmalleſt of the provinces, about fifty-five miles in breadth by ſixty in length, that is, not half as big again as Suſſex, had no leſs than thirty-two biſhops. Pamphylia, under Side, had thirty-ſeven. Piſidia, under Antioch, alſo a ſmall province, twenty-five. And laſtly, Lycaonia had eighteen. This gives a total for the Aſiatic dioceſe of more than three hundred biſhops; a number exceeding all thoſe of Roman Catholic Europe, Italy excepted.

Now at that early period we find the metropolitan exerciſing a veto on the election of a biſhop, in ſome caſes apparently alone, in ſome acting with a ſynod of the com-provincials. The twelfth canon of Laodicea ſpeaks very plainly; "Biſhops are "not to be inſtituted without the conſent of the metropolitans and "of the neighbouring biſhops,"—by which laſt expreſſion we underſtand the ſuffragans of the ſame province. But the Council of Antioch is the fulleſt in its Canons with reſpect to the duties and rights of a metropolitan. The ninth canon forbids that anything of great moment be undertaken without his ſanction; he is to be the mover of all that goes on in the dioceſe; no biſhop is to viſit the Court without his metropolitan's leave. That of Sardica ſays much the ſame thing; while that in Trullo plainly lays down the rule that the Civil is alſo to be the Eccleſiaſtical metropolis. And it cannot be doubted that this was a very prudent regulation. The Pro-conſul, or Prefect, or Count, or by whatever other name he might be called, concentrating the civil power in a city which only poſſeſſed an ordinary biſhop, would have been apt to overwhelm the Church with Eraſtianiſm: by the precaution taken, the Church concentrated her ſtrength on the ſame place, and met the civil authority on more equal grounds. It is worth while conſidering whether in this country, from the very beginning, the neglect of that rule has not been attended with diſaſtrous conſequences. The poſition of our metropolitans in cities which, but for them, would be perfectly inſignificant, has left the Church at a diſadvantage in connection with the ſecular power. So greatly was the inconvenience of a ſimilar arrangement felt in France, that Paris, after long remaining ſuffragan to the metropolitan of Sens, at length obtained

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her own archbiſhop: who naturally, though not officially, has ever ſince been conſidered one of the higheſt eccleſiaſtics in the kingdom. The miſerable ſtate of Spain we all know; and there Madrid, far from being the ſeat of a metropolitan, has not even a biſhop. The caſe was the ſame in Scotland, where the Primate was put away into a corner of the kingdom, if not very far from the civil metropolis, at leaſt in a place not to be got at without extreme inconvenience and difficulty; nor had Edinburgh a biſhop till the time of Charles I. Ireland was better off; ſince if Armagh were primate, the Metropolitan of Dublin took precedence at leaſt of the others. We may notice that it was in the fifth century that metropolitans attained their higheſt power. At that time they were not over-balanced by the abſolute ſupremacy of the patriarchates. The three exarchs hardly claimed much authority: Antioch had ſo vaſt a dioceſe, that its further metropolitans were neceſſarily pretty well autocephalous: Alexandria was the only metropolis of Egypt: the primate of Carthage exerciſed no very great control over the other metropolitans, as of Numidia and Mauritania. We muſt not forget to notice, that in Africa that canon of Antioch was never obſerved. There the metropolis of each province was not fixed; the eldeſt or moſt influential biſhop exerciſed the functions of metropolitan. The twenty-eighth canon of the third Council of Carthage forbids the biſhops of each province to croſs the ſea without the leave of the *primæ ſedis Epiſcopus*.

Let us draw leſſons for ourſelves as we go along. Surely it would be well if that canon were re-enacted for our colonial churches. The biſhops of the ſuffragan ſees there ſeem to have the moſt ſingular vocation for being in England. In fact, judging from the proceedings of many of them, one ſhould imagine that they had been conſecrated prelates abroad, merely that they might preach charity ſermons with greater emphaſis at home. And beſides the harm which the lengthened abſence of the dioceſan muſt effect among his own people, there is a ſerious queſtion ariſing out of this very ſubject. It may very well happen that the preſence of every biſhop in the province, who is capable of travelling, may be neceſſary for the conſecration of a new prelate. Either from objecting to an increaſe of the Epiſcopate, or from perſonal diſlike to the newly appointed biſhop, a ſuffragan takes himſelf off, and renders the conſecration impoſſible. A metropolitan ſurely ought to have the power of ſaying, "Go afterwards if you will, but at all events I will have you ſtay for this office."

If we go on in the fifth century, we ſhall find its concluſion diſtinguiſhed by an endeavour in the Weſtern Church, among

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the greater metropolitans, to become primates. There ſurely never was a more vague authority than that which this much coveted office beſtowed; and the abſolute titularity into which it ſank before long, would almoſt ſeem abſurd if we were not ſo uſed to it. It ſerved, however, as one of the many ſtepping-ſtones by which Rome attained to her preſent exaltation. In the fifth century the primacy of any kingdom was little more than the attachment of the Legantine office to its holder. At this time Seville was, beyond all doubt, the primatial ſee of Spain. And how does S. Simplicius of Rome write to S. Zeno in 482? "We have thought it fitting to ſupport thee with the "vicarial authority of our ſee, in order that, propped by its "ſtrength, thou mayeſt in no wiſe permit the decrees of apoſ-"tolical inſtitution, or the bounds of the holy fathers, to be "violated." And thirty-five years later, S. Hormiſdas, writing to Salluſt, Biſhop of the ſame ſee,—it is the twenty-ſixth epiſtle of that Pope,—appoints him his vicar through Bætica, the modern Andaluſia, and Luſitania, which was then nearly conterminous with the kingdom of Portugal. He does ſo, he ſays, for the better obſervation of canons and eccleſiaſtical diſcipline: but then, there is a "ſalvis privilegiis quæ metropolitanis epiſcopis detulit antiquitas." But then we find the ſame Pope in the ſame year appointing John of Tarragona his vicar over the reſt of Spain. Seville, however, obtained the primacy over that ſee alſo; for S. Leander, in the Third Council of Toledo,—he that drew up the firſt rough draft of the Mozarabic Office,—took precedence of the other archbiſhops: and ſo, at a later period, S. Iſidore of Seville preſided at the Fourth Council of Toledo, taking precedence of the Archbiſhops of Narbonne, Merida, Braga, Toledo, Tarragona. And their primacy continued at leaſt till the Twelfth Council of Toledo.

We find a ſimilar primacy attached in the fifth century to Arles, as regarded the Church of France. S. Hilarius, writing to Leontius of that ſee, conſtitutes him primate, with the power of aſſembling yearly national ſynods. By the ſtrength of this commiſſion, and as if to keep his hand in, we find the worthy primate calling S. Mamertus of Vienne to account for ordaining a Biſhop of Die, which was out of the bounds of his province. S. Ceſarius of Arles was in 514 made primate, not only of Gaul, but of the neighbouring provinces of Spain. It would appear that the conſent of the civil power was neceſſary for theſe arrangements: thus Vigilius, continuing the primacy to Auxanius of Arles, does ſo at the requeſt of King Childebert, and, what is more ſtrange, with the permiſſion of the Emperor Juſtinian.

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There ſeems to have been no ſimilar arrangement in the Eaſtern Church. There the rank of the different metropolitans was exactly aſcertained, as indeed it is to this day; and changes were from time to time made in their precedence, but always by the ſecular power. When a patriarch attached a kind of vicegerency to any diſtant ſee, that ſee was ſure in time to become virtually autocephalous. Thus Alexandria committed a vicarial juriſdiction to Axum in Ethiopia: and the Ethiopic Church, except that it always applied to head-quarters for a new primate, became perfectly independent. So Conſtantinople appointed a vicar, whether at Kieff or Moſcow, for the Ruſſian Church; and the metropolitans of Moſcow were virtually independent long before that city was raiſed to a fifth patriarchate. So again Georgia had its own autocephalous metropolitan; who for his part threw off another into Kartalenia. Antioch did the ſame thing in two ways: in the one direction, the Catholic of Chaldæa fixing his ſee firſt at Seleucia, then at Moſul, became independent, and he formed another primatial ſhoot in Malabar. On the other hand, a ſecond autocephalous primate for Armenia appeared firſt at Etchmiadzine, then at Sis and elſewhere. In fact, the different geniuſes of the Eaſt and Weſt appear in nothing more ſtrikingly than in their different arrangements about primates. Yet doubtleſs "all theſe worked That One and the ſelf-ſame Spirit."

To return to the Weſt. It is difficult to ſay whether Rome gave or received moſt in the fifth and ſixth centuries by the inſtitution of primacies and the donation of the pallium. Now of courſe every metropolitan calls himſelf a primate of ſomething or other. If York cannot be Primate of All England, he will at all events be Primate of England; and ſo Dublin of Ireland. In France they managed in a different way. Thus the Archbiſhop of Rouen is Primate of Normandy; the Archbiſhop of Auch, of Novempopulania; the Archbiſhop of Lyons calls himſelf Primate of all Gaul; while he of Vienne, to be a ſtep above the others, calls himſelf Primate of the Primates of Gaul. But theſe titles are infinitely leſs unmeaning than thoſe of the Eaſt. Thus the Biſhop of Cæſarea calls himſelf Moſt Excellent of the Moſt Excellent; while the metropolitan of Heraclea contents himſelf with that of the Firſt of the Moſt Excellent. The name of Primate is not in uſe, but every little prelate is Exarch of ſomething or other. The Archbiſhop of Meſembria, having nothing better by way of a title, is Exarch of the Black Sea; and the petty biſhoprics of Lemnos and Embros ſtrive together for the title of Exarch of the Ægæan Sea; of the ſea itſelf, that is, for the exarchy of the iſlands in it

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is already occupied. However, we are ſtill writing of times when the primacy was not a mere title of honour. As Seville in Spain, and Arles in France, ſo Salzburg in Germany very ſoon claimed the like authority, though not quite ſo early. Arno, ſixth biſhop of that ſee, obtained the pallium, the title of Metropolitan, and the primacy of that part of Germany, in 792. As ſay the tuneleſs lines:—

In quâ pontifices multos poſt rite ſedentes
Arn ſucceſſit ovans rector ovile regens.
Quem Carolus Princeps regni ſuperauxit honore
Archi-ſacerdotis, dignior ut fieret:
Quem Leo Papa ſui veſte veſtivit honoris
Et privilegia dans mox ſolidavit eum:
Ut regionis apex et ſummus epiſcopus eſſet
Urbſque hæc metropolis tempus in omne foret.

One great work of the fifth and ſixth centuries was the erection of new biſhoprics; and in this the conſent of the metropolitan, as well as of the biſhop from whoſe dioceſe the new dioceſe was taken, was neceſſary; and this without any reference to the ſee of Rome. The metropolitan ſtill had the right of putting a veto on the election of a ſuffragan; and this again without any appeal to the Roman ſee.

In the ſixth century, a Metropolitan ſchiſm began, which continued for many years, and led to ſome curious conſequences. The Archbiſhop of Aquileia, with the prelates of Iſtria, breaking off communion with Rome on the queſtion of the Three Chapters, formed themſelves into a diſtinct patriarchate; and as the Eaſtern emperors held the ſea-coaſt of that part of Italy, the inſurgent biſhops were not eaſily to be reduced to the obedience of the Roman pontiff. After the extinction of the ſchiſm, the Biſhops of Aquileia had the bare title of Patriarch left them, and a certain pre-eminence of honour above the other Italian metropolitans. Theſe privileges were guaranteed by Leo VIII. in 980, and John XX. in 1023; and though withdrawn by Clement II. in 1047, who gave Ravenna precedence over Aquileia, they were reſtored by Alexander II. in 1049.

In the ſeventh century, Seville loſt the primacy of Spain to Toledo as the reſidence of the Viſigoth kings; and this was completely in accordance with the early principle that the chief city of the ſtate ſhould be the eccleſiaſtical metropolis. This primacy ſeems to have been beſtowed at the requeſt of King Cindaſuinth, by the National Council, and confirmed by the ſee of Rome. In the ſame century, the Archbiſhops of Rheims had a kind of ſecondary primacy in the Church of France; ſo that, at all

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events, they were themſelves exempt from any kind of ſubjection to the ſee of Arles.

As the firſt dynaſty of French kings drew to its cloſe, the ſtate of the Gallican Church was moſt pitiable. The appointment of primates fell into diſuſe; every metropolitan was his own primate: by conſequence, no one had any authority of convoking the others to a ſynod, and all kind of diſcipline fell to the ground. The few weak councils which met, made canons, which were framed only to be broken; and it ſeemed as if the whole eccleſiaſtical and civil ſtate of Europe were together verging to barbariſm. Then came the marvellous era of Charlemagne, and the young life of the Church burſt forth in all its vigour. Now, then, we find primates exerting their authority again. And firſt Bourges was made the primatial ſee of Aquitaine. This was done by Adrian I, at the requeſt of Charlemagne, in favour of Ermenbert, a prelate whoſe ſanctity of life and eccleſiaſtical learning rendered him well worthy of the dignity. But the Pope heſitated for a little while; for the old eccleſiaſtical diviſions were ſo thoroughly broken up, that he was uncertain whether the propoſed primatial ſee ought not itſelf to be ſubject to ſome other juriſdiction. That point having been made out to his ſatisfaction, the Archbiſhop of Bourges became Metropolitan of the provinces of Narbonne, Bourdeaux, and Auch. It is curious to trace how the fluctuations of ſecular affairs affected theſe primatial claims. When the kingdom of Aquitaine was broken up, and the duchy of Narbonne attained political importance, the Archbiſhop of that city ſhook off the yoke of Bourges, and under the auſpices of Urban II. obtained the primacy of the province of Aix. After that, when the dukes of Occitania became powerful, the Archbiſhop of Auch in like manner refuſed to acknowledge the primacy of Bourges, which was now left with the ſingle province of Bourdeaux beſides its own. When the great ſchiſm broke out between Pope Innocent II. and the Anti-pope Anacletus, a biſhop of Angoulême, a partizan of the latter, was raiſed to the ſee of Bourdeaux. On this, all the comprovincials of that province appealed to the Archbiſhop of Bourges as their primate againſt the ſentence of excommunication with which they were threatened. But when the Engliſh obtained Bourdeaux and the adjacent country, this laſt relic of its primacy was ſnatched from Bourges, though the two ſtrove together for many years, the one for liberty, the other for ſovereignty. Gregory IX. tried a compromiſe by giving leave to the Archbiſhop of Bourges to viſit the province of Bourdeaux, provided he concluded his viſitation within the ſpace of fifty days. But Clement V, who had been Archbiſhop of

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Bourdeaux himſelf, completed the freedom of that Church; and now all that remains of the primacy of Bourges, is a ſingular cuſtom or privilege, which ſeems to be much valued in the dioceſe. The Archbiſhop appoints two vicars, one as metropolitan, the other as primate. Any appeal from one of his ſuffragans goes in the firſt place to the metropolitical vicar; if either of the parties is not ſatisfied with his deciſion, he can then appeal to the primatial vicar.

And now, in this ſame century, an event occurred which has a bearing on our own eccleſiaſtical ſtate at this time. Drogo of Metz, a ſimple biſhop, was ſent by Lothaire to Rome on political buſineſs. He was the uncle of the king, and obtained very great influence with Sergius II. then Pontiff. He returned with a brief, whereby he was appointed—but it ſeems to have been only perſonally and for his life-time—Primate of all the biſhops of Gaul and Germany. The Council of Verneuil took the claim into conſideration. They had, ſaid the Fathers, the greateſt poſſible reſpect for their brother Drogo; his learning and piety were known to all; his relationſhip to the king was an additional argument in his favour; perſonally, no one could be more fit for the dignity to which it had pleaſed the Holy Father to advance him. But they were bound to be careful guardians of the boundaries of the Church: it was an unheard of thing, that the poſſeſſor of a ſimple ſee ſhould claim precedence over ſo many metropolitans, whoſe dignity was derived from remote ages; and therefore they begged to defer acting on the Pope's inſtructions till a larger council (it was then mid-winter) could be ſummoned. Drogo, on this, ſhowed himſelf worthy of the dignity to which he had been appointed, by ſaying modeſtly, that he would do nothing which could offend his brethren, and reſigning the primacy.

Now, it muſt have ſtruck all Engliſh Churchmen as an anomaly, that the Metropolitans of Calcutta, Sydney, and Capetown ſhould be Biſhops. The queſtion of title is ſaid to have come before the higheſt authorities, and to have been deferred for the preſent. It may, of courſe, be aſked, What is there in a name? A biſhop, with the authority of a metropolitan, does juſt as well as if he had an appellation of finer ſound. Now, moſt certainly, we place not the leaſt value on a title which is a mere title, or a decoration which is a mere decoration. Nothing ſeems more contemptible to us than the privileges as ſome of the Spaniſh Churches have, where the biſhop or dean is treated as a cardinal, the canons as biſhops: nothing more ſilly than when prelates of this or that little iſland call themſelves Exarchs of this or that ſea. But this is a very different queſtion. We

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profeſs to follow the early Church in our organization; we allow ourſelves in a very comfortable contempt towards the darkneſs of the eighth or ninth centuries; but here we are doing what the prelates of thoſe very ages knew to be contrary to early diſcipline. And beſides this, there are two tangible reaſons for the re-adoption of the title of Archbiſhop. In the firſt place, talk and reaſon how you will, you will not get people generally to ſee that the Metropolitan of Calcutta or Sydney is on a level with York or Dublin, unleſs he has the ſame title. People will naturally ſay, "Oh, but he is only a biſhop!" And in one ſenſe he is only a biſhop; for we do not for a moment imagine that the Biſhop of Capetown, for example, takes, *as he ought*, precedence of the Biſhop of London. We know very well that, in the colonies, there is a very great difference between the metropolitan and his ſuffragans; that the newſpapers always ſpeak of him by his peculiar title; and we imagine that he takes a very different precedence from theirs. But what we deſire is, that the rank, freely given in the colony, may be freely allowed at home. Then, though the Church of England cannot in theſe evil days look for more than fair play as regards other communions, at all events ſhe ought to have that; and it is not fair play with regard to Rome, that while *ſhe* appoints an Archbiſhop of Sydney, we ſhould only have a Biſhop. Thoſe who are always crying out againſt Roman encroachments and the like, would uſe their time much more profitably if, inſtead of raiſing an outcry againſt that which Rome has already obtained, they would enable us to obtain the ſame alſo. Remember, too, this. Where there is a difference between Metropolitan and Archbiſhop, there the former title is the higheſt; if, then, you have given the higher rank, why find any difficulty in beſtowing the lower?

While on this ſubject we may relate a rather amuſing incident which lately occurred in the Daniſh communion. There, as every one knows, the prelates are merely nominal—Tulchan biſhops, as they call them in Scotland. The third centenary of the Reformation was celebrated at Copenhagen with the uſual Proteſtant enthuſiaſm. On that occaſion Dr. Mynter, the then Tulchan Biſhop of Zealand, waited on the King, and with the proper preface, that he was actuated by no principles of ambition, but only from regard for the dignity of the Church, ventured to requeſt that his Majeſty would raiſe the Biſhopric of Copenhagen to an Archbiſhopric in honour of the Tercentenary which they were then ſo happy as to be celebrating. "There cannot "be a happier thought," replied the King. Dr. Mynter bowed, looked modeſt, and prepared himſelf for what was to come;—"except in one little particular; it ſtrikes me that this mark of

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" dignity would be much better beſtowed on the Church at the " completion of the fourth centenary, and I have no doubt that " my ſucceſſor will be moſt happy to confer it on yours then." So Dr. Mynter went away abaſhed.

We have wandered a great way from good old Drogo. We will return to his century again. Anſegiſus of Sens obtained from John VIII. the Primacy of France and of Ciſ-Rhenane Germany. But at the Synod of Pontyon (*Concilium Pontigonenſe*) theſe letters were ſtoutly oppoſed, eſpecially by Hincmar of Rheims, who naturally ſtood up for his own primacy. However, favoured by Charles the Bald, Anſegiſus became primate of Gaul and Germany as aforeſaid; and to improve his title, tacked to it the addition of " and Second Pope." A worthy monk of Sens, Odoranus by name, celebrates this event in a poem, where he ſays:—

Ut primas fieret Gallorum, Papa Johannes
Conceſſit meritis hoc tribuenda ſuis.

In the ſame century Hamburg was raiſed to the dignity of a metropolis, the largeſt at that time in the Chriſtian world. It ſtretched right away from that city over Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, Orkneys, Shetlands, and Färoes, to Iceland, and even to the Chriſtian colonies in Greenland—thoſe colonies ſo ſadly and ſo myſteriouſly ſwept away in after years by the Black Death.

Again, as the Mahometans had now overrun the better part of Spain, though there was ſtill a little kingdom in the mountain faſtneſſes of Aſturias, Oviedo was raiſed to be its metropolis. The province extended, when at its largeſt, from Cape Finiſterre to the mouth of the Mondego, then, narrowing as it advanced eaſtward, it abutted on the province of Narbonne. To this metropolis Leon was ſubject; and in conſequence of its former dignity both Oviedo and Leon, though they would naturally be included within the limits either of Burgos or of Santiago de Compoſtella, are to this day autocephalous: you will find them entered in the Spaniſh Eccleſiaſtical guide as *Obiſpados Eſentos*. In the ſame century the converſions of the barbarians requiring additional ſuperintendence for the new folds, Prague became an archbiſhopric, puſhing its juriſdiction to the confines of the Eaſtern Church. We have a very inſtructive detail of the ideas entertained at this epoch, regarding the authority of metropolitans, in the writings of one of its moſt celebrated eccleſiaſtics, Hincmar of Rheims, and, above all, in his fierce controverſy with his nameſake of Laon. Hincmar was one of the laſt metropolitans who ſeems to have retained the primitive idea of their power and

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dignity. The enormous encroachments which the See of Rome was ſo ſoon about to make, rendered them, at a later period, almoſt titular offices.

Let us now give a glance at the metropolitical diviſion of Europe at the acceſſion of Gregory VII.—that great epoch in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory.

We will begin from the ſouth-weſt. Draw a line from the mouth of the Mondego to the city of Tarragona. All ſouth of this, and a conſiderable indentation to the north, was Mahometan. Seville and Toledo retained ſome faint traces of their metropolitical rights, but ſcarcely ſuch as to deſerve mention here. In the kingdom of Caſtile and Leon, beginning from the weſt, we have the province of Oviedo. This extended right acroſs Spain, as far as the Ebro to the eaſt. Here it was met by that of Narbonne, ſlanting away towards Arles. Above the Pyrenees comes Auch, bounded by Narbonne to the eaſt, by Bourdeaux to the North. Parallel with Bourdeaux, and taking the whole centre of France, is the province of Bourges. Above Bourdeaux is Tours; then, forming a good part of Brittany, the ſchiſmatical province of Dol. To the east of this, Rouen; under Rouen, Sens. South-eaſt of theſe, Lyons; ſtill ſouth-eaſt, the five ſmall provinces of Vienne, Tarantaiſe, Arles, Aix, Embrun. Returning northwards, eaſt of Rouen and Sens, we have Rheims; ſtill eaſt, Cologne; to the north-eaſt, the enormous province of Hamburg, ſtretching from Iceland, through Scandinavia, to pagan Pomerania. South of Cologne, Trêves; ſouth of that, Beſançon, which touches Milan. Eaſt of Cologne, the vaſt province of Mayence, reaching from Worms and Spires almoſt to Cracow; between this and Hamburg, Magdeburg; eaſt of the latter Gneſen. South of Gneſen is Strigonia, which touches to the eaſtward on the Pagans, to the ſouth on the Eaſtern Church. South-eaſt of Milan and Salzburg, Aquileia. The little point that runs out into the ſea beyond Aquileia is Grado. Then, in Italy, Milan, Rome Proper, Beneventum, Salerno. To the ſouth-eaſt of Aquileia and Salzburg, and weſt of Strigonia, Dioclea. It may be worth while to put this into a tabular form.

At that time, the principal European kingdoms were thus divided:—

England and Scotland	Canterbury.	*France*	Rheims.
	York.		Rouen.
			Dol.
Ireland	Armagh.		Tours.
	Dublin.		Sens.
	Tuam.		Bourdeaux.
	Caſhel.		Bruges.
			Auch.

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France . . .	Narbonne.		Ravenna.
	Lyons.		Milan.
	Beſançon.		
	Vienne	*Spain*	Oviedo.
	Tarantaiſe.		*Seville.*
	Aix.		*Toledo.*
	Embrun.		
	Arles.	*Germany, &c.* .	Cologne.
			Magdeburg.
	Strigonia.		Mayence.
	Hamburg.		Salzburg.
			Trêves.
Italy, Savoy,	Rome.		
&c. . . .	Salerno.		Gneſen.
	Aquileia.		Dioclea.
	Grado.		

Forty provinces in all.

Advancing now into the eleventh and twelfth centuries, we have to notice the rapid diminution of the rights of primates, on account of the exorbitant claims put forward by the papal legates. They completely ſuperſeded the ancient authorities in ſummoning councils. And, indeed, when the doctrine became gradually received, that a ſynod could not be convoked, much more, could not publiſh its canons, without the licence of the Papal See, it followed almoſt of neceſſity, that legantine, ſhould take the place of primatial, authority. And it is curious to ſee how in this alſo, as well as in matters regarding ſimple biſhops, the Court of Rome, and the ſecular powers of the various European ſtates, played into each other's hands. This was the meaning of Pragmatic Sanctions, Concordats, and to a certain extent alſo, of the ſo-called Gallican Liberties. If you will only hinder your canons from independently electing their biſhops, ſaid the Court of Rome to that of Paris, and your monks their abbats, we will allow you to nominate both. And the ſecular power was only too glad to comply with ſo pleaſing a ſuggeſtion.

Towards the end of the eleventh century, the great city of Lyons obtained the primacy over four provinces; thoſe, namely, of Tours, Sens, Rouen, and its own. This, however, occaſioned diſturbances, which almoſt ended in a ſchiſm. The Archbiſhop of Tours, who had no traditions of authority to fall back upon, made no objection to the new primate; thoſe of Sens and Rouen, more particularly the former, refuſed in any way to acknowledge it. Philip the Fair brought the ſecular arm into operation, and reduced Sens to obedience; but Rouen pertinaciouſly ſtood out, and was gratified with the title of Primate of Normandy, though he had nothing but himſelf to be primate of. See what a mere title of honour the thing was becoming.

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Not more than thirty miles from Lyons, is a city as ancient and as intereſting, Vienne—Vienne the Holy, as it proudly calls itſelf, becauſe thirty-eight of its archbiſhops are reckoned among the Saints, a greater number than that of any other ſee, Rome only excepted. This place had been capital of the kingdom of Burgundy, and the archbiſhop had been *ex-officio* chancellor, and afterwards arch-chancellor of the kingdom. Calixtus II, who had himſelf been metropolitan, advanced the ſee to the primacy of ſeven churches: Bourges, Bourdeaux, Auch, Narbonne, Aix, Embrun, Tarantaiſe, the latter the metropolis of the Pennine Alps. Hence it is that the Archbiſhop of Vienne calls himſelf Primate of Primates, ſince Bourges had long been primatial, and Narbonne had been made ſo by Urban II. However, this Bull had not the leaſt effect, except in the aſſumption of the ſtrange title juſt mentioned.

When Alfonſo VI. had liberated Toledo from the Moors, May 25, 1085, Urban II. immediately conſtituted the Archbiſhop, Primate of All the Spains; and after conſiderable reſiſtance, eſpecially on the part of Tarragona, ſo far as Spain itſelf was concerned, this precedence was eſtabliſhed. But Braga, in Portugal, has never ceaſed to claim the primacy to itſelf; and every pariſh church of that intereſting city has the double-barred croſs, to indicate this right. The diſpute was very wiſely left undecided at Trent; but both Braga and Toledo have ſince ſunk into a ſecondary poſition in their own countries by the inſtitution of the patriarchate of Liſbon and that of the Indies. It was alſo in this century that the reſpective claims of Canterbury and York were ſettled, or rather, purpoſely left unſettled. The two archbiſhops were firſt declared equal, and the right of York allowed to carry his croſs even through the province of Canterbury. On the appeal of Canterbury, the latter privilege was withdrawn; but on a further repreſentation from York, it was again allowed *pendente lite*; and finally, by the diſtinction of Primate of All England and Primate of England, peace was made. It muſt be remembered that the province of York had been larger than, and was even then as large as, that of Canterbury, embracing as it did the whole of Scotland till 1466. In fact, we muſt not forget that the preſent archbiſhopric of Canterbury contains three provinces: its own; that of S. David's, which till 920 embraced Wales; that of Lichfield, which in the time of Offa, king of the Mercians, embraced theſe ſees: Worceſter, Leiceſter, Sidnaceſter, Elmham, Hereford, and Dunwich—all of which, up to the elevation of Lichfield, belonged to York, but were afterwards annexed to Canterbury.

As to metropolitans, thoſe in the eleventh and twelfth cen-

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turies were faſt multiplying; eſpecially from the favour with which a pope, raiſed from ſome ſuffragan ſee, regarded his original Church.

It is curious to ſee how the tendency of eccleſiaſtical progreſs has ſerved to break up the provinces into ſmaller fragments. Look, for example, at the Iberian peninſula. We have ſeen it, before the irruption of the Saracens, divided into the provinces of Seville, Toledo, Tarragona, Merida, Braga. How is it divided now?

In Spain.	Toledo.		Tarragona.
	Seville.		Saragoſſa.
	Santiago de Compoſtella.		Valença.
		In Portugal.	Braga.
	Granada.		Liſbon.
	Burgos.		Evora.

Again; take North and Central Italy. We have:—

Bologna, made an Archbiſhopric in			1582.
Fermo	„	„	1589.
Urbino	„	„	1563.
Florence	„	„	1420.
Piſa	„	„	1092.
Sienna	„	„	1459.

After this period we hear very little about primates, but the great increaſe of metropolitans deſerves notice. Thus the little iſland of Sardinia has no leſs than three,—Cagliari, Saſſari, and Oriſtano; the two former call themſelves alike, Primates of Corſica and Sardinia. Theſe three archbiſhops have but eight biſhops between them; and the eleven ſees are contained in an iſland 130 miles long by about 40 in breadth; that is, in a ſpace conſiderably leſs than the three counties of Kent, Surrey, and Suſſex: and a population of about 500,000. Tuſcany, again, about three-fourths of the ſize of Sardinia, has four archbiſhops and ſixteen biſhops, though there the population amounts to 1,300,000. So again, the natural fondneſs of a pope for the ſee from which he had been raiſed, induced Sixtus V. to cut out a little ſlice from the patrimony of S. Peter, of ſome forty ſquare miles, and to conſtitute it into a province for Fermo.

Never was a more fearful demolition of a national Church than that preſſed upon the Pope by Napoleon, and brought to paſs by him in the bull *Qui Chriſti Domini*. By that document, —to iſſue which Pius himſelf confeſſed that his right was very doubtful,—he ſuppreſſed the following metropolitical ſees: *Paris, Rheims, *Bourges, *Lyons, *Rouen, Sens, *Tours, Alby, *Bourdeaux, Auch, Narbonne, *Toulouſe, Arles, *Aix, Vienne, Embrun, Cambray, *Beſançon, Trêves, Mayence, Avignon,

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*Malines, Tarantaiſe; and in their ſtead re-erected ten out of the twenty-three,—thoſe, namely, which we have marked with an aſteriſk. Of the old ſees, Tours, Bourdeaux, Auch, and Narbonne had the greateſt number of ſuffragans. Tours had eleven: Le Mans, Angers, Remus, Nantes, Quimper, Vannes, S. Pol de Léon, Tréguier, S. Brieuc, S. Malo, Dol. Bourdeaux had nine: Agen, Angoulême, Saintes, Poictiers, Périgueux, Condom, Sarlet, La Rochelle, Luçon. Auch had ten: Bax, Leſtoure, Comminges, Conſerans, Aire, Bazas, Tarbes, Oleron, Leſcars, Bayonne. And Narbonne had ten: Beziers, Agde, Niſmes, Carcaſſone, Montpellier, Lodéve, Uzés, S. Pons, Aleth, Alais, Elne. Thoſe that had feweſt were Beſançon, who had only Belley for ſuffragan; and Mayence, who had no one to be archbiſhop to but himſelf.

While on the ſubject of French biſhoprics, it may be well to notice one or two hiſtorical facts connected with that Church that bear on our ſubject.

The laſt time, probably, that an appeal was made to a French primate, was by the Siſters of Port-Royal, when condemned by the Archbiſhop of Paris, their Dioceſan as well as Metropolitan: they appealed from him to the Archbiſhop of Lyons, as his Primate—of courſe without any effect.

The Council of Embrun, held in 1727, for the purpoſe of cruſhing poor Soanen, throws ſome light on the queſtion we have in hand. The province of Embrun contained but ſix ſuffragan ſees; of theſe, Soanen himſelf occupied one, namely, Senez; and another, Nice, was not in French Territory. But as twelve biſhops are required for the degradation of a biſhop, the queſtion was how to procure a ſufficient number. The infamous Tencin, who was preſident, applied to his brother-metropolitans of Arles, Aix, Beſançon, Lyons, and Vienne, and ten more biſhops joined the ſynod from thoſe provinces. On this, Soanen proteſted to the new comers that they had no right to ſit as his judges, except in a national council; and that they had no voice in any provincial ſynod ſave their own. But, perſecuted and unrighteouſly overborne as Soanen was, and monſter of iniquity as was Tencin, we cannot think that in this inſtance his proteſt was valid. The fourteenth canon of the great Council of Antioch ſays expreſſly: "If any biſhop ſhall be judged concerning certain "crimes, and it ſhall fall out, that the comprovincials diſagree "concerning him, ſome of them believing him innocent, ſome of "them holding him guilty; it has ſeemed good to this holy "Synod that, for the ſettlement of the difficulty, the metropoli-"tans ſhould convoke other judges from a neighbouring province "who ſhall hear the cauſe; and by them and the provincial

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"biſhops together, that which is right ſhall be decreed." It is true that this canon does not exactly touch the caſe in queſtion, becauſe here there was no diſſenſion between the biſhops, and only a want of the canonical number; but the ſpirit of one ſeems to juſtify the other. And perhaps the third and fourth canons of Sardica, the latter of which ſpeaks of the depoſition of a biſhop by the judgment of thoſe prelates who live in neighbouring places comes ſtill nearer to the mark. If Soanen's argument were juſt, there was not one province in France of which the ſynod could have depoſed an unworthy biſhop, the higheſt number of ſuffragans being, as we have ſeen, eleven—twelve, that is, in all, but then the accuſed biſhop muſt have been one of the twelve.

Again: we may refer to the attempt of Dol to erect itſelf into the metropolis of Brittany, as another fact bearing on our ſubject. It was clearly prejudicial to the dukes of Bretagne, who were in the height of their power, kings in all but name, that their dukedom ſhould be ſubject to a foreign metropolis; that of Tours. With all their might, then, they upheld the claims of Dol; and for more than a century that ſee, diſregarding the cenſures of Rome, exerciſed metropolitical power over the province. In this very year [1859] Bretagne has at length been conſtituted a ſeparate province; only Rennes, not Dol, is the ſeat of the metropolis. It happened to the writer of this paper to be in Brittany at the erection of Rennes to its new dignity; and alſo at Valladolid when the intelligence arrived that the Holy See had conſented, at the requeſt of the Spaniſh Government, to erect it into a metropolis. The contraſt between the ſenſations occaſioned in the two places was not a little curious. In Valladolid no one ſeemed to care about the change—not one decoration did we obſerve in any church, not one peal did we hear from any tower. But in Brittany it was perfect ecſtaſy; every pariſh ſermon ſeemed to dwell on the happy event; the bells announced it perpetually; and, indeed, it almoſt rivalled Solferino in attracting public attention.

Again: that was a remarkable erection of metropoles which occurred juſt before the outbreak of the war which made the Seven United Provinces independent. The enormous extent of the ſees of Utrecht, Liège, Oſnabrück, Münſter, and others in that part of Europe, had been the deſtruction of the Church. Warriors inſtead of prelates, ſecular inſtead of ſpiritual potentates, theſe biſhops waged their own battles, made their own treaties, marched at the head of their armies, in all points as any Margrave or Free Count might do. By one ſtroke of his pen, Pius IV. made three metropoles for the Netherlands: Utrecht,

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Cambray, Mechlin. The two former had been ſees before; the latter was a new epiſcopate, but it was endowed with the primacy of the three, probably on account of Rome's old jealouſy of Utrecht. If theſe new provinces and dioceſes could not preſerve Holland, they were at all events effectual to the ſaving of Belgium.

A rather curious creation of a metropolis was that of Funchal, in the iſland of Madeira. At the time when the Portugueſe diſcoveries both in Brazil and India were raiſing that little kingdom to a high rank among the ſtates of Europe, Funchal in Madeira was erected into a biſhopric, and one Lobo appointed to its incumbency. On his death, at the requeſt of Dom João III, D. Martinho de Portugal was appointed by Paul III. Archbiſhop of Funchal and Metropolitan of All the Indies,—the Indies, be it obſerved, embracing Brazil as well as India. Such was the knowledge of geograghy at that time, that a little iſland, only four or five days' ſail from Liſbon, had a province which embraced about one-half of the known world! The abſurdity of this arrangement was ſoon diſcovered. D. Martinho, finding it, we ſuppoſe, impoſſible to look properly after his province, determined not to viſit it at all; and accordingly never even took the trouble of going to Madeira. On his death, the Primacy of the Indies was transferred to Goa; and Funchal obliged to content itſelf with its own dioceſan rights. The biſhop, however, has on certain ſolemn occaſions a crozier borne before him inſtead of a paſtoral ſtaff, in remembrance of his ſhort-lived metropolitical dignity, in the ſame way that the Biſhop of Meath, alone of all ſimple prelates, terms himſelf Moſt Reverend.

We have ſaid that in the Weſt there is abſolutely no difference between the titles of archbiſhop, biſhop, and metropolitan. Every archbiſhop is a metropolitan; every metropolitan is an archbiſhop. But in the Eaſt the caſe is widely different. There an archbiſhop is merely a title of honour given to ſome prelates in order to diſtinguiſh them from the common herd, but not implying the exiſtence of a province or the poſſeſſion of any metropolitical rights. The reader may probably remember Mr. Curzon's account of the aſtoniſhment expreſſed by the Œcumenical Patriarch, when preſented with letters from the Archbiſhop of Canterbury under that title, inſtead of the proper name of Metropolitan. "What!" he exclaimed, "a ſimple archbiſhop to "have, as you tell me he has, authority over ſo many prelates and "ſo vaſt a tract of country!" The adoption of the other name would have prevented all miſtake. In point of fact, the firſt

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France . . .	Narbonne.		Ravenna.
	Lyons.		Milan.
	Beſançon.		
	Vienne	*Spain*	Oviedo.
	Tarantaiſe.		*Seville.*
	Aix.		*Toledo.*
	Embrun.		
	Arles.	*Germany, &c.* .	Cologne.
			Magdeburg.
	Strigonia.		Mayence.
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As to metropolitans, thoſe in the eleventh and twelfth cen-

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eighty-three prelates, reckoning in order of precedence from the Protothronos of Cæſarea down to the metropolitan of Veleſſa in Thrace, who are ſubject to the ſee of Conſtantinople, are all metropolitans. Then come the archbiſhops; and there are only two, Lititza and Carpathus. In the Ionian Iſlands, again, there are three metropolitans and two archbiſhops. But in the dioceſes of Alexandria and Antioch there are no archbiſhops at all; in that of Jeruſalem there are ſix. In Ruſſia, however, the caſe is very different. Here all the ſees are divided into eparchies of the firſt, ſecond, and third claſs. The eparchy of the firſt claſs conſiſts of metropolitans only, in number four; but virtually only three: Kieff and Novgorod, which are at preſent united; Moſcow; and S. Peterſburg. Eparchies of the ſecond claſs are almoſt all archbiſhops, but with a few biſhops intermixed. Eparchies of the third claſs conſiſt of biſhops with a few archbiſhops intermixed.

But when we ſpeak of metropolitans throughout the Eaſtern Church, we muſt not imagine that now they have each their ſuffragans; or that their title, in moſt caſes, is anything more than one of honour. Out of the whole number there are not more than fifteen or ſixteen who have any biſhops; and the greater number of theſe have but one or two. The greateſt number of ſuffragans poſſeſſed by any metropolitan belongs to Theſſalonica: here there are eight. Crete comes next, with ſix; then Lariſſa, with four; then Tirnova, Wallachia and Servia, with three each. Nor muſt it be imagined that the ſo-called biſhops in Ruſſia owe obedience to any metropolitan. Thoſe who do ſo—and they are very few—are called vicar-biſhops. Only one metropolitan, namely, he of Lithuania, has two of theſe: Brzezſch and Kovin.

Such being the caſe, a remarkable difficulty occurred at the political organization of the Roman Church—we mean as diſtinct from the now happily extinct Uniats in Ruſſia. It was in the time of the Empreſs Catherine, and the circumſtances are ſingular enough to merit relation. After almoſt endleſs negotiations, it was reſolved by the Concordat that there ſhould be five biſhops, Vilna, Samogitia, Luceor, Camenſk, and Minſk. Theſe were placed under the Archbiſhop of Mohileff—and a moſt diſreputable Archbiſhop he was, as the reader ſhall hear. There was, at that time, in the light cavalry of the Pruſſian army, a young Proteſtant officer of the noble Poliſh family of the Sieſtrenezevitch-Bohüſz. This man loſt two fingers of the right hand in a ſabre duel; was thereupon forced to leave the army; and happening to have picked up a ſmattering of Latin and Greek, he offered himſelf as tutor in a rich Roman Catholic

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family in Poland. When the youth whoſe education he ſuperintended had grown up, the father, who had no other way of recompenſing Bohüſz, offered, if he would embrace the Catholic faith, to preſent him to a living which he happened to poſſeſs. Bohüſz, who had never troubled himſelf much about forms of religion, conſented. In the occupation of Poland by Ruſſia, he made himſelf uſeful to the governing powers; and Catherine, who ſaw in him the able unſcrupulous miniſter whom ſhe loved, offered him the archbiſhopric of Mohileff. Then there aroſe a difficulty with reſpect to Rome. "I will have the poſſeſſor of "this ſee," ſaid the Empreſs, "a metropolitan as diſtinguiſhed "from an archbiſhop." "We have no ſuch diſtinction," Rome replied; "an archbiſhop will have the authority you want, and "it will be juſt the ſame thing." "I will have it my own "way," returned Catherine: "he ſhall be a metropolitan and "not an archbiſhop, or there ſhall be no ſee of Mohileff at all." And ſo the Pope gave way. Paul further demanded that this metropolitan ſhould wear the coſtume and receive the title of a cardinal; and this alſo was conceded. His province extends from Poland to the frontiers of China—certainly the largeſt in the Catholic world. With reſpect to Bohüſz himſelf, his life was a ſcandal to his flock. He had a brother who remained a Calviniſt. This man he made ſuperintendent of his finances, and married his daughter to a Greek prieſt. The archiepiſcopal table was uſually filled by the Calviniſt brother, the orthodox ſon-in-law, and one Feſſler, an apoſtate Capuchin, who had turned Lutheran, and was made nominal Biſhop of the Lutherans in Ruſſia. This amalgamation of religion gave unutterable offence in a country ſo ſcrupulous as that in which it occurred.

If we deſire to ſee the grandeſt ſpecimen which has ever been exhibited to the Church of the metropolitical ſyſtem, we muſt turn our eyes to mediæval Aſia. It is very difficult to realize what was the ſtate of the Neſtorian Church at the time of its glory, before Jenghis Khan commenced and Tamerlane finiſhed its extirpation. Certainly, it preſents the moſt marvellous hiſtory of any Church in the world. At the time of the Firſt Cruſade, the Neſtorians formed a larger communion than the Eaſtern and Weſtern Churches put together; and now they are reduced to a few hundred families, in an obſcure corner of that continent which once they dominated. We are accuſtomed to marvel at the ſudden fall of the African Church: in the time of S. Auguſtine, the moſt flouriſhing communion in the world; two centuries later, non-exiſtent. Its diſappearance we are accuſtomed to attribute to its failure in action as a miſſionary body; to its

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forgetfulneſs that the charter by which every Chriſtian communion holds its life is aggreſſiveneſs; that as ſoon as it ceaſes to propagate, it ceaſes to exiſt. This cannot be laid to the charge of the Neſtorian Church, whoſe miſſionaries went out into all parts of Aſia; whoſe blood was poured forth by pailsful on the ſteppes of Tatary, and amid the jungles of India. Here we have the mortal effects of hereſy. What could it matter, a reaſoner might aſk, whether the Bleſſed Virgin were called Mother of GOD, or merely Mother of CHRIST; whether our LORD were in two Perſons or in one? It mattered juſt this: that the one united body of the eleventh century has diſappeared from the face of the earth, while the two, together not its equal, have gone on and increaſed, ſubjugating to themſelves one whole continent, and the half of another, ſince that period.

However, let us attend now, not to the hereſy, but to the wonderful diſcipline, of the Neſtorian Church. And firſt, think of its patriarch, ſeated at Moſul, with a province of his own, as any other archbiſhop; and with twenty-five metropolitans, each of them ruling over fifteen or twenty biſhops, dependent on him. There in the rich country of Irâk, the paradiſe of Perſia, is the metropolis of Gondiſapor, Protothronus of all: there, further weſt, is Niſibis: there, ruling over Chuziſtan, is the Baſſora with which the "Arabian Nights" familiarized us in the nurſery: there is Arbela, with its remembrances of the overthrow of the Perſian empire. Then, as we advance further into the continent, is Holwan: if we go weſt, we have Aleppo and Damaſcus: if we go to the Caſpian, we have Raia, the Rages of Tobit: ſtill further, and among all the Romance of Preſter John and the Tataric Khans, we have Samarcand: paſs into the Perſian Ocean, the fertile iſland of Zocotra has its metropolitan: go ſouth-eaſt, there is the province of India: ſtill paſs eaſtward, and we come to China, which we now know to have had a flouriſhing Church in the year 780: and then returning weſt, Central Tatary and South Siberia had their own archbiſhop. This was a patriarchate indeed! ſcorning compariſon as it did with the territory of even Conſtantinople or Rome! And then, for the moſt part, it was unbroken by ſchiſm, or any kind of diviſion. In its weſtern portion, indeed, the Jacobites were mingled among the Neſtorians, but as an altogether inferior communion, and without any hoſtile feeling. Once every year, the neareſt metropolitans (Niſibis, Seleucia, Gondiſapor, Diarbekr, and the like) came up to pay their reſpects to the patriarch, and to receive his bleſſing. Once in three years came thoſe at a middle diſtance, ſuch as ruled in Samarcand, Beloochiſtan, and Zocotra; and once in ſix years the diſtant and virtually autocephalous metropolitans

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of India and China croſſed thoſe intervening mountain ranges and trackleſs deſerts, to give and to receive a realization of the feeling that the great Neſtorian Communion was one Church. Nothing in the annals of Rome ever equalled this. The moſt diſtant prelates in mediæval times could make the journey to S. Peter's ſee in eight weeks: it took the Metropolitan of China eight months to reach Moſul; thus his ſexennial viſit involved a two years' abſence from his dioceſe, including his reſt at Moſul and the ſynod which he attended.

Let us now, in concluſion, ſee what leſſons we can gather for ourſelves from the facts that have been ſtated before.

In the firſt place, we may obſerve that, having four colonial metropolitans, we ought alſo, in the judgment of thoſe who eſtabliſhed them, to have at leaſt a fifth. Canada, as the moſt enterpriſing and moſt thoroughly Anglo-Saxon dependency of the Britiſh Crown, ought to claim its own archbiſhop.* His ſee would, of courſe, lie in the civil metropolis of the kingdom; and the Archbiſhop of Ottawa would, for the preſent, have the metropolitical ſuperviſion of all Britiſh North America. As that enormous diſtrict continues to people itſelf—a diſtrict which may expect the fineſt future of any country in the world—more metropolitans will be needed. And another reaſon why that province more than any other ſtands in need of that ſuperviſion is to be found in the fact, that Canada, firſt of all the Britiſh poſſeſſions, has obtained a free election of her own biſhops.

Then the next thing to be endeavoured after is the change of name. Thoſe who are ſo nobly intereſting themſelves in the development of our Colonial Church, can ſcarcely conſult her real intereſt more than by preſſing this on the Government of the day at the next vacancy of Calcutta, Cape Town, Sydney, or New Zealand, that the ſucceeding prelate ſhould aſſume the title of archbiſhop. If in the life of the preſent incumbents, ſo much the better; but it ſtands to reaſon that this is exactly the one ſtep in advance which thoſe biſhops themſelves would be leſs willing to take. Men who will ſpend and be ſpent for their provinces, like the Biſhops of New Zealand and Cape Town, whoſe one end and aim is the welfare of thoſe infant Churches which will probably increaſe and multiply ſo vaſtly, would yet find it a difficult and delicate matter to propoſe the beſtowal on themſelves of the name of archbiſhop. It might have a look, in the eyes of thoſe who are determined to ſuſpect evil, of a deſire of ſelf-aggrandizement. They are too well acquainted with the real benefit of the title to refuſe it when offered; it muſt be the part of their friends

* [It needs not to be ſaid that this has ſince been carried out, though not at Ottawa.]

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to preſs its offer on thoſe who have the power of making it. If report is to be truſted, it was a very near point when Sydney was conſtituted a metropolitical ſee; probably a little more effort in this direction would gain the day.

Again: the patents of inſtitution give the metropolitan the largeſt poſſible power over his ſuffragans, even to ſuſpend them, if it ſhall ſeem neceſſary. Now the queſtion is, how far this power may be, and when it is to be, exerciſed.

There are ſome caſes in which the metropolitan may, no doubt, by his own individual act, reverſe the judgment of his inferior; there are ſome in which he could ſcarcely venture to do ſo without the authority of the provincial ſynod. Let us take an example of each.

Imagine that a prieſt, accuſed of immoral life, is ſuſpended by his dioceſan. He forthwith appeals to the metropolitan, who re-hears the caſe, finds him innocent, and reverſes the ſuſpenſion. This is a mere matter of fact, on which no further appeal ſhould be allowed.

But imagine, what we know unfortunately to be the caſe in one of the African dioceſes, that the Biſhop has ruled a point, which is abominable in the eyes of the clergy. There, for inſtance, it has been ordered, that a candidate for Chriſtian baptiſm, if married to more wives than one, need not put away all except one. Imagine that a chief in this condition offers himſelf for baptiſm, but declares his intention of retaining all his wives. The prieſt refuſes to receive him as a catechumen. The chief complains to the biſhop, who, for his part, admoniſhes the prieſt, and the latter remaining firm, ſuſpends him. The prieſt appeals to the metropolitan. Now, a point of general diſcipline like this is one that the metropolitan could hardly rule on his own mere dictum. He would receive the appeal with a promiſe of laying it before the provincial ſynod as ſoon as it could be aſſembled: and in the meantime, the appeal having been received, and its reception notified to the original dioceſan, the prieſt would continue his functions as uſual till the caſe was heard and decided. And this kind of caſes is moſt likely to occur in the firſt ſettlement of any heathen country.

An even more objectionable courſe was, if we remember right, propoſed, if not carried, in New Zealand; namely, that a heathen wife and huſband, if both converted, and deſirous of having the Church's benediction on their marriage, ſhould not be allowed to receive it unleſs they had lived apart for ſome time—we think it was thirty days—by way of penance, their former marriage being regarded as merely legalized adultery. Any prieſt might well feel indignant at, and reſolved to oppoſe

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to the last, so cruel an enactment: and thus would have arisen a question for a provincial synod.

We have seen before, how desirable it would be that no suffragan should be allowed to cross the sea without the leave of his metropolitan: a canon which seems to have been universal in primitive times.

Again: another point which is likely to be invested with more importance as the rights of chapters become better known, is this: whether the metropolitan chapter possesses over the province the same right which the episcopal chapter has over the diocese.

It has always been held, that the bishop, *quâ* bishop of a certain diocese, forms one body with his diocesan chapter; does the metropolitan *quâ* metropolitan form one body with his chapter? This may be a point of the greatest importance, as it has been before now. For, as every one knows, a diocesan chapter, or its vicars, may perform, the see vacant, everything which a bishop may perform, those acts which require the episcopal character alone excepted. Can a metropolitical chapter claim the same rights with regard to a metropolitan? It has been held by the best canonists that they can.

Now, here are two most important acts which belong to the metropolitan. In the first place, the designation of bishops to heathen countries beyond the British dominions. Many have been the services which the Bishop of Cape Town has rendered to the Church. This is the greatest benefit of which, under GOD, he has been the cause, and it will carry down his name to all future generations. Thanks to his indefatigable exertions, it has now been conceded by the law officers of the Crown, that no English law is broken if a colonial metropolitan, without applying for any leave or licence, consecrates a bishop for extra-British territory.* In this way, the proposed mission to Central Africa may be headed by a bishop; in this way, the Metropolitan of Calcutta might supply prelates to Java, or Sumatra, or Celebes. Now, in this case, the Metropolitan has the pure and simple right of choosing the bishop-designate; and—let this point also be marked—the metropolitical chapter, the see vacant, would have the same right of designating a missionary bishop, and requesting one of the suffragans to consecrate him. This is a right of inestimable value. For it might so happen, that he who was about to become, or was expected to be, the new metropolitan, might, through private feelings or prejudices, be unwilling to nominate for prelate him whom the chapter knew to

* [This must, of course, since the Honolulu difficulty, be said more doubtfully.]

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be the best man; and, therefore, without waiting for his consecration and arrival, they designate him themselves.

Again, everything seems tending to this: that the prelates of colonial dioceses will be elected by the diocese, but nominated by the Crown. May we be permitted, leaving our own immediate subject for one moment, to say a word or two on this subject of election? It has been our duty to oppose, so far as we were able, the intrusion of the laity into offices to which they have no claim,—as, for example, into diocesan synods. We have always endeavoured to show that this is not a clerical question; that it is not a right which the clergy might concede to the laity if they so would, but one which by the institution of the LORD JESUS CHRIST Himself has been forbidden to the *Ecclesia discens*, and confined to the *Ecclesia docens*. So much the more bound are we to stand up for the rights of the laity when they really exist. And that one of these rights is a voice in the election of a bishop, as much their bishop as that of the clergy, it needs little knowledge of ecclesiastical antiquity to allow. Every communicant of age, and not under Church censure, has a voice: the only question which may admit of discussion is, whether the laity and clergy should vote together, forming one majority, or whether they should be divided into two houses, and a majority in each be essential to election. What was the primitive custom is less easy to be certainly known; but the modern custom, which forms two houses, is surely by far the wisest; and, apparently, has been found to work well. Otherwise, when the clergy are very few, their influence would be entirely swamped by that of the lay communicants.

The election, when over, needs confirmation by the provincial synod. And in this another question arises: has the metropolitan merely his vote among the other bishops,—a casting vote if need require, and such influence as his station will necessarily give him,—or has he a vote external to, and independent of, that of the synod, so that after they have approved, he can veto? The primitive canons certainly seem to give him this; since they always mention the metropolitan as distinct from the comprovincials, and lay down that the elect must be approved by both.

One more question still remains to be discussed; namely, what authority of supervision the See of Canterbury has, and whether it ought to have any, over the colonial metropolitans. The terms of the act by which Calcutta was made a metropolis, and those of the patent which conferred the same dignity on Cape Town and Sydney, are not exactly the same, and are both very vague: the act, perhaps, seeming to attribute more to the English archbishop than the patent does. We have already seen

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that there is nothing contrary to mediæval practice, at leaſt, in an appeal from Cape Town or Sydney to Canterbury. Regard the latter as primate of theſe ſees, and he would then bear the ſame relation to them that Bourges did to Bourdeaux and Tours: Toledo to Seville and Tarragona, and the like. But then there is this vaſt difference: the diſtance that ſeparates Canterbury from the Auſtralian ſees is ſo infinitely greater, even with all our increaſed facilities for locomotion, than was that which intervened between the primatiſt and other metropolitical ſees of the Middle Ages. There ſeems no reaſonable hope that we ſhall live to ſee New Zealand brought within leſs than five weeks of Canterbury; and at preſent, as every one knows, the diſtance is far greater. Let the diſtance, however, be ſhortened as much as ſteam can do it, there will always be the expenſe; and an appeal caſe, ſo important as to be taken half round the world, muſt almoſt always involve a conſiderable number of witneſſes. Add to which, it is certain, if the preſent rate of poſſeſſion increaſes, that Auſtralia muſt, ere long, be divided into more metropoles than one. One metropolitan for that iſland will in time be no leſs abſurd than one metropolitan for Europe. Adelaide, no doubt, will have its own cluſter of biſhoprics: Victoria, the ſame: Perth, the ſame. Four metropolitans at leaſt in that one iſland. How far more natural to make one of them primate of the others, than to attribute the primacy to a biſhop thirteen thouſand miles off! And there never can be ſuch a thing, except in name, as a primate of primates: you get to a patriarch at once: and nothing but the authority of the Œcumenical Church can eſtabliſh that dignity. It might not, perhaps, be an impoſſible, or even undeſirable arrangement, ſuppoſing Ottawa to be the archbiſhopric of the Canadas, Barbados of the Weſt Indies, Cape Town of South Africa, that Canterbury ſhould have the primacy over theſe; but the time muſt come, and the ſooner it comes the better, that all appeal from Auſtralia to England ſhould be done away with.

What then muſt be done in caſe of an appeal againſt one of theſe primates? The only authority which could adjudicate on ſuch a caſe, would be a national council of the Engliſh Church, and thoſe Churches which are in communion with it. True, ſuch a body could not pretend to infallibility; but yet the united voice of at leaſt a hundred and forty biſhops ought to have no ſmall weight. Though not infallible, it would be entitled to as much reſpect as ſuch councils as thoſe in Trullo, and of Sardica, and Trent, and Bethlehem.

And this brings us to one brief obſervation with which we will conclude. It is more to be deſired than words can expreſs

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that the American and Scotch Churches ſhould ſubmit themſelves to metropolitical juriſdiction. What precedent have they for the aggregation of autocephalous biſhops, owing no obedience except to a ſynod? None, but the example of Ruſſia; and that example the invention of Peter the Great. The Scotch Church may, indeed, in ſome degree refer to the pattern of the African, where the chief biſhop in each province was rather a primus than an archbiſhop. But ſurely the miſerable fall and ſudden extinction of that Church, notwithſtanding its moſt glorious ſaints, Cyprian, Auguſtine, and Fulgentius, ought to make it a warning to, rather than a pattern for, us. As to Scotland, in point of fact, the Church has its metropolitan: only at Lambeth, inſtead of S. Andrews. Since the removal of the penal acts, the eccleſiaſtical independence of Scotland has been a very ſham affair. No one, we ſuppoſe, imagines that the epiſcopal ſynod would venture to propoſe or to veto any meaſure which was known to be diſliked by or deſired at Lambeth. Much, much better to lean on themſelves: to nominate one ſee,—and why not S. Andrews again, unleſs Edinburgh ſhould ſeem more convenient for the metropolis? The objection would be, that in that caſe the preſbyters of that one dioceſe would give a head to the Scotch Church. But ſurely, while the epiſcopal ſynod hold, and that very properly, a veto in their own hands, this objection is of ſmall conſequence. And truly, however objectionable is the ſyſtem of tranſlations, it is preferable to the anonymous condition of a Church without a metropolitan.

From the preſent ſtate of affairs it follows that America and Scotland are governed by bodies which are neither councils nor yet committees; which muſt be without the promiſes divinely attached to the former, or the regularity by organization certain to attend the latter. "I have heard," ſaid an eminent prelate to the writer, "of the grace of GOD promiſed to an individual; "I have alſo heard of its being promiſed to a council; but I "never heard of its being promiſed to an epiſcopal committee." And truly, judging from late occurrences in Scotland, we do not think that it is often found there.

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XI.

THE SIBYLS.*

THE Sibyls! Familiar as is the name to us, how little we realize the place which they occupied in the Chriſtian Mythology of the Mediæval Saints! How difficult to feel that ages which received the Decretals, received alſo the pſeudo-prophecies of Sibyllic compoſition with unbounded faith—received them, fed on them, built on them! And yet we doubt whether there are many Engliſh ſcholars who have ever read them through, while their ſublime poetry is all but unknown to ordinary ſtudents. Till lately, the huge compilations in which alone the χρησμοὶ were to be procured, rendered ſuch ignorance more excuſable. But Dr. Friedlieb's reprint, however grave its faults, at all events made the ſtudy of the Sibylline fragments open to all. And now M. Alexandre has produced a work which has fully exhauſted the ſubject. His good taſte, his learning, his graſp of his matter, his appreciation of the place which the Sibylline poems held in the centuries before our LORD —in primitive and in mediæval times—render his work the beſt French edition of a Greek book which it has ever been our lot to ſee.

We are to regard the Sibylline Oracles as a text-book of prophecy for early and mediæval times; and as ſuch we proceed to conſider them.

* Die Sibylliniſchen Weiſſagungen vollſtändig geſammelt; nach neuer Handſchriften-Vergleichung, mit Kritiſchem Commentare, und metriſcher Deutſcher Ueberſetzung. Herausgegeben von Dr. T. H. Friedlieb, Profeſſor an der Univerſität zu Breſlau. Leipzig: T. O. Weigel. 1852.

Χρησμοὶ Σιβυλλιακοί· Oracula Sibyllina: Textu ad Codices MSS. recognito: Maianis ſupplementis auctо: cum Caſtalionis verſione innumeris pæne locis emendatâ, et, ubi opus fuit, ſuppletâ: Commentario perpetuo: Excurſibus et Indicibus. Curante C. Alexandre. Pariſiis: Firmin Didot. 8vo. T. iii. Tomm.

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Dies iræ, dies illa
Solvet ſeclum in favillâ
Teſte David cum Sibyllâ.

It pleaſed the French Reformers of the Breviary to alter the two laſt lines after this faſhion:—

Crucis expandens vexilla
Solvet ſeclum in favilla.

But the original reading gives a far better idea of the influence which the Sibylline Oracles exerted over the whole of mediæval lore. To thoſe ages it ſeemed nothing wonderful if the GOD Who had inſpired Balaam to ſay, "I ſhall ſee Him, but not now; "I ſhall behold Him, but not nigh; there ſhall come forth a ſtar "out of Jacob, and a ſceptre ſhall ariſe out of Iſrael;" Who had inſpired Caiaphas with the declaration, "It is expedient that one man ſhould die for the people;" that He Who had even put thoſe words into the mouth of Virgil—

Jam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna:
Jam nova progenies cœlo demittitur alto:

that He ſhould alſo have vouchſafed to turn the oracles of darkneſs into the means of propagating the light. And certainly there are indubitable inſtances in which the devils, as of old time, confeſſed Him Whom they equally hated and feared. To ſay nothing of the tale related by Plutarch—which yet there ſeems no reaſonable ground for doubting—how the pilot Tamois, on the very evening of our LORD'S Paſſion, was commanded by an aerial voice to proclaim, near the promontory of Phalacrum, that "Great Pan is dead;" and inſtantly the whole ſurrounding atmoſphere was filled with the ſounds of wailing and lamentation: there are the irrefragable accounts of the ceſſation of the oracle of Daphne, when the remains of S. Babylas were there interred; and of the oracle which, ſilenced by S. Gregory's having paſſed a night in the temple, could not reſume its functions till the evil ſpirit was formally permitted to reaſſert his ancient power. Let us now, therefore, give a few quotations from the earlieſt Fathers, which ſhall ſhow how widely and how deeply the belief in the Sibylline Oracles had permeated the Church. In the firſt place, there is that paſſage in the Similitudes of S. Hermas, where there appears to the writer an aged woman, in glorious apparel, who begins to read from a volume. And ſome time afterwards the angel aſks:—"'The aged woman "from whom thou didſt receive this book: whom thinkeſt thou "her to be?' I replied, 'The Sibyl.' 'Wrong,' ſaid he; "it is not ſo.' 'Who then is ſhe, lord?' ſaid I; and he

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"anſwered, 'It is the Church of GOD.'" Then, again, we find S. Juſtin Martyr over and over again quoting the ſame teſtimony, and uſing the witneſs of the Propheteſs in verification of the truths of the Goſpel. S. Theophilus, Biſhop of Antioch, in the time of Commodus, in his Apology for the Chriſtian religion to his friend Autolycus, quotes largely from the Sibyl: and with reſpect to theſe early apologiſts one conſideration muſt ſtrike us with great force. Againſt whatever they ſaid, it was certain that the whole learning and ingenuity of the heathen world would be taxed to diſcover a reply. What entire confidence, then, muſt they have felt in the authenticity of theſe poems, who thus ſeem to imperil the being of the Chriſtian religion on ſuch an iſſue! S. Clement of Alexandria cites no leſs than forty-ſix verſes from the ſame poems. Origen, however, ſeems to have had a truer view of the ſubject. He does indeed maintain the authenticity of the Sibylline writings againſt Celſus as a matter of argument; but one cannot but feel him to be arguing againſt his own convictions, on the principle of not yielding an inch of ground to his adverſary. And in confirmation of this belief, we may obſerve that he never quotes the Sibyl but once, and then merely by way of alluſion rather than of argument. The ſame thing may be ſaid of S. Hippolytus; he never makes an abſolute citation from the Oracles, though he twice alludes to them; once, in the fifty-ſecond chapter of his work on Antichriſt; the other, in his book on the conſummation of the world. At the ſame time, that the ordinary run of the Greek-ſpeaking Chriſtians during the ſecond and third centuries deeply ſtudied, and were entirely imbued with the ſpirit of, theſe oracles, is made certain by the fact, that in the third century ſo many freſh forgeries of the ſame kind were publiſhed; ſo that, in fact, the more beautiful, and to a certain extent the more valuable, portion of the exiſting books are to be referred to that period.

But in the Weſtern Church, where criticiſm was at a much lower ebb, the Sibylline Oracles were quoted without any kind of doubt. Let us hear Tertullian: "I will ſpeak a little more "concerning Saturn, and will not omit thoſe teſtimonies of Divine "literature to which ſo much faith is due on account of their age. "The Sibyl, before literature exiſted at all, ſpeaks thus concern-"ing the birth and the hiſtory of Saturn. In the tenth genera-"tion, ſays ſhe, of men, after the Deluge, reigned Saturn, and "Titan, and Japetus,* the moſt mighty children of earth and "heaven." He is quoting that which we now read as the 108th verſe of the third book. In like manner in his treatiſe *De Pallio*,

* *Japetus* is a moſt eaſy and certain correction for *Jam fatus*.

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he tells us that the Sibyl ſpoke truth with reſpect to Delos and Samos, in manifeſt alluſion to Book viii. line 165.

Half a century later, Arnobius, in his treatiſe againſt the Gentiles, derides the heathen for affirming it to have been by the inſpiration of Apollo that the Sibyl uttered ſo much truth. In the ſame century, but later, that moſt excellent man, and moſt barbarous poet, Commodianus, transfers ſome of the Sibyllic rules into his own uncouth lines.

And next we come to Lactantius, who, of all Latin writers, is the moſt imbued with the ſpirit of theſe Oracles. There are in the works of this writer more than ſeventy quotations from the Oracles; and theſe of ſuch length, that from them no inconſiderable portion of the preſent Sibylline writings might be recovered. And it was probably from the works of Lactantius that the Emperor Conſtantine, in his oration to the Fathers of Nicæa, quoted the Sibyl; and more eſpecially referred to that moſt touching paſſage:—

αἰ, αἰ, ἐγὼ δειλὴ, πότ' ἐλεύσεται ἦμαρ ἐκεῖνο,

which one cannot but imagine to have been in the mind of Thomas of Celano, in that pathetic verſe of the *Dies Iræ*:—

Quid ſum miſer tunc dicturus?
Quam patronum rogaturus?
Cùm vix juſtus ſit ſecurus.

And, as we ſhall have occaſion hereafter to ſhow, Conſtantine dwells on the celebrated acroſtich of the LORD'S Name, as one of the moſt convincing proofs of the Chriſtian religion.

If we proceed in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, S. Cyril of Jeruſalem oppoſes one Sibylline paſſage to Julian; but, as it will appear, not taken from the original work, but a ſecond-hand quotation from the report which Euſebius gives of the oration of Conſtantine to the "Saints." In like manner, S. Baſil, S. Chryſoſtom, and S. Epiphanius have no reference whatever to the Sibyl; and if S. Gregory Nazianzen alludes to her, it is rather in his character of poet than of biſhop. Sozomen, however, quotes one line from the Oracles regarding the Croſs:—

ὦ ξύλον, ὦ μακάριστον, ἐφ' ᾧ θεὸς ἐξετανύσθη.

But it is ſingular that at an epoch which was ſuppoſed to be ſinking into darkneſs, Procopius paſſes a juſter opinion on theſe Oracles than moſt of his predeceſſors. He ſays that he cannot attach any importance to their prophecies as prophecies, becauſe they ſeem to have been written ſubſequently to the events of

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which they ſpoke; but that as works of a certain value in their way, he brings forward their teſtimony.

It is ſingular to find, in the fifth century, an Armenian author alluding to our Propheteſs. Monſieur Alexandre quotes from the Whiſtons' edition of Moſes Khorenſis a paſſage in which that author ſpeaks of the Sibyl. That edition we have not at hand; but either he quotes, or the Whiſtons tranſlated, incorrectly. We give the actual ſentence from the edition publiſhed at the Mekhitariſt preſs in 1841: "But at firſt I am glad that "I can begin my account from my dear Beroſian Sibyl, who is "much truer than the greater part of hiſtorians. Before the "Tower, and the multiplication of languages in the human race, "after the navigation of Xiſuthris into Armenia, Zerouan, Titan, "and Japhetos were princes of the earth. Theſe perſons ap-"pear to me to be Shem, Ham, and Japheth."*

The derivation of the word Sibyl, "ſhe that hath the counſel of GOD,"† ſeems next to certain. The number of the propheteſſes honoured‡ with that appellation is more doubtful; Varro, who, as cited by Lactantius, was the mediæval authority, mentions theſe:—1 The Perſic; 2. Libyan; 3. Delphian; 4. Cimmerian; 5. Erythræan; 6. Samian; 7. Cumæan; 8. Helleſpontic; 9. Phrygian; 10. Tiburtine; and their legends or attributes are uſually, in the Cathedrals of the Middle Ages, given as we ſhall preſently notice. Of the liſts which we know —in ſtalls, in ſtained glaſs, in ſtone ſculpture, in rood ſcreens, or in the illuminations of the huge choir-books—theſe cathedrals or minſters ſupply the beſt examples:—Ulm, in Würtemberg; Ribe, in Jutland; Amiens, in a South Chapel; Palencia, in Spain; Chaiſe-Dieu, in Burgundy; and Chartres. But Ulm, on the whole, is the beſt, and we may as well here repeat the prophecies of each Sibyl as there given. When the reader has acquainted himſelf with the intereſt of the productions themſelves, he will be the more ready to enter into an inquiry as to their date and authorſhip. We give the names as there ſpelt; the work dates 1469—1474.

1. *Sibella Eretria.* She holds the famous acroſtich, which, on

* Բայց ես այժմ ա-ռաքաջագոյն Հաւ- առնելով առաջիկայիցս իմոց բանից 'ի սիբիլեայն ի մէնէ. քան զլուսաւ յարդարեաւոցն, Իբիւսանեանն Սիբիլլեայ, &c.

† Σιός=θεός· βύλλα or βόλλα=βουλή. No one will now follow the derivation which Pauſanias tells us was in faſhion at Delphi (Phocea xii.), that σίβυλλα was a mere metatheſis for λίβυσσα.

‡ Tacitus ſays, Annal. vi. 12, "Quod a majoribus quoque decretum erat, poſt exuſtum civile bello Capitolium, quæſitis Samo, Ilio, Erythris, per Africam etiam ac Siciliam et Italicas colonias, carminibus Sibyllæ (*una ſeu plures fuere*) datoque ſacerdotibus negotio, quantum humana ope potuiſſent, vera diſcernere." This was in A.D. 32. See Walther, tom. i. 391.

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account of its world-wide reputation, it will be proper hereafter to quote. The Ulm verſion, admirably carved in an oaken ſcroll againſt the ſouth pier of the chancel arch, is that of S. Auguſtine.

We ſhall have occaſion to enter more at length, by-and-bye, into the ſubject of this moſt celebrated acroſtich; at preſent we merely paſs on to—

2. The Delphian Sibyl. "He ſhall give his back to the ſtrokes, and when He is ſmitten ſhall be ſilent." (Theſe fragments of proſe are not from any of the Sibylline Oracles, but from the words of Lactantius, who intends to give their ſubſtance.)

3. The Libyan Sibyl. "He ſhall take our intolerable yoke on His own neck, and wear it for us."

4. The Tiburtine Sibyl, called Albuna. "They ſhall hang "Him on a tree, and it ſhall profit them nothing; for on the "third day He ſhall riſe again, and ſhall ſhow Himſelf to His "diſciples, and ſhall be ſeen by them; He ſhall aſcend into "heaven, and of His kingdom there ſhall be no end."

5. The Helleſpontic Sibyl. (Here we have an attempted tranſlation from the original Greek, and in verſe.)

Felix ille Deus ligno qui pendet ab alto.

6. The Cumæan Sibyl, called Amalthea. "The veil of the "Temple ſhall be rent, and there ſhall be pitch-black night in "the mid-day."

7. The Cimmerian Sibyl, foretelling to Octavianus that GOD ſhould be born of a Virgin. (The line of Virgil.) "Jam nova "progenies cœlo demittitur alto."

8. The Phrygian Sibyl, called Antico. "He ſhall fall into "the hands of the unbelievers, and with wicked arms they ſhall "ſtrike the LORD, and ſhall with impure mouths ſpit poiſon-"ouſly upon Him."

Theſe eight are all that ſeem to have been known to the German architect; for there is no reaſon why, had he been ſo diſpoſed, he might not have introduced more. In other places we find eleven, or ſix. In a very exquiſitely illuminated manuſcript Breviary, now preſerved in the Royal Library at Copenhagen, there are ſixteen; but evidently with the deſign of matching each prophet—for all the prophets are in like manner thus repreſented—with a Sibyl. Each of the latter has a legend, conſiſting of one hexameter verſe, proceeding from her mouth, juſt as each prophet has his cleareſt prediction of our LORD attached to him the ſame way. But, in addition, the Sibyls

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have each, it would ſeem, their own peculiar attribute; diſtaff, ſpade, wheel, plumb-line, and ſo on, in a way which the preſent writer is not able to explain.

We now come to the periods at which the ſeveral poems at preſent joined together in one work, as the Sibylline Oracles, were actually written.

And part of that which is now called the third, has undoubtedly the claim to the higheſt antiquity. Only here we muſt carefully diſtinguiſh between the various parts of that book. They are four in number. The firſt (ver. 1 to 97) ſeems to have been a later addition. The ſecond, commencing at ver. 97, extends to ver. 294, and contains an account of the various empires of the Egyptians, Perſians, Medes, Ethiopians, Aſſyrians, and Macedonians. Then there appears to be another long inſertion, which extends to verſe 489; and then the fourth part of this book begins, and only ends with the book itſelf. Without entering deeply into their reaſons for ſo determining, it ſeems certain that the commentators are right in attributing the older part of this book to the time of Ptolemy Philometor: and, in all probability, to the Jew Ariſtobulus, the preceptor of Euergetes, brother of Philometor, as we learn from 2 Maccabees i. 10. "In the hundred fourſcore and eighth year, the people "that were at Jeruſalem, and in Judæa, and the Council, and "Judas, ſent greeting and health unto Ariſtobulus, king Ptolo-"meus' maſter, who, as of the ſtock of the anointed prieſts, and "of the Jews that were in Egypt." Theſe parts, therefore, of the third book, are entitled to very conſiderable authority; an authority equal to that of the Maccabees, and ſuperior to that of the apocryphal books of Eſdras. On this ſubject, no critics have written better than Bleek, Gfrörer, and Chauſen.

The commencement of the oldeſt part, conſiſting of verſes 97—294, and 489 to end, very probably intended to imitate the rhapſodical beginnings of the true Sibyls, opens thus:—

> But when the threat of GOD ſhall be fulfilled,
> The threat pronounced on mortals, when they raiſed
> That unbleſt turret in Aſſyria's land—
> For of one ſpeech were all; and ſo they willed
> The ſtarry heav'n with vain intent to reach:
> Wherefore th' ALMIGHTY gave His winds command
> And forthwith fell the Tower, ſo huge, ſo vaſt,
> And in its builders wild contention reign'd:
> And Babel is the name men give their work.
> But when that tow'r had fall'n, and human ſpeech
> Was cleft to various languages, the earth
> Was ſoon repleniſh'd with divided tribes,
> And parted out 'twixt monarchs. Then at laſt
> Roſe the tenth race of men, ſucceeding that

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Whelm'd by the Deluge. Then too Cronus reign'd,
Then Titan reign'd, then reign'd Iapetus,
The offspring of the earth and ſky—ſo men
Gave them their title, making earth and ſky
Their parents, for that they were greateſt far
Of human progeny:—in threefold ſhares
They meaſured out the earth, and each had rule
O'er the third part, peace reigning over all.

The writer then goes on to imitate the Theogony of Heſiod, twiſting it without much ingenuity to Scripture hiſtory. After running through a conſiderable portion of the world's annals, the writer ſays that there is a race

κατὰ χθονὸς οὖρ Χαλδαίων
Ἐξ ἧς μοι γένος ἐστὶ

of righteous men, who live holily among the gentiles; and, proceeding to deſcribe the Jews, he predicts terrible puniſhments on other nations, while they ſhall be reſtored to their own land:—

καὶ τότε δὴ ναὸς πάλιν ἔσσεται, ὡς πάρος ἦεν.

Next in time to the Erythræan Sibyl's prophecies, (for to her the third book has, from its ſuperior value, been attributed,) comes the fourth book, as we have it now; the fourth, in every recenſion, except the Munich manuſcript, where it is called the tenth. But this is evidently the compoſition of a Chriſtian, and probably of a Chriſtian Jew. The mixture of paſt hiſtory and future prophecy—the wild fragments ſo natural in a ſtate of excitement ſuch as thoſe of the early perſecutions—gives a lively idea of the immediate expectation which the Chriſtians of the firſt and ſecond centuries entertained of the coming of Antichriſt, and the Advent of the LORD. Thus (book iv. line 137) Antioch is to fall under the arms of Italy, led on by Antichriſt; Cyprus, by means of an earthquake, is to be overwhelmed in the ſea; an inundation of the Meander is to deſtroy the inhabitants of Caria; and all theſe things are but the precurſors of the final judgment. This book is undoubtedly the moſt intereſting to the ordinary ſtudent; and is abſolutely neceſſary to be read by thoſe who would form an idea of the hurried life of excitement in which the moſt primitive Chriſtians lived,—ſo different from the calm, quiet repoſe in the overruling providence of GOD, which our fancy is apt to attribute to them.

We may obſerve that our poet was not a millenarian—which, at the time of Titus or Domitian, in which this book was undoubtedly written, is worthy of notice. Let us give a ſpecimen or two of this book.

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At verſe 157 :—

> Woe! miſerable mortals! Dare not thus
> The utmoſt phials of GOD's fulleſt wrath!
> Lay down the ſword: forget the quarrel: leave
> The murderous feud unfollowed. Learn to lave
> Your bodies in the eternal ſtream, and ſpread
> Your ſupplicating hands to GOD's high throne,
> Beſeeching pardon, and with godly deeds
> Healing the bitter ſpring of ſin: then GOD
> Shall ſend His mercy on you, nor deſtroy
> According to your merits: He ſhall cauſe
> His burning wrath to ceaſe, if only all
> Shall exerciſe their ſouls with holy works.
> But if, O hard of heart, ye hear me not,
> But, for ye love tranſgreſſion, turn away
> To crime and violence, a fire ſhall rage
> Throughout the world, and this ſhall be the ſign:
> About the hour of ſunriſe, ſwords ſhall blaze,
> And trumpets echo, and the whole wide earth
> Shall hear the mighty uproar and diſmay.
> Then the great globe's rotundity ſhall burn:
> And men and cities periſh: and the fire
> Shall lick up ſtreams and ſea, and all be duſt.
> But when deſtruction is fulfill'd, GOD's Hand
> Shall quench the fire it kindled; and the duſt
> And aſhes with a human form endue,
> And mortals re-create as firſt they were.
> Then ſhall the judgment be; then GOD ſhall ſit
> Dooming the world Himſelf. Who ſold themſelves
> To foul tranſgreſſion, ſhall again be piled
> With funeral heaps: but every pious ſoul
> Shall live again, on earth by GOD endued
> With ſpirit, breath, and vigour: they His grace
> Shall endleſſly adore. O man, thrice bleſs'd!
> Who ſo ſhall ſee that day, and ſeeing live!

Theſe laſt lines, which conclude the book, are preſerved in their fulneſs only in the Apoſtolic Conſtitutions (book 7). The concluding verſes in the Sybilline MSS. were probably mutilated by ſome over-orthodox tranſcriber, for the purpoſe of bringing them into better agreement with the Apocalypſe.

Next in age to the fourth book, comes that which is uſually called the Proem. This was firſt edited in the *Princeps Editio* of Theophilus to Autolycus,—the ſame work which has been of late ſo ably tranſlated by Mr. Flower,—in 1545, and at once created a ſenſation among the learned of Europe. From that time to this, it has ſtood as the preface to the whole collection of Oracles. Nothing is clearer than that this is the compoſition of a ſcholar in the Chriſtian ſchool of Alexandria: not only the general ſpecies of ratiocination is ſufficient to prove the fact, but the reference made over and over again to the unfortunate cats

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whom the Egyptians turned into gods, is a proof in the ſame direction. Thus, in verſe 60—

αἰσχυνθῆτε γαλᾶς καὶ κνώδαλα θειοπαιοῦντες.

And again—

προσκυνέοντες ὄφεις, κύνας, αἰλούρους, ἀνόητοι,
καὶ πετέεινα σέβεσθε, καὶ ἑρπετὰ θηρία γαίης.

It has been made a queſtion, indeed, whether this Proem were not the work of an Alexandrian Jew, coeval with Ptolemy Philometor. But the references to the joys and glories of paradiſe which conſtantly occur here and there; and again, and eſpecially, the mention of "the Bread of Heaven," "the Bread of Angelic Hoſts:" "the Sweet Bread of the ſtarry heaven"—muſt be ſufficient to ſettle the queſtion; for what Alexandrian Jew ever thus ſpoke? And again, the phraſe, ζωὴν κληρονομοῦσι, is not to be found in the Old Teſtament; and only twice is a ſimilar expreſſion to be met with, namely in Eccleſiaſticus iv. 14, and xx. 25. Again, Paradiſe, ſpoken of as eternal felicity, occurs nowhere in the Old Teſtament, except in Ecclus. xliv. 16; and then not in the Greek, but only in the Latin, verſion.

The ſo-called eighth book comes next. This is divided into four different portions by great lacunæ, and of theſe the two laſt are of a later date. The firſt is cited by Lactantius, but is manifeſtly later than the ſecond. This ſecond part begins with the celebrated acroſtich, of which we will firſt give S. Auguſtine's verſion—that which is engraved at Ulm:—

Judicii ſignum, tellus ſudore madeſcet.
E cœlo Rex adveniet per ſæcla futurus,
Scilicet in carne præſens ut judicet orbem.
Unde Deum cernent incredulus atque fidelis
Celſum cum ſanctis, ævi jam termino in ipſo.
Sic animæ cum carne aderunt, quas judicat ipſe,
Cum jacet incultus denſis in vepribus orbis.
Rejicient ſimulacra viri, cunctam quoque gazam:
Exuret terras ignis, pontumque, polumque,
Inquirens; tetri portas exuret Averni.
Sanctorum ſed enim cunctæ lux libera carni
Tradetur; ſontes æternum flamma cremabit.
Occultos actos retegens tunc quiſque loquetur;
Secreta atque Deus reſerabit pectora luci.
Tunc erit et luctus; ſtridebunt dentibus omnes.
Eripitur ſolis jubar, et chorus interit aſtris;
Volvetur cœlum; lunaris ſplendor obibit:
Dejiciet colles, valles extollet ab imo:
Non erit in rebus hominum ſublime vel altum:
Jam æquantur campis montes, et cærula ponti
Omnia ceſſabunt, tellus confracta peribit:
Sic pariter fontes torrentur fluminaque igni.

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Sed tuba tunc ſonitum triſtem dimittet ab alto
Orbe, gemens facinus miſerum varioſque labores;
Tartareumque chaos monſtrabit terra dehiſcens;
Et coram hic Domino reges ſiſtentur ad unum;
Recidet e cœlis igniſque et ſulphuris amnis.

The initials of S. Auguſtine's verſion run thus:—

Jeſucs Creiſtos Teu Dnios Soter.

The *c* in the firſt wórd is ſimply the effect of a deſire to imitate the ſhape, as well as the ſound, of the Greek ſigma. The *e* in Creiſtos is the faithful copy of the original. The *Dn* in the fourth word ſeems to have been intended to expreſs the ſoft ſound of the T. The other tranſlations given by Alexandre are—that of an anonymous writer, quoted by Onuphrius Pannius, which ſimply gives the Greek letters: one by Onuphrius himſelf—Jeſus Chriſtus Dei Filius Servator Crux: one by Caſtalio—Jeſus Chreiſtus Dei Filius Servator Crucs: by Aitzema—Jeſus Chriſtus Dei Filius, Servator. Cruc.: and by the Editor—Jeſus Chriſtus Dei Filius Salus in Cruce.

After ſo many attempts, it is ſurely our own duty to try this bow of Ulyſſes:—

J udgment at hand, the earth ſhall ſweat with fear:
E ternal King, the Judge ſhall come on high:
S hall doom all fleſh: ſhall bid the world appear
U nveiled before His Throne. Him every eye
S hall, juſt or unjuſt, ſee in majeſty.

C onſummate time ſhall view the Saints aſſemble,
H is own aſſeſſors: and the ſouls of men
R ound the great judgment-ſeat ſhall wail and tremble
I n fear of ſentence. And the green earth then
S hall turn to deſert: they that ſee that day
T o moles and bats their gods ſhall caſt away.

S ea, earth, and heaven, and hell's dread gates ſhall burn:
O bedient to their call, the dead return:
N or ſhall the Judge unfitting doom diſcern:

O f chains and darkneſs to each wicked ſoul:
F or them that have done good, the ſtarry pole.

G naſhing of teeth, and woe, and fierce deſpair
O f ſuch as hear the righteous Judge declare
D eeds long forgot, which that laſt day ſhall bare.

T hen, when each darken'd breaſt He brings to ſight,
H eaven's ſtar ſhall fall; and day be changed to night;
E ffaced the ſun-ray, and the moon's pale light.

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S urely the valleys He on high ſhall raiſe;
A ll hills ſhall ceaſe, all mountains turn to plain;
V eſſel ſhall no more paſs the watery ways:
I n the dread lightning parching earth ſhall blaze,
O gygian rivers ſeek to flow in vain:
U nutterable woe the trumpet blaſt,
R e-echoing through the ether, ſhall forecaſt.

T hen Tartarus ſhall wrap the world in gloom,
H igh chiefs and princes ſhall receive their doom,
E ternal fire and brimſtone for their tomb.

C rown of the world, ſweet wood, ſalvation's horn,
R earing thy form, ſhalt then for man be born:
O wood, that Saints adore, and ſinners ſcorn!
S o from twelve fountains ſhall its light be poured,
S taff of the Shepherd, and victorious ſword.

With this acroſtich may be well compared the remarkable epitaph, diſcovered at Autun, and firſt tranſcribed by Dom Pitra in 1839. We here give it, as reſtored partly by him, partly by Alexandre; with one reading, to be mentioned in its place, of our own. The acroſtich is *ἰχθὺς εἰς ἀεί*:—

Ἰχθύος οὐρανίου θεῖον γένος ἤτορι σεμνῷ
Χρῆσε λαλῶ[ν φωνὴ]ν ἀμβροτον ἐν βροτέοις·
Θεσπεσίων ὑδάτων τὴς σὴν, φίλε, θάλπεο ψυχὴν
Ὕδασιν ἀενάοις πλουτοδότου σοφίης·
Σωτῆρος δ' ἀγίην μελιηδέα λάμβανε βρῶ[σιν]·
Ἔσθιε, πῖνε, δ[υεῖ]ν ἰχθὺν ἔχων παλάμαιν·
Ἰχθῦ Χ[ριστὲ] μέγα, Γαλιλαίων δέσποτα Σῶτερ,
Συγ[γενέων ῥ]υτὴρ, σὲ λιτάζομαι, φῶς τὸ θανόντων,
Ἁ[λίξ]ανδρε πάτερ, τῷ μῷ κεχαρισμένε θυμῷ,
Εὐμεν[ήσ]τῳ σὺν μητρὶ καὶ αἰθαίμ[οισιν ἑμοῖσιν
Ἴ[λαθι, καὶ παιδὸς] μνήσεο Πεκτορίου.

The *συγγενέων* ſeems to us, next to certain. Alexandre's reading is *συσσίτων*· which *may* be right: the acroſtich forbids that which others read, *εὐσεβέων*.

The minute prophecies of our LORD'S life, which occur in this book, are thus referred to by S. Juſtin (Cohort. § 38):— *πείσθητε τῇ ἀρχαιοτάτῃ καὶ σφόδρα παλαιᾷ Σιβύλλῃ, ἧς τὰς βίβλους ἐν πάσῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ σώζεσθαι συμβαίνει, περὶ μὲν τῶν λεγομένων θεῶν ὡς μὴ ὄντων ἀπό τινος δυνατῆς ἐπιπνοίας διὰ χρησμῶν ὑμᾶς διδασκούσῃ· περὶ δὲ τῆς τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι παρουσίας καὶ περὶ πάντων τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι μελλόντων σαφῶς καὶ φανερῶς προαναφαινούσῃ.*

Next to this, in reſpect of antiquity, comes the firſt part of the eighth book. This deſcribes very clearly the date of its own compoſition. After the reign of fifteen Roman emperors there ſhall be a king, ſays the Sibyl, with white hair: and the effigy of Hadrian is then drawn to the life. After this, *in the*

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laſt days, (and notice that expreſſion,) there ſhall be three kings, whoſe names ſhall reſemble that of Adonai—that is, the Antonines: and the miſery of the human race during the period of their empire is moſt graphically deſcribed. After this we come to a mere gueſs-work of prophecy: how, when a fiery dragon ſhall come acroſs the water, carrying in its belly a body of troops who ſhall fight againſt Rome,—then will be the end of the world, the ſigns of which are deſcribed again at length. It is next to certain, then, that this part of the book was written under Antoninus Pius; but not immediately after his acceſſion: becauſe he is here called old, whereas he was but fifty-four when he aſcended the imperial throne. It is alſo almoſt certain that our poet had before his eyes that which we now call the fourth book, and that which is reckoned the ſecond part of the eighth, from which he appears to quote two lines. Of this alſo let us give a ſpecimen:—

> And after him, in Time's approaching end,
> Three ſhall have rule, who bear GOD's higheſt Name,
> That Name, whoſe might and glory lives for aye.
> Of theſe, the firſt, now aged, yet ſhall hold
> The ſceptre for long years: a gloomy king,
> Who ſhall ſhut up all wealth of every realm
> Within his treaſure-houſe, that when from far,
> The matricide, returning, claims his own,
> He may enrich his Aſia with the ſpoil.

We ſhall have occaſion ſhortly to unravel this prophecy: at preſent we may obſerve that after the eighth we may place the fifth book; the authorſhip of which is a queſtion of great difficulty. It would appear, however, that, although ſome paſſages ſeem to be taken from the New Teſtament, the probability on the whole is, that the writer was a Jew; but whether Chriſtian or Jew, he was undoubtedly an Egyptian, and therefore an Alexandrian. Alexandre makes him almoſt contemporary with the writer of the firſt part of the eighth book—perhaps a few years later. But to us the reference to the extinction of the fire of Veſta ſeems too clear to be paſſed over as an index to the real date. Now, according to Herodian, the deſtruction of the Temple of Veſta by fire took place in the year 191; and very ſoon after that this book would appear to have been compoſed.

Not to be tedious, next would follow the third part of the third book; then the ſixth and ſeventh; then the firſt and ſecond, which as poetical compoſitions, perhaps, claim the firſt place. Let us give a few ſpecimens of them. The firſt book commences thus:—

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Beginning from the earlieſt race of man,
Until the latter day, my ſong ſhall tell
That which hath been, and is, and muſt be yet
In this world's hiſtory through human ſin.
And, firſt, the GOD commands me that I ſay
How this world ſprang to being. Thou, give ear;
Leſt thou forget that mightieſt King of kings
Who ſaid, "Let all things be," and all things were.
He ſet the earth on chaos, gave ſweet light,
Arched high the heavens and ſmoothed the hoary ſea,
And crowned the pole with ſtars, a tire of flame,
Adorned the earth with flowers, and fed the deep
With flowing rivers; through the air diſperſed
Thick miſts and dewy clouds. And next he formed
The fiſhy tribes of ocean; gave the birds
To ſoar amidſt the air, and filled the woods
With beaſts of divers races, and with them
That creep upon the ground; yea, all that is,
All that man views around him, owns his hand.

Then comes, in cloſe accordance with the Book of Geneſis, the hiſtory of the Fall; and partly from that and partly from the poetic tradition of the gold and ſilver ages, an account of the gradual deterioration of the human race. In the deſcription of the Deluge, the pſeudo-Sibyl has evidently in mind that moſt noble paſſage in Heſiod where Jupiter is repreſented as putting forth all his ſtrength to cruſh the rebellious giants; and —which we do not remember to have ſeen noticed by any of the commentators on Milton—our own poet ſeems to have availed himſelf of the Sibylline deſcription. Let us give the two paſſages. Thus Heſiod ſpeaks (we quote from Elton's tranſlation):—

——No longer then did Jove
Curb his full power: but inſtant in his ſoul
There grew dilated ſtrength, and it was filled
With his omnipotence. At once he looſed
His whole of might, and put forth all the god.
The vaulted ſky, the mount Olympian, flaſhed
With his continual preſence; for he paſſed
Inceſſant forth, and ſcattered fires on fires.
Hurl'd from his hardy graſp the lightnings flew
Reiterated ſwift; the whirling flaſh
Caſt ſacred ſplendour, and the thunderbolt
Fell: roar'd around the nurture-yielding earth
In conflagration; for on every ſide
The immenſity of foreſts crackling blazed:
Yea, the broad world burn'd red; the ſtreams that mix
With ocean, and the deſerts of the ſea.

The Sibylline Oracles read thus:—

Then paſs'd his wife, his ſons, then paſs'd their wives
Into the wooden caſtle: after them
Thoſe other tribes, whom GOD had willed to ſave.

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But when the key had looſed its iron bolt,
And made all faſt, the LORD's celeſtial will
Began its own accompliſhment: He drove
Cloud over cloud, and hid the fiery diſk:
And moon and ſtars, and heavenly coronet
He cover'd with His darkneſs: thundering loud,
O dread alarm to mortals! forth He ſent
The whirlwind of His wrath; all winds that blew
He heap'd up one on other: at His word
The founts of the great deep were broken up:
The cataracts of heav'n deſcended, all
The abyſſes meaſureleſs of earth, unſeal'd,
Pour'd forth their flood of waters: yea, the waves
Ten thouſand times ten thouſand, leapt and whirl'd
Over the boundleſs plains: and from the houſe
Of GOD Himſelf, with wind and waters black,
The fierce loud billows daſh'd adown the ſky,
And all was wildeſt uproar; while the ark
Cutting the boundleſs foam, ſecurely rode
On the wild motion of the plangent waves.

The laſt line, in the original, may vie with that of Homer, in his epithet of the ſea:—

στείρα, κινυμένων ὑδάτων κελαρυζομένάων.

At the concluſion of the deluge the poem—greatly to the ſurpriſe of its annotators—without any connecting link or other notice of the vaſt gap of time between the two events, proceeds to the coming of the Son of GOD. But moſt naturally: the Chriſtian author, under the heathen imperſonation, had been taught by S. Peter that "the like figure, even baptiſm, doth alſo now ſave us:" was led from the ark to remember the Church; and by the Church was called at once to the Founder of that Church and His Incarnation. And thus he proceeds:—

But when the unmeaſur'd billowy ſurge that ſeethed
Out of the huge abyſſes, now at length
Shall hear GOD's voice, and leſſening, leſſening ſtill,
Sink back rebuked; and once again the heights
Of mountain peaks, and bold ſea-breaſting capes
Shall beetle as of old: then He, GOD's Son,
Son of the Living GOD, ſhall take man's fleſh
Incarnate, and converſe with Adam's race.
Now mark His name: four vowels ſhall it bear;
One conſonant repeated: in its ſound
Eight hundreds, decads eight, and monads eight.
Thus ſhalt thou know, and knowing ſhalt adore,
The eternal FATHER's co-eternal SON,
Anointed for His miſſion. He the law
Shall not deſtroy, but rather ſhall fulfil
In all its full ſignificance of type,
And teach its holieſt meaning. Prieſts ſhall come,
And bring their gold, their frankincenſe, their myrrh,
As ſeers have propheſied.

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And running very briefly through our Bleſſed LORD'S life, the Sibyl thus concludes the firſt book :—

> But when He ſhall extend thoſe quickening hands
> And meaſure all things, and ſhall wear the crown
> With thorns inwoven; when His glorious ſide
> Is wounded with the ſpear, and night ſhall reign
> For three hours' ſpace amidſt the height of day,
> Then ſhall the Solomonian Temple ſhow
> A mighty ſign, what time the King deſcends
> To Hades, preaching freedom to the dead.
> But when three days ſhall paſs, then, death o'erthrown,
> He ſhall aſcend to light, and teach the way
> That mortal ſteps muſt follow; and at length
> He, riſing glorious to His native heaven,
> Shall point the road which leads His followers there.
> Thenceforth the apoſtles ſhall be this world's guides,
> And prophets' voice be ſilent evermore.

Or if Hexameters ſhall ſeem to give a better idea of the Sibylline works, take the following paſſage from the ſame book :—

> This is the conteſt for man,—the prize propoſed for the ſoldier,
> This is the Gate of Life, and ſweet Immortality's portal:
> GOD ſhall extend it to thoſe that are greateſt and trueſt of athletes,
> In that they fought this fight,—and they that ſhall merit the guerdon,
> Thus having won the reward, ſhall enter the Kingdom of Glory.
> Then ſhall the end be at hand, when many a prophet of falſehood,
> Filling the earth with his lies, ſhall deceive thoſe ignorant thouſands.
> Belial alſo ſhall come, and performing deceivable wonders,
> Draw away crowds to his worſhip. With mighty and dread devaſtation
> Shall the elect be o'erwhelm'd—o'erwhelm'd both Gentiles and Hebrews.
> Happy beyond compare, thrice happy and bleſſed the ſervant,
> Whom, when He knocks, the LORD ſhall find awaiting His advent!
> Noon it may be when He comes, or midnight; cock-crow, or twilight:
> But of a truth come He SHALL,—and prophecy then be accompliſh'd.

We muſt not, however, paſs without notice, the curious inſertion, in the ſecond book, of about a hundred verſes from the moral poem of Phocyllides. For an inſertion it clearly is, and the way in which the coarſeſt and fouleſt lines of the original poem are either omitted or ſoftened by the Chriſtian compiler is very curious; and a complete proof that the poem in queſtion was not for the firſt time compoſed by the writer of the Sibylline oracles.

Laſt of all, in age, come the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth books—firſt publiſhed by Cardinal Mai, at Rome, in 1828; except that the fourteenth had been already brought to light by Struve, at Milan, in 1817.

We will now call attention to a few theological peculiarities of theſe books.

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We have the moſt clear evidence of the orthodoxy of the Chriſtian writers as to the Divinity of our LORD :—

viii. 2. οὗτος ὁ νῦν προγραφεὶς ἐν ἀκροστιχίοις Θεὸς ἡμῶν.

Again : viii. 462 :—

δίξαι ἐν ἀχράντοισι Θεὸν σοῖς, Παρθένε, κόλποις.

And ſtill more plainly at v. 474 :—

ἀλλ' οὐδὲν μέγα θαῦμα Θεῷ Πατρὶ καὶ Θεῷ Υἱῷ.

And ſo again, in the ſame book, v. 264 (it is a paſſage which Milton may have ſtudied)—

αὐτὸν γὰρ πρώτιστα λαβὼν σύμβουλον ἀπ' ἀρχῆς
εἶπεν ὁ Παντοκράτωρ, Ποιήσωμεν, Τέκνον, ἄμφω
εἰκόνος ἐξ ἰδίης ἀπομαξάμενοι βροτὰ φῦλα·
νῦν μὲν ἐγὼ χερσὶν, σὺ δ' ἔπειτα λόγῳ θεραπεύσεις
μορφὴν ἡμετέρην.

Nor are the poems leſs explicit as to the Incarnation :—

xii. 32. καὶ τότε δὴ κρύφιος ἥξει Λόγος Ὑψίστοιο
σάρκα φέρων θνητοῖσιν ὁμοίϊον. . . .

But here an exception muſt be made.

The ſixth and ſeventh books, orthodox on our LORD'S Divinity, are groſſly—though we may fairly hope, unintentionally—heretical on His Incarnation; which they appear to connect, in ſome extraordinary way, with His Baptiſm;—a hereſy which Irenæus attributes to ſome of the Cerinthians, and S. Epiphanius to the Ebionites. The paſſages are too long to quote, but may be found in vi. 3 and vii. 66.

The ſigns which our poets give of the end of the world are principally theſe :—

Mighty appearances in Heaven, iii. 334; v. 154; ii. 34.

Children with grey hairs at birth, ii. 154.

General barrenneſs of women, ii. 163.

The Fall of the Roman Empire, in numberleſs paſſages.

Antichriſt.

The coming of Elijah.

The reign of a woman.

As to the grey hairs of children, it ſeems to have been ſimply a Gentile tradition.

Heſiod, Opp. et Dies, 178 :—

Ζεὺς δ' ὀλέσει καὶ τοῦτο γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων
Εὖτ' ἂν γινόμενοι πολιοκράταφοι τελέθωσι.

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With reſpect to the fall of the Roman Empire, the Sibyl gives credit to a common prophecy, drawn from the numeral letters of Ῥώμη.

τρὶς δὲ τριηκοσίους καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ὀκτὼ
πληρώσεις λυκάβαντας, ὅταν σοι δύσμορος ἥξῃ
μοῖρα βιαζομένη, τεὸν οὔνομα πληρώσασα.

That is, that the 948th year of the city would be fatal to it.

But though the writer of this prophecy did not live to ſee that 948th year, the 2nd of Severus—in which nothing happened—yet his continuer in the thirteenth book had actually outlived the time, and was forced to make another prophecy; ſomething after the faſhion of Dr. Cumming's errata in reſpect of the period of the Laſt Day. The ſecond gueſſer, however, was no more fortunate than the firſt. He deviſed the theory, that Rome had really been founded 105 years later than her *faſti* declared; and the fatal year, thus poſtponed again, fell in the 5th of Diocletian, by which time the bard—of the age of Aurelian—was doubtleſs ſleeping well in the Catacombs, and very little concerned with the failure of his augury.

Antichriſt. The Sibylline idea ſeems to have been that this was Nero; an idea which long ſurvived that monſter's own life. One of thoſe ſtrange popular deluſions, which alſo fixed on Sebaſtian of Portugal, and our own Edward V.—and, long before, on Arthur—affirmed that Nero was not really dead; that he had eſcaped the vengeance of the Senate by flying into Parthia, that he would thence ſome day return, and again poſſeſſing himſelf of Rome, become the Antichriſt of prophecy. The way in which the Sibyl interprets the prediction in the Revelation appears to be this (*Rev.* xvii. 8): "The beaſt that thou ſaweſt, was and is not, and ſhall aſcend out of the bottomleſs pit, and "go into perdition. . . . The ſeven heads are ſeven mountains, "on which the woman ſitteth. And there are ſeven kings: five are fallen"—Auguſtus, Tiberius, Caius, Claudius, Nero—"and "one is"—Galba—"and the other is not yet come"—Otho—"and when he cometh, he muſt continue a ſhort ſpace. And "the beaſt that was and is not," namely Nero, "even he is the "eighth"—that is to ſay, is riſing again under the form of Veſpaſian, "and goeth into perdition. And the ten horns which "thou ſaweſt, are ten kings, which have received no kingdom as "yet,"—that is, Veſpaſian, Titus, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, Adrian, Antoninus, Aurelius, Pertinax, Commodus.

But when it was manifeſt that the fifteenth Roman emperor had departed this life, and ſtill no appearance of Antichriſt, while the length of time that had elapſed ſince the reign of Nero rendered the expectation of his return impoſſible, another belief

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began to poſſeſs the Church. It now began to be ſaid that Antichriſt, though he might have found a type in Nero, would be a Jew; by his father of the tribe of Dan, by his mother a Samaritan. There are various reaſons to be drawn from Scripture for the ſelection of that tribe. In the firſt place, its omiſſion in the liſt of thoſe that each afforded their twelve thouſand in the Revelation. Next, that in the prophetical declaration, after the mention of Dan, the patriarch exclaims, "I have waited for thy "ſalvation, O LORD;" as if there were another ſalvation, and another Lord in ſome way connected with that tribe. And this belief laſted down into the Middle Ages; inſomuch that in ſuch writers as S. Hrabanus Maurus, Abælard, Rupert, and the like, the current opinion ſeems to be that when a pope of the tribe of Dan ſhall aſcend the chair of S. Peter, it is he that will be Antichriſt. And in the writings of the later Sibylline bards, Belial, or Beliar, is the name by which Antichriſt is called.

The next ſign of the end of the world is the coming of Elijah. This is diſtinctly referred to in book ii. line 187. The poet writes thus:—

> And then the Tiſhbite in a fiery car
> Deſcending from the heavens, ſhall ſhow theſe ſigns
> That herald the approach of this world's end.
> Woe, woe, for them that then ſhall bear the load
> Of near maternity? Woe, woe, for them
> That to their helpleſs babes give ſuck! For them
> That dwell beſide the ſea! Woe, woe, for all
> That ſhall behold that day, if day it be,
> When o'er the boundleſs earth a pitchy cloud
> From eaſt to weſt, from north to ſouth ſhall roll.
> Then ſhall this ſtream of blazing flame go forth
> Before the heavenly throne, and laying waſte
> Both earth and ocean, every creek and bay,
> Each lake and ſtream, each fountain, and the depths
> That lie beneath the earth, ſhall glitter, high
> Even to the heavenly poles.

What the three miracles are that Elijah, in his character as one of the two witneſſes, is to perform, does not ſeem ſo certain. Probably the Sibyl, applying Rev. xi. 5, 6, to that prophet alone, reckoned them thus:—1. "If any man will hurt them, "fire proceedeth out of their mouth, and devoureth their "enemies." 2. "Theſe have power to ſhut heaven, that it "rain not, in the days of their prophecy." 3. "And have "power over waters to turn them to blood."

Of the heterodox teaching of the Sibylline books, that which has excited the greateſt attention is the denial—occurring, however, only in one place, ii. 300—of the eternity of future puniſhment:—

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τοῖς καὶ ὁ παντοκράτωρ Θεὸς ἄφθιτος ἄλλο παρέξει
εὐσεβέσιν, ὁπόταν Θεὸν ἄφθιτον αἰτήσωνται
ἐκ μαλεροῖο πυρὸς μακραιώνων τ' ἀπὸ βρυγμῶν
ἀνθρώπους σῶσαι δώσει· καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσει.
λεξάμενος γὰρ ἕκαστον ἀπὸ φλογὸς ἀκαμάτοιο
ἄλλοσ' ἀποστήσας πέμψει διὰ λαὸν ἑαυτοῦ
εἰς ζωὴν ἑτέραν καὶ αἰώνιον ἀθανάτοισιν
Ἠλυσίῳ πεδίῳ.

This is the very doctrine of Origen: but is emphatically denounced by the copyist of one of the best Sibylline MSS. in certain tuneless lines, which savour of the seventh or eighth century:—

ψευδῆ προφανῶς· οὐδὲ γὰρ λήξει ποτὲ
τὸ πῦρ κολάζον τοὺς κατακεκριμένους.
κἀγὼ γὰρ ἂν εὐξαίμι τοῦθ' οὑτῶς ἔχειν
οὐλαῖς μεγίσταις σφαλμάτων ἐστιγμένος,
αἳ μείζονος χρῄζουσι φιλανθρωπίας.
ἀλλ' αἰσχυνέσθω φληναφῶν Ὠριγένης,
πέρας γενέσθαι τῶν κολασέων λέγων.

The teaching with respect to angels is very full and well developed. We read, in the seventh book, of a kind of angelic guardianship, though perhaps not precisely that which the later Church has held:—

οἱ δὲ διαγγελτῆρες ὑπαὶ ποσὶ κοιμήσονται,
οἵ τε πυρὰς φαίνουσι, καὶ οἳ ποταμοὺς φαίνουσιν,
οἵ τ' ἄστη σώζουσι, καὶ οἱ πέμπουσιν ἀήτας.

The names of some of the angels are clearly taken from the apocryphal books, and more especially from that of Enoch:—

ἕξουσ' Ἰρεμιὴλ, Ὀριὴλ, Σαγιὴλ, Ἀζαὴλ,

—or Ἀζαζὴλ. Oriel is, of course, Uriel; but Azazel in the book of Enoch (chap. xlii. and lxviii.) is a demon. Hence our great poet, whose learning really seems unfathomable:—

that proud honour claim'd
Azazel as his right, a cherub tall.

It had been our intention to add somewhat on the—we can only call them so—*vagaries* of the Sibylline metre. But we fear that the subject is not, to the greater part of our readers, of sufficient interest to warrant such a disquisition. We will, therefore, end by simply recommending the study of these curious books to those who would learn the politico-religious views of the third and fourth centuries; to those who are interested in prophetical interpretations of the Apocalypse; and to those who would see the gradual shading off of Alexandrine Judaism into Alexandrine Christianity: the two so clearly presenting a cer-

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tain community of features ; and yet ſo marvellouſly, ſo irreconcilably, at variance.

And we are bound once more to expreſs the great obligations which eccleſiaſtical ſcholars have incurred to M. Alexandre, for this moſt laborious, moſt accurate, moſt admirable edition of one of the hardeſt—moſt corrupt—moſt obſcure—of all works. Surely he will apply his learning and talent to the elucidation of ſome other monument of antiquity, if not more intrinſically valuable, at leaſt probably more univerſally intereſting.

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XII.

PRESENT STATE OF THE GALLICAN CHURCH.*

THE publications which we have grouped together form, more or leſs, a proof of the renewed ſtruggle between Gallicaniſm and the Ultramontane tenets which, till lately, have ſeemed to hold undivided ſway in France. Twenty years ago it almoſt appeared as if the four famous Articles of 1682, as if the truths for which Boſſuet wrote, and acted, and ſuffered, had been utterly forgotten. All the earneſt religion of France was Ultramontane. Under the dynaſty of the Orleans family, the old views of the eſtabliſhed Gallican Church were ſimply impoſſible; and we have ſeen in the later years of Louis Philippe a member of the Chamber of Deputies, in referring to ſome abuſe in the arrangement of a church, declaring (as if he were aſhamed to confeſs that he had been inſide one) that he only was there accidentally, on the occaſion of a marriage.

It appears, however, that beneath the Ultramontane ſurface, there was a deep working of the old principles, which was deſtined to bear fruit in due ſeaſon. And within the laſt ten years,

* Hiſtoire de l'Egliſe de France, compoſée ſur les Documents originaux et authentiques. Par l'Abbé Guettée, Tomes 12. Paris: Jules Renouard et Cie., Rue de Tournou, 6. 1845—1856.

Supplément aux Décrets du Concile de la Province de Bordeaux, célébré à la Rochelle en 1853, et publié en 1855; ou, Défenſe de l'Hiſtoire de l'Egliſe de France contre les Imputations contenues dans ces Décrets. Par l'Abbé Guettée.

L'Obſervateur Catholique: Revue des Sciences eccléſiaſtiques et des Faits religieux. No. 1—23.

Correſpondance de Confeſſeurs de la Foi relativement au nouveau Dogme de l'Immaculée Conception. 1855.

Lettres Pariſiennes; ou, Diſcuſſion ſur les deux Liturgies, Pariſienne et Romaine. Deuxième Edition. Paris: Danton; Huet. 1855.

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from every part of France, evidence has been given that the tenets of Gerſon and Boſſuet were only dormant, not extinct; and the exertions of the Abbé Laborde, of Lectoure, in oppoſition to the Bull *Ineffabilis*, manifeſted to Europe that ſtruggle between the two parties in France, which has now attained ſuch proportions as to threaten the diſruption of the entire Gallican Church.

The "Hiſtory of the Church of France," which ſtands firſt in our liſt, is undoubtedly the greateſt literary effort of the revived party. To quote the author's own preface, "Baronius in his "eccleſiaſtical annals has not forgotten *the faireſt province* of the "kingdom of JESUS CHRIST; Bollandus and the Bollandiſts, "Noël Alexander, Sirmond, Baluze, D'Achery, Martene, De "Sainte Marthe, Tillemont, Bouquet, Mabillon, Rivet, Pagi, "Ruinart, and many other learned men whom we might name, "have reproduced its monuments, or diſcuſs the obſcureſt points "of its hiſtory; Lecointe has compiled its annals. Finally, "Longueval took in hand his 'Hiſtoire de l'Egliſe Gallicane,' "continued by Fontenoy, Brumoy, and Berthier, until the "middle of the ſixteenth century. I reſpect," continues the author, "the work of theſe learned Jeſuits. It has been of the "greateſt utility to myſelf, and it is a duty, therefore, to pro- "claim my obligations. Nevertheleſs, I think that ſomething "more perfect may now be expected. The hiſtory of the Gal- "lican Church has undergone the fate of the greater part of "human productions; perfect, perhaps, for the time in which it "was written, it is no longer in harmony with the taſte of the "preſent day; queſtions of Chriſtian art, liturgy, and philo- "ſophy, eccleſiaſtical and monaſtic laws, are not treated as they "now ſhould be with the development which modern hiſtory "has preſented to us."

The hiſtory *of* this hiſtory is in itſelf worth relating. Abbé Guettée's work is compriſed in twelve large octavo volumes. Publiſhed ſucceſſively, they attracted from their very commence- ment conſiderable attention, and were received with general ap- plauſe. Prefixed to the third volume is a dedication to Mon- ſeigneur Fabre des Eſſarts, Biſhop of Blois, (March 15th, 1848,) accepted by that prelate with the atteſtation that from his own knowledge of the already publiſhed portion, and from the reports of certain prieſts to whom he entruſted its examination, he was convinced of the conſcientious care expended on the author's re- ſearches, the exactneſs of his doctrine, and the good ſpirit of the whole work. The ſixth volume is uſhered in by a ſtill more emphatic approbation by his eminence De la Tour d'Auvergne- Lauraguais, Cardinal-Biſhop of Arras. "This hiſtory," writes

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that prelate, "is an everlaſting monument to the glory of the "Gallican Church. By its help greater light will be thrown "over the annals of the eldeſt daughter of the Catholic Church. ". . . We have no heſitation in recommending it to the Clergy "of our Dioceſe." This approbation is of the 28th of May, 1850. A prefatory notice, however, which uſhers in the ſame volume, ſhows that the author was already ſuſpected of Gallican principles, then, as now, ſo offenſive in high places. He contents himſelf in replying to the queſtion, "Are you Gallican or Ultramontane?" by requeſting his readers to ſuſpend their judgment till the hiſtory ſhould have reached that epoch in which the oppoſing principles came into colliſion (the volume in queſtion embraces from 1226 to 1351), and briefly aſſerts, "Nous declarerons purement et ſimplement que nous ſommes "avec les Ultramontains ſur certaines queſtions et avec les Gal- "licans ſur d'autres." The preface to the ſeventh volume (June 1ſt, 1851) ſhows that Ultramontane writers were vigo- rouſly attacking its author; and finally, on the 22nd of January, 1852, the "Hiſtory of the Church of France" was put in the Index of prohibited books. On learning this, not by a formal intimation, but merely through the medium of the "Augſburg Gazette," our author addreſſed a letter to Monſeigneur Gari- baldi, papal nuncio in France, requeſting to be informed whether the intelligence was authentic. By that authority he was re- ferred to Rome, and accordingly wrote to Cardinal Brignole, preſident of the Congregation of the Index, to ſolicit further in- formation.

"As a prieſt devoted to the Church," it is thus that he ex- preſſes himſelf, "I could not but be deeply afflicted in finding "that I was claſſed, without any previous notice, by a Roman "Congregation, among the writers whoſe orthodoxy the faithful "are more or leſs enjoined to ſuſpect. I know not on what "motives the Congregation of the Index can have baſed its "cenſure; for I can ſee nothing in my work which is not capable "of a perfectly orthodox ſenſe." He concludes by requeſting to be furniſhed with the document on which the cenſure was founded—"in order to profit by the obſervations therein con- tained, and thus to make the book irreproachable." The re- ply was to this effect: That it was not the cuſtom of the Con- gregation in queſtion to communicate the pieces on which its deciſions were baſed; that the author ſhould addreſs himſelf to learned and orthodox eccleſiaſtics of his own nation; and after adopting the corrections which they might propoſe, ſhould ſubmit his reviſed work to the Congregation. The Abbé forthwith addreſſed himſelf accordingly to four prelates, who either de-

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clined the propoſed examination, or coupled it with conditions to which the author found it impoſſible to ſubmit. He again applied to Rome, with the reaſonable obſervation that in order to correct his errors, it was neceſſary to be informed of them; and that his own efforts having failed in France, he now truſted to be furniſhed with the memoir for which he had previouſly applied. The anſwer was the ſame; the Congregation never communicated ſuch documents, and the author muſt apply to other critics. He accordingly inſerted a notice in the ſucceeding volume, that he ſhould be thankful for any criticiſms whatever; and this done, applied himſelf to the completion of his work.

In the eleventh volume, which contains the hiſtory of the Janſeniſt ſtruggles, and of the four famous Gallican Articles of 1682, the author proceeds to far greater lengths than he had ventured at the commencement of his work. To this and the twelfth volume we ſhall preſently direct the reader's attention at ſome length.

Matters were however brought to a head by the Council of the Province of Bourdeaux, which aſſembled at La Rochelle in 1853. Under the preſidency of his Eminence Cardinal Donnet, Archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, it was compoſed of the Biſhops of La Rochelle, Perigueux, Agen, Luçon, Poitiers, Angoulême, Martinique, Guadaloupe, and S. Denis de la Réunion. The ſixth and ſeventh ſections of the firſt chapter are thus expreſſed:—

We declare that, without ſcandal and injury to ſouls, and without inſult to, and contempt of, the Holy See, it is impoſſible to uſe the expreſſions which are conſtantly employed by ſome with reſpect to the Roman Congregations, and more eſpecially with reſpect to the Congregation of the Index; namely, that its decrees, approved by the ſovereign pontiff, are of no value and no weight; a temerity happily contradicted in our day by the conſcience of the faithful.

* * * * * *

For this reaſon we are aſtoniſhed at, and deeply lament, the blindneſs of ſpirit which has poſſeſſed the author of a work entitled "A Hiſtory of the Church of France, compoſed from original and authentic documents;" who in the eighth volume of his hiſtory not only renews, but aggravates, the erroneous ſtatements of the ſeven firſt, condemned by decree of the ſacred Congregation of the Index.

Paying no regard to the admonitions of paſtoral charity, making vain efforts to defend his faults, he repeats the ſame thing here and there, that is to ſay:—

That the ſovereign pontiffs have overſtepped their rights; that, only deſirous of governing, they have wiſhed to attribute to themſelves all eccleſiaſtical power; that they have not made Concordats for the good of the Church, but for their own intereſt, which Concordats could only injure religion; and, as the temporal power has too often invaded the ſacred rights of the Church, that the ſovereign pontiffs have ſtrengthened theſe impious uſurpations with a canonical ſanction by means of the Concordats; that they have thus created modern Gallicaniſm, or rather that they have con-

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ſecrated it by a kind of baptiſm; finally, he dares to affirm that the right even of making Concordats derives its origin from the ſovereign pontiff's deſire of domination, and that it is entirely foreign to the power which has been divinely given to them. It is needleſs to recall the other errors of the ſame writer on the authority of the ſovereign pontiff, liturgical right, religious orders, and vocal prayers; on the guilty abandonment of ancient diſcipline, ſtill more, on the change in ancient doctrine, of which he complains *in an impious manner*. Let it ſuffice to notice his bitter zeal, his malevolent ſpirit, his want of feeling for the ignominy of his ſpiritual fathers, his love of inſulting them; his injuſtice towards the good and the friends of the Church; always favourable to its enemies, always willingly and eaſily ſacrificing hiſtorical fidelity to their known calumnies.

The decrees of the Council, though held, as we have ſaid, in 1853, were not publiſhed till June 3rd, 1855; and the Abbé Guettée loſt no time in putting forth the pamphlet which ſtands ſecond on our liſt. He undertakes to eſtabliſh, and does eſtabliſh, the following propoſitions; that the Council of La Rochelle had judged him without giving him an opportunity of defending himſelf; that of the ten biſhops who cenſured his eighth volume, two only had opened it; and even theſe two profeſſed to have read but a portion of it. He then defends himſelf againſt the particular charges brought forward in the decree of the Council, eſpecially that of his partiality to heretics, by which title, as he ſhows, the Port-Royaliſts are intended.

Among the journals which moſt powerfully undertook the Abbé Guettée's defence, the "Obſervateur Catholique" more particularly ſignalized itſelf. This review was eſtabliſhed for the ſupport of Gallican principles, and to oppoſe "the pernicious tendencies of the party which finds its organ in the 'Univers.'"

Depuis aſſez longtemps ce journal a ſeul la parole. Il a abuſé de ſa publicité pour répandre dans le monde catholique de nombreuſes erreurs; et, ce qui eſt plus déplorable encore, il a prêché ces erreurs au nom de l'Egliſe et du Saint-Siége. Il nous a ſemblé qu'il était bien temps de prendre, contre cet organe exagéré de l'ultramontaniſme, la défenſe des vrais principes catholiques. On finirait par identifier l'Egliſe avec ſon école, ſi des catholiques ſincères n'élevaient pas la voix pour rappeler que l'ultramontaniſme ne fut jamais qu'un ſyſtème rejeté par tout ce que l'Egliſe a poſſédé plus nobles intelligences; et qu'en voulant transformer en dogme ce ſyſtème faux, anti-catholique et anti-ſocial, le parti ultramontain veut nous impoſer un joug que la foi auſſi bien que la raiſon repouſſent.

From the very commencement the nerve and vigour of the new periodical gave it conſiderable influence; and in order to be thoroughly independent it was determined that the writers ſhould be laymen only. The law by which contributors to periodicals are compelled to attach their names to their articles, would have expoſed any prieſt who might write in the pages of

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the "Observateur" to serious trouble, and, therefore, where a paper is received from an ecclesiastic, one of the committee of directors makes himself responsible for its contents. The introductory article, which developes the scheme of the paper, is from the pen of M. Guélon, one of the ablest and most frequent contributors. MM. Eugène Secretant, Parent Duchatelet, and Virey, are also in the same rank.

In addition to reviews, theological dissertations, and notices of books, each number contains a *Chronique Religieuse*, which to a foreign reader is its most entertaining part. If any one is desirous of learning the lengths to which French Ultramontanism is pushing the worship of S. Mary, he can hardly find a better study than this chronicle. It must be confessed that there is here and there a bitterness which is scarcely suited to a religious periodical; but the constant and unscrupulous attacks of the "Univers" are but too likely to provoke a reply in its own strain. Some of these notices may interest our readers.

We have received a pamphlet containing the act of Consecration to the Blessed Virgin, pronounced April 4, 1855, by Cardinal Gousset, at Rheims. We remark in it the following passage:—"We are happy to be able on this day, on occasion of a ceremony so august and so consoling to our heart to renew, on the faith of an oath, the vow which we long ago made, to teach and to defend the privilege which has made thee holy, more holy than holiness itself, from the first instant of thy conception." Holiness, (remarks the editor) considered generally, is GOD Himself, Who is essential holiness. Are we to conclude that Monseigneur Gousset regards the Blessed Virgin as holier than GOD Himself?

A preacher, in his sermon of the 16th of December, delivered in his church in this city, informed his astonished auditors that "perfect contrition is an easy thing, much easier than is generally imagined. Think of the enormity of your crimes and of the goodness of GOD—and you have perfect contrition and are justified. To say that perfect contrition is not an easy thing, is a monstrosity; it is to turn a religion of love into an impracticable religion. A hundred thousand sins! it is nothing in the world. One moment's repentance, and all is blotted out!" O Father Pichon, (exclaims the editor), verily you have fervent disciples!

Much speculation has lately been excited by a journal called the "Rosary of Mary." The number which is in our hands is that of Saturday, January 19th, 1856. . . . We especially notice an article which contains such blasphemies as the following:—"You who fear the face of JEHOVAH, who tremble when the hour of prayer to Him has arrived, pray to Mary with the faith of our fathers, and she will lay your wants before the Divinity; for it is by Mary that the incense of prayer ascends to the throne of GOD; it is by Mary that the virtue of grace, and the ineffable blessings of the Most High descend." Thus Mary is better, so far as we are concerned, than GOD; GOD is deprived of the infinite goodness which is His essential attribute; Mary takes the place of JESUS CHRIST as the Mediator between GOD and man. That no doubt may remain on the subject, we read as the motto of the "Rosary"—*All by Mary: nothing except by Mary.* This unfortunate magazine has recourse to simony in order to procure subscribers; for, at the head of the number which we hold in our hands, appears the following notice in bad Latin:—

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"Priests who will promise to send us twenty-eight intentions in the space of six months will receive our journal gratis for a year, reckoning from the day of their promise." Subscriptions to a newspaper is a temporal object. To pay for it by masses is to apply to a temporal object a thing which in its very nature is spiritual. This traffic is, then, simoniacal; for, says the Canon Law, simony is committed by giving, or even by promising, the temporal for the spiritual, or the spiritual for the temporal, as principal end and object, and not gratuitously.

And here is another notice of a French abuse which will apply with equal force to some of our own fashionable churches, at least at watering-places:—

The Archbishop of Paris has just forbidden the clergy of his diocese to advertise in the newspapers the names of the artistes who have promised to sing in their churches. It was time to put a stop to this scandal; for it seemed that our churches were about to rival the opera. It was to be hoped then, that there will be an end to the demand of three francs for a chair, as at the Mass of the Holy Innocents in the Church of S. Francis; or one franc, as in the Madeleine. Under similar circumstances, the countryman showed his good sense when he said, "If you demand this sum for my chair, well and good, but then I shall carry it away with me at the end of the service; for I could buy it at the same price!" Let us hope that the order which has just emanated from the Archbishop will put an end to the quantity of profane music which has been daily increasing, to the great sorrow of true Catholics.

It may easily be conceived that a journal with such principles as the above, would direct its attention to three points connected with the present state of the Church of France—the so-called miracle of La Salette, the Bull *Ineffabilis*, and the substitution now taking place in Paris and other dioceses of the Roman for the Gallican Missals and Breviaries. The two former subjects are so intimately connected with the life—there have not been wanting those who have whispered also with the *death*—of the Abbé Laborde, that a short notice of that distinguished writer may not be out of place.

Jean-Joseph Laborde was born at Lectoure, a town which was a stronghold of so-called Jansenism in the eighteenth century, and which seems to have retained the same bias in the present. First curate of S. Mary at Auch, and then incumbent of a country parish in the same diocese, he distinguished himself by his "Censure of Twenty-two Propositions of corrupt Morality, extracted from the Writings of a modern Author:" which "modern author," M. Gousset—seeing that corrupted morality is no obstacle to high places—subsequently became, what he still is, Cardinal-Archbishop of Rheims. For this censure our author was compelled by his own diocesan, the Archbishop of Auch, to apologise to M. Gousset. He took care, however, to do so in a manner perfectly intelligible to the latter, and followed

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up his first work with three discourses on the subject of relaxed morals. At this time the Abbé Guéranger's work, "Institutions Liturgiques," written on the most determined Ultramontane principles, was exciting great interest in France. Laborde composed in reply to it his "Lettres Parisiennes," a second edition of which has lately appeared. And, as the question of the Immaculate Conception was now everywhere discussed preparatory to its definition as an article of faith, our writer came forward with his "La Croyance à l'Immaculée Conception ne peut devenir un dogme de foi," which was denounced to the Congregation of the Index by Mons. Lacroix. The condemnation which followed, insisted on by the Archbishop, but constantly declared by the priest, on the principles of Bossuet and Fleury, to be of no value whatever in France, led to the retirement of Laborde from his diocese and his settlement at Paris. He here occupied himself in a defence of the Gallican Church against the attacks of Count Montalembert. When it was understood that the decree exalting the dogma of the Immaculate Conception into an article of faith was to be pronounced in Rome, on the festival of the Conception, 1854, our author was despatched by his friends to memorialize Pius IX. on the subject. On his arrival at Rome, he was arrested by the police, detained prisoner on board the vessel S. Pierre, for some days, and then reconducted to France. He here published an interesting relation of his journey; and employed the intervals of ease in his last sickness (which almost immediately attacked him) by the composition of his latest work, "Entretiens sur la Salette." At his own earnest desire he was taken into a hospital for the poor, and there, after having received the last sacraments, he died on the 16th of April, 1855, in the fiftieth year of his age. The most atrocious calumnies were promulgated as to his dying moments; but the friends who had assisted at his death-bed came forward in the pages of the "Observateur," and did justice to an end which worthily crowned a life spent in the service of GOD.

We are not about to enter into a discussion of the miracle of La Salette, which we have already noticed on a former occasion. The Abbé Laborde, in his "Entretiens sur la Salette," demonstrated, as far as it is possible to prove a negative, the utter groundlessness and incredibility of the whole relation. He argues that, in order to establish a miracle, the very highest degree of evidence is requisite; that Canon Law forbids the reception of any evidence before an ecclesiastical tribunal without the solemnity of an oath; and that the same law declares children under the age of fourteen incapable of taking an oath.

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Of the two ſo-called witneſſes of the apparition of the Bleſſed Virgin, Maximin Giraud was only eleven, and Françoiſe Melanie Mathieu was not fifteen. He goes on to obſerve that the boy, terrified when he ſaw the conſequences of the invention, confeſſed to the Curé at Arts that the whole was a fabrication. He further proceeds to demonſtrate, from the words put into the mouth of S. Mary, that it is impoſſible to accept the ſtatement, even were the degree of evidence which can be adduced for it tenfold what it is. Such expreſſions as the following, for example, are dwelt on with much effect. "If my people will not be converted"—and obſerve that throughout the whole of Holy Scripture the ſolemn expreſſion, *my people*, is employed by GOD alone —"I ſhall be obliged to allow the arm of my Son to fall upon "them; it is ſo mighty and ſo heavy that I can hold it up no "longer." Or again: "*I* have given you ſix days in which to "work; *I* have reſerved the ſeventh *unto myſelf*; it is not given "up to *me*; it is this which makes the arm of my Son ſo heavy." He comments, as might be expected, on the manifeſt falſehood, as proved by the event, of the predictions put into the mouth of the apparition. The event occurred in the September of 1846. The words were: "The potatoes will continue to rot, and this "year at Chriſtmas there will be none. Let not him that has "corn ſow it, for the beaſts will eat it; and that which comes "into ear, will become duſt when you thraſh it. There will be "a great famine. Before the famine comes, children under the "age of ſeven will fall into convulſions, and will die in the "hands of thoſe that hold them." With the abundant harveſt of 1847 before his eyes, the Abbé Laborde might well quote the text, "When a prophet ſpeaketh in the name of the LORD, if "the thing follow not, nor come to paſs, that is the thing which "the LORD hath not ſpoken, but the prophet hath ſpoken it "preſumptuouſly; thou ſhalt not be afraid of them." How, in the face of theſe facts, and in oppoſition to the declaration of the two prelates moſt intereſted in the miracle, the Archbiſhop of Lyons and the Biſhop of Gap, an Engliſh Roman Catholic biſhop can have had the courage to publiſh an account of his pilgrimage to La Salette, and to profeſs his unſhaken faith in the occurrence, is certainly a phenomenon.

We devoted, ſome time ago, a conſiderable ſpace to the diſcuſſion of the queſtions connected with the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception; without going over our old ground, it may not be without intereſt to our readers if we notice a few of the facts connected with the ſubſequent hiſtory of the Bull *Ineffabilis*. The Abbé Laborde's open oppoſition to the dogma, his journey to Rome, and his arreſt there, are well known. His

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"Rélation et Mémoire des Oppoſants au nouveau Dogme de "l'Immaculée Conception," excited deep intereſt far beyond the limits of France. One of the moſt remarkable of his adherents was the Father Morgaez, a Dominican, and theological profeſſor at the Univerſity of Alcala. In a letter dated December 19th, 1855, and addreſſed to Monſieur Laborde, of whoſe death he was not then aware, the Spaniſh divine thus expreſſes himſelf. After informing his correſpondent that his book, under the title of "Doctrinal Judgment on the Pontifical Decree of December 8th, "1854," had been ſuppreſſed by the civil authority, and that he himſelf was in danger of undergoing the treatment due to a heretic, he continues thus:—

Courage, my dear ſir; let us conſole ourſelves in our common tribulations! we ſuffer them for the holy Church of GOD, againſt the profane novelties which are endeavoured to be introduced by men, whom the Apoſtle has deſcribed (2 Tim. iii.), and who, to attain their end, have abuſed the fervent piety, ſimplicity and devotion of the holy father Pius IX. towards our tender mother the Virgin Mary, Mother of GOD. Let us array ourſelves in the arms of our warfare; they are not carnal, but mighty in GOD to overthrow everything that is oppoſed to them; it is by theſe arms that we deſtroy human reaſonings, and everything that exalts itſelf with pride againſt the knowledge of GOD. Let us be rooted and grounded in the faith, and mighty in our works, ſo that we may refute every doctrine contrary to that which the holy Fathers and their ſucceſſors have tranſmitted to us by a perpetual, conſtant, and uninterrupted ſucceſſion. Let us oppoſe ourſelves like a wall of braſs to the torrent of iniquity, from whatever ſide it comes. Let us not permit them to brand with hereſy the doctrine of the holy Fathers Ambroſe, Auguſtine, John Chryſoſtom, Euſebius of Emeſſa, Leo the Great, Gelaſius, Gregory the Great, Remigius, Maximus, Venerable Bede, Anſelm, Bernard, Erardus, biſhop and martyr, Antony of Padua, Bernardin of Sienna, Thomas, Vincent Ferrier, Antoninus, John Damaſcene, Hugh of S. Victor, and numerous theologians of the ancient ſchool. Let us courageouſly reſiſt the innovators, and not ſuffer them to torture, under pretence of explaining, the clear and luminous opinions of the holy Fathers and learned men whom I have named. Let us remain firmly attached to the chair of Peter; but let us not receive blindly everything that may come from Rome . . . . I will not write at greater length, becauſe, weakened as I am by age, and by long illneſs, I cannot ſpend more time on a letter. I aſk one thing from you, my dear brother, and from the companions of our ſufferings and afflictions, that you would remember me at the Altar of my LORD, and would beſeech JESUS CHRIST to fill us with power and courage to fight His battles. I would alſo aſk you, if it be poſſible, to publiſh this letter in Latin and in French.

A month later we find the writer thus addreſſing the Editor of the "Obſervateur Catholique:"—

You know that I have written a work on the ſame ſubject of which you treat, and on the ſame principles; the Pontifical Definition of December 8th, 1854. On this account the Eccleſiaſtical Vicar of this Court has commenced proceedings againſt me: they were begun, he ſaid, in order that the Synodal examiners of Toledo might pronounce judgment on my writings. This took

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place on the 20th November last. The 14th of the following December, I was imprisoned by order of the same vicar, declared suspended from every sacerdotal function, and placed under the guard by direction of a certain priest of this mission of S. Vincent de Paul. I am told that the priest in question, though wearing the habit of a secular ecclesiastic, is in fact a Jesuit. Neither my age of sixty-six years, nor the palsy, from which I have suffered for four, nor the cold of my cell, which is extremely injurious to my health, have prevented the vicar from thus shutting me up. The damp and the cold have aggravated my complaint; I requested to be carried to a hospital, or if that could not be, to be taken to a real prison, where I should be better off; no attention has been paid to my request, and I have received no answer. How could I expect it?—since nowhere else could I be so securely punished, and so completely in the power of spies, as in this house? Here, all are spies and watch me; here, I can neither confess sacramentally, nor receive the support of the blessed Sacrament of the Eucharist, even in lay communion; here, my very name inspires horror; I am regarded as a heretic, a profane person, a blasphemer, a sacrilegious priest; here, as everywhere else, I am reviled before an ignorant people, and in religious houses. If you ask what is the foundation for their attacks, they will only say that the Pope, who is infallible, has promulgated a definition to which an entire obedience is due. They affirm that if he were to command the magistrates to put Father Morgaez to death, they are bound to do so, under pain of rebellion against the Church of GOD. . . . It is now three months since my work was sent to the Synodal judges at Toledo. No judgment has been given, no sentence has been pronounced, and yet the Clergy cry out with all their strength, that I am a heretic worthy of the fagot and the flames. . . . Would to GOD that when a priest of my order attacked me from the pulpit, and endeavoured to hound on his auditors against me, my life had been sacrificed. I foresee that at my last hour the sacraments of the Church will be refused me, and that my body will not be buried in consecrated ground. . . . Assist me with your prayers, and beseech GOD to preserve me from the teeth of the lions who surround and watch me continually.

Another letter, equally touching, but which we forbear to quote, since it has already appeared in a contemporary journal, was addressed by Father Morgaez to the editors of the "Observateur." In the mean time, he had the satisfaction of receiving a communication from four Italian priests, which must have been a great consolation to the brave old man. It, as well as his reply, have been printed in the "Correspondence of the Confessors of the Faith," which stands on our list. After speaking of the labours and (to human eyes) premature death of Laborde, they thus continue:—

Besides the priest Laborde, of whom we have spoken with praise, four priests of Pavia opposed the Definition of the 8th of December, 1854, declared to their own bishop that the dogma of the Immaculate Conception was quite new, and contradictory to apostolical tradition; further, that the definition had been promulgated against all the laws and canons of the Church; so that, bearing upon its face the mark of its condemnation, the divine promises could not be applied to it. These priests, if you wish to know them—if not personally, at least by name and in charity—are none other than ourselves, unworthy and sinners, who desire to be united to you

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in the bonds of the HOLY SPIRIT. The third day after the publication of the bull, that is to ſay, the 12th of February laſt year, we preſented an act of oppoſition to our biſhop, who, without examination or judgment, wrote to us that we were under the greater excommunication, pronounced againſt us by the letters apoſtolical, and ſuſpended us from all prieſtly functions; we are ſtill under this ſentence, and doubtleſs ſhall be till our death. Nevertheleſs, though we were prevented, on account of the misfortune of the times, from cauſing our act of oppoſition to be printed, GOD took care that it ſhould be divulged, through the French and Italian journals; and, through fear that it ſhould not be hereafter known, Perrone has conſecrated its memory by blaming our oppoſition in the theſis of the new dogma which he has added lately to his theology.

At the end of laſt year Athanaſius Donetti, native of the Swiſs mountains, formerly a diſtinguiſhed profeſſor of the ſeminary of Pavia, and curate in this city, remarkable for his ſcience and eloquence, has publiſhed a work to which he has attached his name; in it he has oppoſed the definition as contrary to right, and proved the perverſity of the new dogma, with invincible reaſoning, and in an energetic ſtyle.

Finally, Spain has alſo given her tribute, and it is not ſmall, with regard to the difficulties of the times; for it has furniſhed from the laity a young advocate whom you have mentioned in your letters, and among the prieſts—you, who ſhow invincible courage. But you, illuſtrious confeſſor, ſurpaſs the reſt by enduring ſuch ſhameful treatment for the truth; indeed, words and reaſonings are of little uſe to enkindle faith in the hearts of men, if the divine grace of the HOLY SPIRIT does not come to help and enliven them; but this grace rather works by means of tribulations and ſacrifices. For our Redeemer and our Chief has redeemed the world by His croſs and by His death; and it was neceſſary that the grain of wheat ſown in the earth ſhould die, that it might yield, in all the world, an abundant harveſt. A ſimilar fate is reſerved to His members; thus, thoſe who are choſen by the grace of GOD to preach the Goſpel will not reap in joy, if they ſow not in tears; they will not carry their ſheaves rejoicing, if they have not planted the ſeed of truth with tears.

The merciful GOD has given you the better part, that of ſuffering; the more painful the torments you endure for the glory of His Name, the more excellent are they; you are made a ſpectacle unto the world, unto angels, and to men. You are truly happy, who are perſecuted for the ſake of juſtice! The eyes of all the ſaints are turned towards you; they contemplate the battles of the LORD, and the glorious victories which they obtain through you, againſt the enemies of the truth. A thouſand and thouſand times bleſſed! you repreſent to our eyes the troop of the ancient confeſſors of the faith; and in you the army of martyrs reckons a new ſoldier—that army that ſhall fight for the faith till the time of Antichriſt.

Take courage, then, courageous champion of CHRIST, and let not adverſity abate your ſtrength of ſoul. Strengthen yourſelf in the LORD, and be full of vigour; hold that thou haſt, for it is he who ſhall perſevere unto the end that will be ſaved. And if Satan, our enemy, goeth about like a roaring lion, ſeeking to devour you, reſiſt him with the ſtrength which faith gives you, caſting all your care upon GOD, Who careth for you; as CHRIST has taught, repel all the temptations of the enemy, and ſtrengthen yourſelf by the word of GOD. If they will not hear your confeſſion, you need not lay it to heart, ſince they thus act from hatred to the truth; if the martyr-catechumens were purified by their own blood, you who confeſs JESUS CHRIST and His Word before men, will be acknowledged by Him before His Father and before His angels. Are you forbidden to ſay maſs? You are yourſelf the ſacrifice, and the altar upon which CHRIST is ſacrificed to GOD His Father,

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ſince you fill up in your body for the Church that which is behindhand in His ſufferings. Are you not even conſoled by lay communion? Have confidence, brother, in the LORD your GOD, Who gives the hidden manna to him that overcometh, and who ſatisfies with the inviſible food of angels thoſe who, for not conſenting to impiety, are deprived of His body and blood, which are our greateſt conſolation in this exile. You fear, perhaps, the being deprived of all help in the laſt combat with death; but remember CHRIST dying upon the croſs, forſaken by His Father; and thus, if men forſake you, you will ſay with greater confidence, "LORD, into Thy hands I commend my ſpirit." Finally, be not troubled about your burial, when you have before your eyes the examples of ſo many martyrs whoſe bodies, caſt into the highways, have been torn to pieces by birds of prey, or burnt. . . .

If you wiſh to know with certainty the remainder of what has happened to us, and which concerns us, we will willingly relate it to you.

At the approach of Eaſter we addreſſed a reſpectful letter to our biſhop, to pray him at leaſt to allow us lay communion, and to have at leaſt pity upon one among us, who was dangerouſly ill, and who ardently deſired to receive the holy Euchariſt. The biſhop refuſed us becauſe we would not betray the truth. The ſick man afterwards felt a little better, and lingered during a year a life of wearineſs and ſuffering, deſiring to die and to be with CHRIST; but now his illneſs is increaſed, and he is on his bed as upon an altar, offering his ſacrifice to GOD, and preparing himſelf to go to his LORD with great truſt, becauſe of the teſtimony he has given to the truth. Remember him in your prayers.

Twice our biſhop has propoſed a conference to diſcuſs the queſtion, and twice has put it off, becauſe we laid down ſuch conditions that the truth might incur no danger, and that the victory might be evidently proved whichever ſide it might be.

Among the prieſts of our country (we ſpeak particularly of our own and a neighbouring dioceſe) there are few who believe in their hearts the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Bleſſed Virgin; the greater part, before the definition, openly deteſted it; but afterwards, in preſence of the danger, they have obeyed the orders which they have received, from different motives. Some rejected, at leaſt apparently, the opinion which they had formerly ſupported, and ſaid that they were convinced by the authority of the univerſal Church, and that they did not wiſh to riſk their ſalvation by refuſing to obey it. The greater number, privately rejecting the dogma, reſpect it in public and in the Church, ſo that the great multitude of the faithful are led by them into this hypocriſy. A very ſmall number regret having acted in this manner; but, through weakneſs, they cannot raiſe themſelves from their fall. Finally, ſome, an extremely ſmall number, among thoſe who have no public miniſtry to fulfil, have not ſoiled their robes; they lament the ſilence which is impoſed upon them; they pray GOD to come to their aid if they ſhould one day be called to bear witneſs to the truth.

The faithful are divided into two parties. The one having the appearance of piety, but denying it in reality, blindly embrace the pontifical dogma, refuſe to inſtruct themſelves about it, and hold us in abomination as heretics. Others are neither cold nor hot, but lukewarm; therefore they either ridicule the dogma, or they take no more intereſt in it than in the reſt of religion. Nevertheleſs, through the grace of GOD, there are ſtill ſome among the laity—a very ſmall number, we muſt ſay—who ſerve GOD in ſpirit and in truth; theſe deteſt the perverſe dogma, and are ready for anything. We can alſo mention ſeveral women, who, preſſed by neceſſity, have engaged in the combat againſt the enemy with manly courage, and who for ſeveral months have been deprived of Confeſſion and the Euchariſt.

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Alphonſe Tenca, prieſt, aged fifty-two years, latterly ſpiritual director in the houſe of the Jeunes-Orphelines. I ſign on my bed of ſuffering.

Joſeph Grignani, prieſt, aged forty-ſix years, lately chaplain in the ſame houſe.

Joſeph Parona, prieſt, aged forty-ſeven years, formerly director of ſtudies in the epiſcopal ſeminary, and in the laſt place ſpiritual director in the pious retreat of penitent women commonly called the Houſe of S. Margaret.

Aloyſius, prieſt, aged thirty-one years.

Pavia, February 27, 1856.

But a far more important teſtimony to the ancient doctrine has been put forward by that perſecuted but moſt courageous Church of Holland, to which we have on more than one occaſion called the attention of our readers. It is printed in the "Obſervateur" of September the 1ſt, 1856.*

The third controverſy which has been principally diſcuſſed in the pages of the "Obſervateur," is that of the ſubſtitution of the Roman for the Gallican office books. It is well known that the Archbiſhop of Paris has inſtituted a commiſſion, which at the preſent moment is preparing the Breviary about to be adopted in that dioceſe, by the addition of a Proper of Saints, and ſuch other modifications as local circumſtances may neceſſarily require. It is to this ſubject, as we have ſeen, that the "Lettres Pariſiennes" of Laborde referred. In the ſeventeenth and eighteenth centuries almoſt every dioceſe in France, following the example of that of Paris, introduced its own offices: all varying more or leſs from each other, but all baſed on the ſame grand principles, the expulſion of uncertain legends, the appointment of a far larger number of Scriptural leſſons, the regular and equal weekly recitation of the whole Pſalter, the ſelection of Invitatories, Antiphons, and Reſponſes, ſo far as might be, from the words of Scripture alone, and the ſubſtitution of modern hymns, chiefly the work of Santeuil, (better known by his Latiniſed name of Santolius Victorinus) and Coffin, for the more ancient compoſitions of the Roman Breviary. The modern Gallican Breviaries have been attacked moſt vigorouſly by Dom Guéranger, who of courſe finds Janſeniſm in them everywhere; and who makes the moſt of the undoubted ſlips and heterodox lines, ſuch as,

JESU Redemptor plurium,

inſtead of the Church's

JESU Redemptor omnium,

which may here and there be diſcovered in them. But it cannot

* [I had tranſlated it here; but I have ſince given it at length in my "Hiſtory of the ſo-called Janſeniſt Church of Holland," pp. 374—378, and therefore will not repeat it in this place.]

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be denied that the manner in which their reſponſes, and eſpecially thoſe of the three leading Breviaries—Paris, Rouen, and Amiens —bring together the Old and New Teſtament, illuſtrating one from the other, and thus throwing new light on both, is marvellouſly beautiful. Neither can it be denied that many of the inconveniences inſeparable from the Roman diviſion of the Pſalter, and the practical corruptions to which it has given riſe, have been entirely avoided. But it is impoſſible to go entirely with Laborde and the Gallican party, in their preference of the more modern form. In one point on which they lay great ſtreſs, the hymns, thoſe of Rome, reformed, or rather deformed as they were under Pope Urban VIII, are ſtill every way ſuperior to the pretty compoſitions of French literati in the ſeventeenth and eighteenth centuries: and there is often a depth of meaning in ſome of the rejected antiphons and invitatories, ill compenſated by the more commonplace, if alſo clearer, paſſages of the later books.

The "Lettres Pariſiennes" are eighteen in number. The firſt two are occupied with the general plan of the work: in the third, the inconveniences of the weekly office in the Roman ritual are pointed out. It is ſhown that while, on the one hand, the ordinary Sunday has eighteen pſalms, and the ordinary week-day twelve, at matins, every ſaint's-day above a *ſimple* has but nine, and thoſe ſelected are from among the ſhorteſt in the Pſalter. Hence, as might naturally be expected, the wiſh to ſhorten the ſervice has ſo completely overloaded the calendar with doubles and ſemi-doubles, that the Ferial Pſalms have ſcarcely ever a chance of being recited. "It is eaſier," ſays Laborde, "on a "week-day to recite nine very ſhort pſalms, varied with as many "leſſons, alſo very ſhort, than to repeat at a ſingle breath twelve "pſalms, without pauſe, at the riſk of lighting on ſuch an one "as the 89th, the 78th, the 104th, 105th, 106th, 107th. We "have," he continues, "a guarantee for this which cannot be "ſuſpected, Dom Guéranger. After having ſpoken of the feſ- "tivals of Saints, which they began again to add to the Bre- "viary ſoon after the reform, he thus expreſſes himſelf: 'Cle- "ment X. may be regarded as the author of a true liturgical "revolution. Until his time, new doubles had not been admitted "except with moderation, in order to ſave the prerogative of "Sunday; ſemi-doubles alſo had only been created in a very "ſmall number.' This then was the ſpirit before the time of "Clement X; that is to ſay, the ſpirit of the Council of Trent, "which had maintained itſelf notwithſtanding the blows which "it had already received. It is clear as the day that the ſpirit "to which France has been more faithful than any other Church "has preſided over our Breviaries.

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"It is, then, under Clement X. that the Roman Breviary "began to deviate from the principle of the reformation ordained "at Trent, and it has not ceased to deviate still further from it.* "The same Dom Guéranger agrees with this, in continuing "thus on the subject of the same pope:—'This pope,' says he, "'derogated from this rule in such a marked manner, that after "him the greater part of the established offices had the double rite: "which has definitely changed the character of the Roman "Calendar.' That is to say, the Roman Breviary has, in this "respect, fallen again into the same abuse in which it was before "the Council of Trent, and stands in need of the same reforma-"tion. The weekly office is in the printed books, and that is "all. They never use it, or scarcely ever; and by this they "neglect the institution of the ancient Fathers, and the prac-"tices of every age since the first centuries, to say the whole of "the Psalter once a-week. The words of Cardinal Quignon, "by which he proved the necessity of reforming the Bre-"viary at the end of the fifteenth century, are as true of our "time as they were then: 'Some Psalms,' says he, 'were ap-"pointed for every day of the week; the greater part of the "time they are of no use. Some of them only are repeated "through the year.' There are fifty of the shortest of them which "are repeated incessantly, and one hundred of the most beautiful "which are never said. *I know some places where they have "made the bookbinder leave the Ferial Psalter out of new Bre-"viaries in order to diminish the weight of the volume.*"

But after all, this expedient of replacing the Ferial by Proper Psalms does not always apply, and at present, at least, there are many days in which the twelve which stand in the Breviary must still be recited. Other expedients have therefore been devised to obviate this necessity. On the Thursday, when in the regular course the 78th Psalm, with its seventy-three verses, would occur, the office of devotion in honour of the Blessed Sacrament enables the Roman priests to acquit themselves of their duty with the recitation of but nine short psalms. The Office of the Blessed Virgin serves the same turn on the Saturday. But even all this will not, it seems, answer the purpose in France. Pius V. had regulated that the Sundays of Advent and those from Septuagesima till Easter, should yield, under no circumstances, to any feast whatsoever, except in some particular cases to that of the patron saint if it *occurred*. Here, then, are thirteen Sundays—just a quarter of the whole—in which the whole Dominical Office, with its eighteen psalms, must, one should say, be recited. But

* We must except the Pontifical of Benedict XIV.—*Editor's note.*

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it is not ſo. The Biſhop of Gap, in his paſtoral for the eſtabliſhment of the Roman Office in his dioceſe, actually promiſes his prieſts that they ſhall have leave to omit nine of the eighteen pſalms, if they will accept the new Breviary in other particulars. "Thus modified," ſays he, "the Roman will not be longer than the Gapaneſe Breviary." "But then," aſks Laborde, "would it "not have been more ſimple to continue the Gapaneſe Office, "than to ſay the Roman Office in the Gapaneſe faſhion?"

The tenth letter is occupied by the falſe legends which, notwithſtanding its reform by Pius V, have ſtill retained their place in the Roman Office. The fable about S. Clement, notoriouſly given up by all good critics, and called by Tillemont a "ſtupid and ridiculous ſtory," has its place in the Leſſons for the 23rd of November, where we are informed that on that day the ſea annually retires from the coaſt of the Crimea for the ſpace of a week, in order to uncover the tomb of the ſaint. In like manner, the Leſſons for Pope S. Marcellinus affirm, contrary to all hiſtorical evidence, that he apoſtatized; thoſe for S. Marcellus, that in the perſecution of Maxentius (which perſecution never had any exiſtence), he was reduced to take the charge of a ſtable; and thoſe for S. Sylveſter repeat the exploded fable of the leproſy and miraculous cure of Conſtantine.

M. Laborde did not live to ſee the grand object of the Ultramontane party accompliſhed in the ſubſtitution of the Roman Breviary for that of the Dioceſe of Paris. It was not to be expected that his ſurviving friends could allow the *mandement* of Archbiſhop Sibour to paſs without notice; accordingly, there is a very able critique in the "Obſervateur" on that document:—

"The moment appears to have come," ſays the Archbiſhop, "to re-eſtabliſh the Roman Liturgy in this large Dioceſe."

To *re-eſtabliſh* it, it muſt have been formerly eſtabliſhed there, as we have already remarked; the Archbiſhop takes it for granted; but his Grace is deceived upon this point. The Roman Liturgy has never been admitted into the Dioceſe of Paris. At the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, one of the Gondys, who wiſhed to be cardinal and to pleaſe the court of Rome, thought of eſtabliſhing it, inſtead of reforming that of his Dioceſe according to the ſpirit of the Council of Trent. But he met with ſo lively an oppoſition in his clergy that he was obliged to renounce his project.

The time is come, according to his lordſhip, to *tighten*, by the Roman Liturgy, *the bands of unity*.

Theſe words are a conceſſion to the unfortunate idea put forth by our modern Ultramontanes, who make unity to conſiſt in things which do not at all concern it. Never, in the Church of JESUS CHRIST has it been conſidered as a gain to abandon local cuſtoms and traditions. The Church, deſtined to viſit the whole world, and to enlighten it with the Divine light, ſuits all nations, ſo different in manners and language, preciſely on account of this legitimate diverſity of its liturgies and diſcipline, which renders poſſible the adoption of Chriſtianity by nations, which would always be utterly

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alienated, if there were no means of facilitating the practice of her precepts, and if the faith had not, by prayer or liturgy, an expreſſion in keeping with the nature of their character. To attack the diverſity of liturgies or diſcipline as leſs conformable to unity, that is to ſay, as near ſchiſm, is to attack indirectly the true unity of the Church,—is to give reaſon to believe, that Chriſtianity, according to the ſyſtem of Monteſquieu, is impoſſible for certain people, or, which comes to the ſame thing, that the Church cannot obtain *Catholicity*, which is, nevertheleſs, one of its eſſential and fundamental attributes.

It is now time that we ſhould turn to one or two of the more ſalient points of the Abbé Guettée's hiſtory. We have, on ſeveral previous occaſions, directed the attention of our readers to ſeveral points of importance in the hiſtory of the Gallican Church. We will follow her new hiſtorian in his account of one of the moſt remarkable epochs of her exiſtence—the adoption of the four celebrated Articles of 1682.

It was during the brief interval of the Peace of Clement IX. that the extraordinary controverſy broke out which, for a moment, united the Jeſuits with the Ultra-Gallicans and with Louis XIV, while it linked the Pope in cloſe alliance with the ſchool of Port Royal, or the ſo-called Janſeniſt Biſhops. At the epoch of the Concordat, the kings of France had claimed and obtained certain rights of preſentation, in contravention of the previous *régime*, over the greater part of the Gallican dioceſes. The rights of ſome were ſtill preſerved intact, and among theſe were the churches of Languedoc. In 1673, Louis XIV, then in the height of his power, reſolved to bring the whole of his kingdom under the ſame rules. The greater part of the prelates were too well bred—to ſay nothing of their poſſible expectations of richer ſees or archbiſhoprics—to oppoſe the ſlighteſt difficulties to the will of the ſovereign; but it ſo happened that there were two, and they previouſly ſuſpected of Janſeniſm—Pavillon, Biſhop of Aleth, and Caulet, of Pamiers—who were made of different ſtuff, and determined to defend the rights of their reſpective Churches at whatever coſt. The diſpute broke out in 1675. Louis XIV. in that year preſented a clerk to a benefice in the dioceſe of Aleth, to which his predeceſſors had preferred no claim of preſentation. Pavillon appealed to the aſſembly of the clergy, then in actual ſeſſion, and demanded their aſſiſtance in the defence of his rights. That ſynod, with a prudent regard to temporal conſequences, replied that the matter was too weighty for its own deciſion, and thus virtually left it in the hands of De Harlai, Archbiſhop of Paris, a man whoſe ambition and love of pleaſure were about equal. It ſo happened that, at the ſame time, Caulet had occaſion to viſit Paris as deputy from the eſtates of Foix, of which he was, *ex officio*, preſident. The Jeſuit party, by whom the king was ſur-

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rounded, and who had already been informed of his diſpoſitions, ſounded him as to his agreement or non-agreement with the Biſhop of Aleth; and Père de la Chaiſe, the Confeſſor of Louis XIV, demanded formally whether he were willing to acquieſce in the new claims which the king's declaration had put forth. Caulet boldly declared his ſentiments, and, having completed the buſineſs which had called him to Paris, returned into Languedoc. Aſſembling his chapter, and foreſeeing the ſtorm which was about to burſt over him, it is ſaid that, after ſtating the full details of his conduct, he addreſſed his canons in the words of our LORD, "Are ye able to drink of the cup that I ſhall drink of?" and that they replied without one diſſentient voice, "We are able." He then, in his own name as well as theirs, addreſſed a letter to Père de la Chaiſe, in which he informed the favourite that neither his own conſcience nor that of his chapter would allow him to ſubſcribe to the king's mandate.

In the meantime, Pavillon, encouraged by his brother prelate, had ſuſpended, *ipſo facto*, the nominee of Louis XIV. and all thoſe who took any part in his induction. The Parliament of Paris condemned his ſentence to be burnt; on which the biſhop appealed to Rome, and Pont-château, one of the moſt illuſtrious diſciples of Port Royal, was deſpatched to inform Innocent XI. orally of the ſtate of the caſe. By that pontiff he was received with the higheſt marks of diſtinction; and was curiouſly and minutely interrogated as to the health, habits, and dioceſan inſtitutions of the Biſhop of Aleth, whoſe aſceticiſm in a diſſolute age had been the wonder of Catholic Europe. In the meantime, the ſuſpended nominee of the king appealed to the Cardinal de Bonzi, Archbiſhop of Narbonne, the metropolitical ſee of Aleth. That prelate reverſed the judgment of his ſuffragan, and inſtalled the preſentee. On this, Pavillon iſſued a paſtoral inſtruction againſt the ſentence of his metropolitan, and appealed to Rome.

While theſe events were proceeding, the Biſhop of Pamiers was qually haraſſed. His letter to Père de la Chaiſe had enraged Louis XIV. to the laſt degree. It was deliberated in the Council of State whether the recuſant biſhop ſhould not, by a *lettre de câchet*, be ſent into exile; but the more moderate advice of the miniſter Tellier, and his ſon the Archbiſhop of Rheims, prevailed. Determined, however, to aſſert his pretended rights, on a vacancy of the archdeaconry of Pamiers Louis XIV. preſented a perſon named Poncet to that dignity. It is clear that, even had the rights of the *régale* been ſuch as they were pretended to be, the king could only have nominated to the archdeaconry during the vacancy of the ſee; but it was the intention of the court to conſider the biſhop, on account of his recuſancy,

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as civilly dead, and thus at once to aſſume all his rights. Caulet, as his brother prelate had done, ſuſpended the intruded archdeacon, and thoſe who had aſſiſted in his inſtallation. They, in turn, appealed to their metropolitan, the Archbiſhop of Toulouſe, who, without hearing the caſe, reverſed the ſentence of his ſuffragan. He, as in the former inſtance, appealed to Innocent XI. who took the caſe into his own hands.

While affairs were in this poſture, Pavillon departed this life, in the eightieth year of his age, and the thirty-ninth of his epiſcopate, leaving the whole weight of the controverſy to fall on the Biſhop of Pamiers. Shortly afterwards, the Council of State iſſued a decree to the effect that, unleſs that prelate ſubmitted to the king's ordinance within two months, the temporalities of his dioceſe ſhould be ſeized. On this Caulet addreſſed a letter to the king, in which, while proteſting that he never could nor would obey man rather than GOD, he declared that he was perfectly willing to ſuſtain the loſs of all his worldly goods, but would ſtill aſk the king that the ſums allotted to his cathedral, his two ſeminaries, and the poor of his dioceſe, might be exempted from the general confiſcation. To this letter no regard was paid. At the day appointed, the agents of the police ſeized all the effects of the biſhop with ſuch rigour that, though it was the depth of winter, they did not leave him a ſingle fagot for his evening fire. On this, the incumbents of the dioceſe, who appear to have caught the ſpirit of the chapter, and had determined to ſhow that they were able to drink of the cup that their biſhop ſhould drink of, met in its various localities, and taxed themſelves at a certain rate for the ſupport of their dioceſan. They alſo made him a preſent of two mules, in order that he might be able to continue his dioceſan viſitations. A collection was further made in Paris for his ſupport, and it was propoſed in the Council of State that its principal agent and chief contributor ſhould be ſent to the Baſtile. "No," ſaid Louis XIV, "I have ſeized on the temporalities of the Biſhop of "Pamiers, but I never intended that he ſhould die of hunger; "neither ſhall it be ſaid that any one, in my reign, was puniſhed "for giving alms."

In the meantime Innocent XI. had addreſſed two briefs to the oppreſſed prelate; and the high eulogiums which they paſſed upon him were the laſt conſolations which the old man received in this life. While he was on his death-bed, the aſſembly of the clergy, under the direction of the courtier-archbiſhop De Harlai, preſented an addreſs to the king, occupied with the moſt fulſome adulation; and it ſeemed as if the majority of the Church of France were on the eve of ſchiſm with the ſee of Rome.

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On the death of the Biſhop of Pamiers, the chapter, not unmindful of its promiſe, elected for its two vicars eccleſiaſtics who were moſt oppoſed to the ſtretch of the *régale*. One of theſe was immediately exiled; the courageous canons, without conſidering his office vacated, gave him as coadjutor a prieſt of the ſame ſentiments. The Archbiſhop of Toulouſe profeſſed to conſider theſe appointments as *ipſo facto* null and void, and nominated, by his metropolitical right, two other eccleſiaſtics vicars-general of the dioceſe. Thus the wildeſt confuſion prevailed; the magiſtrates impriſoned thoſe who oppoſed the king, and the pope ſuſpended thoſe who obeyed him.

A third ſource of diſſenſion had its riſe at this time. At Charonne there exiſted an inſtitute of canoneſſes regular of S. Auguſtine, who, amidſt all the uſurpations and corruptions of the age, ſtill maintained its right of electing their own ſuperior. On the demiſe of the laſt of theſe, the king, in the plenitude of his power, nominated a certain ſiſter Marie Angelique, of the order of S. Bernard, to the vacant office. Her inſtallation was only performed by main force, and the greater part of the ſiſters, while it was proceeding, roſe and left the choir. For this they were puniſhed, by a royal edict, by baniſhment to diſtant convents of other orders. A few, however, contrived to aſſemble, and to acquaint Innocent XI. with what had occurred. On this the Pope directed them to proceed to a canonical election. They did ſo, and choſe another ſiſter Angelique as their ſuperior. Louis XIV. pronounced their election null; Innocent XI. iſſued a brief reverſing the king's edict; and the Parliament quaſhed the brief, and condemned it to the flames.

It was evident that things could not much longer continue as they were without an open rupture. On the 19th of March, 1681, ten archbiſhops and forty biſhops met, by command of the king, at Paris. The reſult of their deliberations was, that the king ſhould be requeſted to permit the convocation of a national council in the following year; and a general aſſembly of the clergy was accordingly ſummoned. It was high time. In the dioceſe of Pamiers the whole chapter had been forced to fly; eighty incumbents were either in priſon or in exile; Father Cerlat, the remaining grand vicar, who had eſcaped, had been condemned to death by the Parliament of Toulouſe. Under theſe circumſtances it was that the celebrated aſſembly of 1682 was convened: a memorable example how it ſometimes pleaſes GOD to bring good out of evil, and in this reſpect to be compared with the miſerable origin and the happy termination of the fifth Œcumenical Council.

The riſing ſpirit of the times was Boſſuet, then, after having

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been nominated to the bishopric of Condom, and having resigned it on his appointment as preceptor to the Dauphin, had just been raised to the bishopric of Meaux. It was he who digested in his own mind the proceedings of the assembly in which he was to take so distinguished a part; it was he who, after long consultation with the Archbishops of Paris and Rheims, preached the sermon at the Mass of the HOLY GHOST, which was the *bonâ fide* commencement of the proceedings. Speaking of that sermon, "the tender ears of the Romans," says he to Cardinal d'Estrées, "ought to be respected, and I have done it with all my heart. "Three points might annoy them: the independence of the "temporal power of kings; the episcopal jurisdiction derivable "immediately from JESUS CHRIST; and the authority of coun- "cils. You know well that there is but one opinion on these "matters in France; and I have endeavoured so to speak that, "without betraying the doctrines of the Gallican Church, I "might not offend the majesty of the Court of Rome. This is "all that can be asked of a French bishop, obliged, by the force "of circumstances, to speak of such matters. In one word, I "have spoken clearly, for that is my duty everywhere, and, "above all, in the pulpit; but I have spoken with respect, and "GOD is my witness that I have done it with a good design."

The letter which the assembly addressed to the Pope has been confidently attributed to Bossuet; he himself seems to assign its authorship to the Archbishop of Rheims. While it was on its way to Innocent XI, the assembly adopted those Four famous Articles of which he was the undoubted author, and which form the watchword of the Gallican party at the present day:—

Desirous, then, to remedy these inconveniences, we, archbishops and bishops assembled at Paris by order of the king, with the other ecclesiastical deputies who represent the Gallican Church, have, after full deliberation, judged it fitting to make the rule and declarations which follow:—

"1. That S. Peter and his successors, vicars of JESUS CHRIST, and that the whole Church also, have received power from GOD over spiritual things only, and those which concern salvation, and not things temporal or civil; JESUS CHRIST Himself teaching us that "His kingdom is not of this world;" and in another place, that we must "render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to GOD the things that are GOD's;" and that thus this precept of the Apostle S. Paul can in nothing be altered or shaken, "Let every one be subject unto the higher powers; for there is no power but of GOD, and the powers that be are ordained of GOD. He, then, that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of GOD." We declare, in consequence, that kings and sovereigns are not subject to any ecclesiastical power, by the command of GOD, in temporal things; that they cannot be deposed, directly nor indirectly, by the authority of the heads of the Church; that their subjects cannot be dispensed from the submission and obedience which they owe them, or absolved from the oath of allegiance; and that this doctrine, necessary for the public tranquillity, and not less advantageous to the

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Church than to the State, ought to be invariably followed, as conformable to the word of GOD, the tradition of the holy Fathers, and the examples of the ſaints.

"2. That the plenitude of power poſſeſſed by the holy Apoſtolic See and the ſucceſſors of S. Peter, vicars of JESUS CHRIST, over ſpiritual things, is ſuch that, notwithſtanding, the decrees of the holy Œcumenical Council of Conſtance, contained in Seſſions IV. and V, approved by the holy Apoſtolic See, confirmed by the practice of the whole Church and the Roman Pontiffs, and obſerved religiouſly through all times by the Gallican Church, remain in their ſtrength and vigour; and that the Church of France does not approve of the opinion of thoſe who attack theſe decrees, or who weaken them by ſaying that their authority is not well eſtabliſhed, that they are not approved, or that they refer only to times of ſchiſm.

"3. That thus the employment of the apoſtolic power muſt be regulated by following the canons made by the Spirit of GOD, and conſecrated by the general reſpect of the world; that the rules, cuſtoms, and conſtitutions, received in the kingdom and in the Gallican Church, ought to retain their ſtrength and vigour; and the cuſtoms of our fathers ought to remain unſhaken; and that it even tends to the greatneſs of the holy Apoſtolic See, that the laws and cuſtoms eſtabliſhed by the conſent of this illuſtrious See and of the Churches may have the authority which they ought to have.

"4. That, although the Pope has the principal intereſt in queſtions of faith, and his decrees regard all the Churches, and each Church in particular, his judgment is, nevertheleſs, not irreformable, at leaſt if the conſent of the Church does not intervene."

And theſe are the maxims which we have received of our Fathers, and which we have reſolved to ſend to all the Gallican Churches, and to the Biſhops which the HOLY GHOST has eſtabliſhed to govern them, to the end that we may all ſpeak the ſame thing, that we may all be of the ſame mind, and that we may all hold the ſame doctrine.

Theſe articles were adopted on the 19th of March, 1682. On the following day they were promulgated by Louis XIV. as the law of the State, and, three days later, regiſtered in the Parliament as obligatory to be taught by all eccleſiaſtics.

It is ſingular that, from the peculiar circumſtances by which theſe Articles were elicited, Arnauld and the Port-Royaliſts ſhould—however much, on the whole, concurring with their doctrine—have been oppoſed to their form. At the ſame time that great divine, from his retreat in Holland, thus expreſſed himſelf as to their propoſed condemnation by the Papal See:—

I cannot help ſaying that it would be bad advice to give His Holineſs if they urged him to condemn the four articles of the clergy, touching the power of depoſing kings, infallibility, and the ſuperiority of the General Council. For the clergy will not want writers in their defence, although they might want them to ſupport their other injuſtices. And that will produce a great number of writings on both ſides, the effect of which will be to play into the hands of heretics, to render the Roman Church odious, to put difficulties in the way of the converſion of Proteſtants, and to be the occaſion of a more cruel perſecution againſt the poor Catholics of England. One may ſee the beginning already; for a pamphlet has appeared here with this magnificent title—"A reply to the Declaration of the Gallican Church

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on Eccleſiaſtical Power, humbly dedicated by Nicholas Ceroli, Marquis of Carreto, to Innocent XI, beſt, greateſt, chief Pontiff, Vicar of CHRIST, Lord of the City and the World; and only Door-keeper of Heaven, Earth, and Hell; and infallible Oracle of the Faith," &c. I have not ſeen it, but M. de Ste. Marthe, who has written to me on the ſubject, adds:— "The contents of the book are proportioned to the magnificence of the title. He pretends that JESUS CHRIST, having been King over all the earth, and the Pope being His vicar, the latter has alſo ſovereign power over the whole world, and by conſequence over all monarchs." I lament for the Holy See if it has ſuch defenders; and it is a terrible judgment of GOD on the Church, if Rome takes this way to defend itſelf againſt the French biſhops."

The ſummary which the Abbé Guettée gives of the whole affair is worth quoting:—

The act had not, as we have ſeen, the approbation of Boſſuet. He judged it inopportune; but the will of Louis XIV, ſtrongly expreſſed, appeared to him, under the difficult circumſtances of the times, a ſufficient reaſon for acquieſcing in it. The aſſembly had, certainly, the intention of expreſſing the doctrine of the Church of France in the form of canons and deciſions. Had it the right? The general aſſemblies of the clergy were not councils, and were not uſually convoked for any other purpoſe than the regulation of the temporal affairs of the clergy; however, ſince the famous aſſembly of Melun, the cuſtom had been introduced, little by little, of diſcuſſing doctrinal queſtions in theſe gatherings. That of 1682, having been convoked extraordinarily, and for the expreſs purpoſe of treating of them, believed itſelf in poſſeſſion of this right; but we muſt remark that it attributed to itſelf no further powers than thoſe which it truly poſſeſſed, and only undertook to give declaration to a doctrine which ſhould be obligatory in France, but in France alone. Nor was it even, properly ſpeaking, a deciſion for France, but ſimply a declaration of the opinions which had always been thoſe of the Gallican Church; it was a proteſt, in the name of the clergy of France, againſt the Ultramontane exaggerations which had made ſo much way in the conteſt between the courts of France and of Rome. It is thus that we ought, if we would be juſt, to appreciate the act of the aſſembly of 1682.

It was not to be expected that the Four Articles would ever be approved by the See of Rome. A ſpecial congregation was inſtituted by Innocent XI. for the conſideration of their doctrine; and a cenſure was prepared by that body for the Pope's approval and ratification. But Innocent XI. could never be prevailed on to ſign that cenſure. Yet, anxious to give ſome proof of his diſapprobation, he perſiſted in refuſing his bulls for the elevation to the epiſcopate of thoſe deputies of the ſecond order who had aſſiſted at the aſſembly.

The death of Innocent XI. did not end the conteſt. His ſucceſſor, Cardinal Ottoboni, raiſed to the chair of S. Peter under the title of Alexander VIII, perſiſted in his refuſal until the eccleſiaſtics, nominated to the vacant biſhoprics, retracted their adheſion to the Four Articles. In vain was it that the

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French biſhops repreſented to him that thoſe Articles were not to be conſidered in the light of a dogmatical decree—were not intended to be impoſed on other Churches—but were a ſimple ſtatement of the opinion which had always been held by the Church of France. It was intimated by Louis XIV. that, in caſe of continued refuſal, the conſecration of the biſhops would take place without their bulls. This had actually been done, in ſome inſtances, during the wars of the League—had been threatened by the court of Liſbon when bulls were refuſed by Rome to the biſhops nominated by the Houſe of Bragança after the revolution which placed it on the throne; and the threat now held out was remembered and acted upon by the Church of Utrecht, ſome twenty years later. The Pope, after ſome fruitleſs negotiations, prepared a bull, by which he annulled all that had been done in the aſſembly of 1682; it was kept ſecret for ſome time, and only publiſhed when Alexander VIII. was on his death-bed. The intelligence of its contents, and the news of the Pope's deceaſe, reached France at the ſame time. The Parliament was about to condemn it to the flames; but Louis XIV, unwilling to come to an open rupture with the court of Rome, repreſented that it ſhould rather be attributed to the weakneſs of a dying man, than to the well-weighed determination of the Holy See; that the new Pope might evince greater moderation; and that the ſureſt way to obtain an eaſy ſettlement of the difference was to take no notice of the bull that had juſt been iſſued. Cardinal Pignatelli, raiſed to the Papal See under the title of Innocent XII, haſtened, in an autograph letter, to acquaint the King of France with his pacific diſpoſitions. Louis XIV, for his part, ſuſpended the civil law, which rendered the teaching of the Four Articles obligatory; and the Pope at once ſent their bulls to thoſe eccleſiaſtics who had been nominated to biſhoprics ſince the aſſembly of 1682, but who had not aſſiſted at it. It was underſtood that both theſe, as well as thoſe who had been preſent, were to unite in a letter which ſhould be ſo drawn up as to pleaſe all parties; and with ſuch conflicting intereſts to be ſatisfied, it is not wonderful that the compoſition of this celebrated epiſtle occupied two years. The terms in which it was finally expreſſed are theſe:—

The ſubſcribers declare, "that everything which might have been conſidered as formally decreed in the ſaid aſſembly, ought to be held as not formally decreed, and that they themſelves regarded it in that light; further, that anything which might be conſidered to have been then deliberated to the prejudice of the rights of other Churches, was held by them not to have been deliberated at all; that their intention had never been to paſs a formal decree, nor to do anything that might wrong other Churches: that they

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hoped, for theſe reaſons, that the Pope would reinſtate them in his good opinion, and would iſſue the bulls now demanded."

Such was the concluſion of this famous aſſembly; a compromiſe which while it did not, to uſe Boſſuet's expreſſion, grate on the tender ears of the Romans, certainly left the balance of ſucceſs on the ſide of the Gallicans. The doctrine of the Four Articles was neither directly nor indirectly condemned; ſimply their impoſition on other Churches was diſavowed, and their obligatory impoſition upon France retracted.

The hiſtory of this event is related by the Abbé Guettée with great preciſion and clearneſs, and forms a remarkable contraſt with the obſcure and bungling manner in which Rohrbacher narrates it in his ſo-called "Hiſtory of the Church." At the ſame time we are bound to ſay that our preſent hiſtorian, in the events that followed the aſſembly, ſeems to us unduly to depreciate Fénélon, in order that he may unduly exalt Boſſuet. It is very true that Rohrbacher has more decidedly erred in the oppoſite direction; but the reverſe of wrong is not neceſſarily right, and our hiſtorian might have been content with aſſigning to the Eagle of Meaux that place which was allotted to him by the verdict of the eighteenth century,—the moſt learned Gallican except Gerſon, and the moſt eloquent preacher except Maſſillon. We remember, on a very fine evening in May, walking up and down the arcade of yew-trees, Boſſuet's favourite reſort, in his epiſcopal gardens; the weſtern *façade* of the cathedral ſeen through the branches on one ſide, the town cluſtering below the palace on the other. We had been diſcuſſing the character of Boſſuet with the Vicar-General of the dioceſe, and it was ſummed up thus:—"He was a "great man, and he was a good man, and he is with the ſaints; "but we muſt not make him into a ſaint himſelf."

We had intended to notice one or two other of the more remarkable events in the later hiſtory of the Church of France, which the volumes before us contain. We might in particular refer the reader to the account, now for the firſt time fairly and diſpaſſionately given, of the infamous Council of Embrun, and the depoſition and impriſonment of the venerable Biſhop Soanen, of Senez. But, above all other parts of the work, the portion which treats of the eccleſiaſtical annals of the firſt Revolution is the moſt curious. The bias of the Abbé Guettée is decidedly in favour of thoſe who by other Church writers have been branded with every appellation of infamy, the conſtitutional biſhops; and more eſpecially Grégoire, whom he exalts into a hero, and into ſomething like a confeſſor. But it will be fairer, both to the writer and to ourſelves, to reſerve that part of his

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work till the appearance of his "Mémoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſ-"toire de l'Egliſe de France, depuis le Concordat de 1801 "juſqu'à nos jours," already advertiſed with the ſignificant notice, "Pour paraître dès que les circonſtances le permettront." To judge by his account of the Revolution, our author's annals of the nineteenth century are likely to be as little pleaſing to Imperialiſts as to Ultramontanes; and whether circumſtances will permit their publication till after another revolution, is a point which may reaſonably be doubted. We ſhall look, however, for the promiſed work with great intereſt; and certainly to no author were the words ever more applicable:—

Periculoſæ plenum opus aleæ
Tractas; et incedis per ignes
Suppoſitos cineri doloſo.

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XIII.

DE SEQUENTIIS AD V. CL. HERMANNUM ADALBERTUM DANIEL EPISTOLA CRITICA.

PETIS a me, Vir Doctiſſime et Amiciſſime, ut quæ de Sequentiis in collectione a me ante quatuor annos editâ præfatus fuerim, ea ut poſſum auctiora novæ tui operis editioni præfigenda mittam. Sane in hoc uno judicium tuum et acumen deſiderabunt lectores, qui tanto præſtantiora ipſe depromere potes. Sed quoniam ambo in his ſtudiis, licet impari ſucceſſu, laboravimus, nec pergratum mihi non poteſt eſſe, in opere, certe poſt nos victuro, exiguum mihi locum vindicare: experimentum faciam, an aliquid e ſcriniis meis, quod tuo ſit uſui, expromere poſſim. Id unum obſecro, ut quicquid de hâc re ſcribam, ab homine cum maxime aliis occupato diſtractoque negotiis, quod ipſe ſcis, profectum eſſe memineris.

De Sequentiis breviter dicturo, primum de earum origine inquirendum eſt; dein de progreſſu, additamentis, generibus, auctoribus, antiquatione aliquid ſtatuendum. Jam inde ex antiquiſſimis temporibus id in uſu Eccleſiæ Latinæ erat, ut inter Epiſtolam et Evangelium, extra jejunia, Graduale cum Alleluia diceretur. Rubrica Miſſalis Sariſburienſis: "Dum Alleluia canitur, duo de ſuperiori gradu ad *Alleluia* decantandum cappis ſericis ſe induant et ad pulpitum" (Anglice: Rood-loft, Germanice: Lettner) "per medium chorum incedant. Dicto vero Graduali - - - - ſequatur *Alleluia*. Chorus idem repetat et proſequatur cum *pneumate*." Ita Belethus: "In hujus fine neumatizamus, id eſt jubilamus, dum finem protrahimus et ei velut caudam accingimus." Hunc ſcilicet in modum:—

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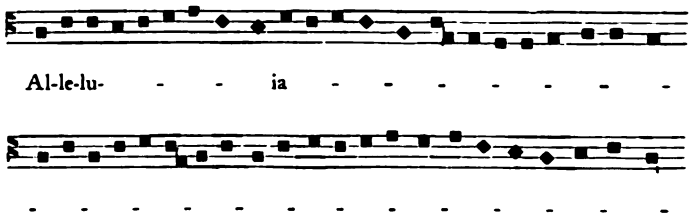

Quæ prolongatio ſyllabæ *ia* ideo fiebat, ut tempus ad ſe præparandum et ad aſcendendum ambonem Diacono daretur. Sed, ſecundum pium ejus ſæculi ingenium, quæ de neceſſitate facta erant, ad myſticam quandam et anagogicam (ut loquebantur) rationem referebantur. "Solemus," inquit S. Bonaventura, "longam notam poſt *Alleluia* ſuper literam A decantare, quia gaudium Sanctorum in cœlis interminabile et ineffabile eſt." Quod vero ſono tantum, non certis ſyllabis hæ notæ alligabantur, ne hoc quidem, ſi Hugoni Cardinali credimus, ſignificatione caret: "quia ignotus nobis eſt modus laudandi DEUM in Patria."

Et hæc proprie eſt Sequentia: neuma ſive prolongatio ultimæ ſyllabæ τοῦ Alleluia. Ideoque dicta eſt Sequentia, ſecundum probatiores auctores, quia modulationem et rhythmum τοῦ Alleluia ſequebatur eique obtemperabat. Alii tamen, inter quos eſt Michael Prætorius; hanc cauſam nominis effingebant, quod ſcilicet immediate poſt neuma incipiebat Diaconus: "*Sequentia* Sancti Evangelii ſecundum N."

S. Notkerus Balbulus, qui anno 912 obiit, ſequentiarum quas ita nunc nominamus a pleriſque et doctioribus auctor fuiſſe creditur. Nec obſtat (quod e præcedentibus patet) auctores qui ante Notkerum vixerunt de Sequentiis ſcripſiſſe, cum neumata ſolum ſignificarent. Joannes quidem Adelphus ſequentias noſtras a Nicolao Papa I. approbatas fuiſſe ſcribit. Sed, diligentius re inſpectâ, patebit Nicolaum I, vel ſcriptoris incuriâ vel typothetarum errore, pro II. poſitum fuiſſe. Sedit autem Nicolaus II. ab anno 1058 uſque ad 1064. Notkerus enim ipſe in præfatione ſequentiarum ſuarum ad Luitwardum hunc in modum ſcribit: "Quum adhuc juvenculus eſſem, et melodiæ longiſſimæ "ſæpius memoriæ commendatæ inſtabile corculum aufugerent, "cœpi tacitus mecum volvere, quonam modo eas potuerim col- "ligere. Interim vero contigit, ut preſbyter quidam de Gime- "dia nuper a Nordmannis vaſtatâ veniret ad nos, antiphonarium "ſuum deferens, in quo aliqui verſus ad ſequentias erant modu- "lati, ſed jam tunc nimium vitiati. Quorum ut viſu delectatus,

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" ita ſum guſtu amaricatus. Ad imitationem tamen eorum " cœpi ſcribere: *Laudes Deo concinat orbis univerſus, qui gratis* " *eſt redemptus.* Et infra: *Coluber Adæ deceptor.* Quos cum " magiſtro meo Yſoni obtuliſſem, ille ſtudio meo congratulatus " imperitiæque compaſſus, quæ placuerunt laudavit, quæ autem " minus, emendare curavit, dicens: 'Singulæ motus cantilenæ " ſingulas ſyllabas debent habere.' Quod ego audiens, ea qui- " dem, quæ in *ia* veniebant, ad liquidum correxi: quæ autem " in *le* vel *lu* quaſi impoſſibilia vel attemptare neglexi, cum et " illud poſtea uſu facillimum deprehenderim. Ut teſtes ſunt: " *Dominus in Syna:* Et *Mater.* Hocque modo inſtructus ſe- " cundâ mox vice dictavi: *Pſallat eccleſia mater illibata;* ille " gaudio repletus rotulos eos congeſſit, et pueris cantandos aliis " alios inſinuavit." Locus ſane difficillimus, quem ſicco pede, ut aiunt, et Pezius et Gerbertus, et alii tranſierunt editores. Nuſquam omnino exſtat ſequentia, quæ ita incipit: *Laudes Deo concinat orbis univerſus.* Attamen in Monii collectione (i. 217.) ſequentiam habemus, cujus hoc eſt initium: *Laudes Deo concinat orbis ubique totus, qui gratis eſt liberatus.* Et infra: *Coluber Adæ male ſuaſor.* Et hæc ſecunda ſine dubio ſequentiæ ejus editio eſt, quæ Yſoni " minus placuit." Notandum eſt, verbum *redemptus* in *liberatus* mutatum fuiſſe, et pro *deceptor*, curis ſecundis, *male ſuaſor* poſitum eſſe: ſine dubio eâ de causâ, ut ſyllabæ notis muſicis præciſe reſponderent. Quod hymnologos adhuc, credo, latuit.*

* [Notkerum delectum ſequentiarum ſuarum inſtituiſſe inter omnes conſtat. Exemplaria MSS. hujus Libelli Sequentiarum non ita rara ſunt, et in non nullis Epiſtola Dedicatoria ad Luitwardum Vercellenſem epiſcopum ſcripta præcedit, quam excuſam habemus e. g. apud Mabillonium in Actis Sanctorum Ord. S. Bened. VII. p. 19, e libro MS. Cluniacenſi, apud Pezium in Theſauro Anecdotorum i. p. 17. apud Gerbertum de M. S. I. p. 412, verſam majori ex parte in germanicam linguam apud Rambach, Anth. i. p. 210. Quum tam grave ſit hujus epiſtolæ in Hiſtoria Sequentiarum momentum, in ipſo monaſterio San-Gallenſi ego ejus collationem novam in Cod. No. 381. inſtitui, ex quo eam Nealii diſputationi adſcribo.

" Digniſſimo ſucceſſori
Abbatique cœnobii Sanctiſſimi Columbani ac Defenſori cellulæ diſcipuli ejus mitiſſimi Galli nec non et archicapellano glorioſiſſimi imperatoris Karoli Notkerus Cucullarius Sti. Galli Noviſſimus.

" Cum adhuc juvenulus eſſem et melodiæ longiſſimæ ſæpius memoriæ commendatæ inſtabile corculum aufugerent, cœpi tacitus mecum volvere, quonam modo eas potuerim colligare. Interim contigit, ut preſbyter quidam de Gimediâ nuper a Nordmannis vaſtatâ, veniret ad nos, antiphonarium ſuum deferens ſecum, in quo aliqui verſus ad ſequentias erant modulati. Quorum ut uſu delectatus, ita ſum guſtu amaricatus. Ad imitationem tamen eorum cœpi ſcribere: Laudes domino concinat orbis ubique totus qui gratis eſt

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Ex illo tempore ſequentiarum in Eccleſia crevit uſus, non tamen ſine morâ quâdam et oppugnatione. S. Odilo, ſæculo XI, vix obtinuit ut apud Cluniacenſes ſuos una ſequentia, *Spiritus Sanctus nobis adſit gratia*, caneretur. "In antiquis "libris Romanis," inquit Radulphus Tungrenſis, "aliquas vidi "ſequentias: multi autem multas introduxerunt: quiſque gaudet "ſuis novitatibus." Apud Germaniam, Galliam, Angliam, Scandinaviam innumera pene crevit multitudo: Itali vero, ut et Hiſpaniæ utriuſque eccleſia, ſeſe ſemper duriores erga haſce proſas probaverunt. Ipſe dum Hiſpaniam luſtrabam, diligentiſſimâ Miſſalia vetuſtiora perſcrutatus ſum curâ, Bracharenſe ſc., Pallantinum, Cæſarauguſtanum, Toletanum, Emeritenſe, etc., unamque, nec plures, inveni ſequentiam, quæ ex Hiſpania originem traxiſſe mihi viſa eſt: *Gaudete vos fideles*, quam excudendam curavi (Eccleſiologiſt. xi. 282). Verum tamen eſt, Eccleſiam Luſitanam, inde a Philippæ Lancaſtrenſis temporibus (circa ann. 1390) noſtro Sariſburienſi miſſali uſam fuiſſe. At eo uſu antiquato, antiquatæ etiam ſunt plerumque ſequentiæ. De his rebus optime, ut ſolet, Martinus Gerbertus, *De cantu et muſicâ ſacrâ*, tom i. p. 410.

Et primo quidem tanquam ad fontem et originem referebantur Sequentiæ ad illud Alleluia, de quo antea dictum eſt: ut videre eſt in miſſalibus antiquioribus, hunc in modum:—

Natus ante ſæcula	A	E	U	A
Dei Filius invi-	A	E	U	A
ſibilis interminus	A	E	U	A

Semper autem, cum canebatur Sequentia, omittebatur neuma poſt Alleluia. Rubrica Sariſburienſis: "Deinde clerici incipiant "Alleluia ſine pneumate: quod per totum annum obſervetur, "quando dicitur ſequentia tantum. Quando non dicitur ſequen-

redemptus. Et infra: Coluber Adæ deceptor. Quos cum magiſtro meo Iſoni obtuliſſem, ille ſtudio meo congratulatus imperitiæque compaſſus, quæ placuerunt, laudavit, quæ autem minus, emendare curavit, dicens: Singuli motus cantilenæ ſingulas ſyllabas debent habere. Quod ego audiens ea quidem quæ in *a* veniebant ad liquidum correxi, quæ vero in *le* vel *lu* quaſi impoſſibilia vel attentare neglexi, cum et illud poſtea uſu facillimum deprehenderim, ut teſtes ſunt: Dominus in Sina. Et Mater. Hocque modo inſtructus ſecunda mox vice dictavi: Pſallat eccleſia mater illibata. Quos verſiculos cum magiſtro meo Marcello præſentarem, ille gaudio repletus in rotulas eos congeſſit et pueris cantandos aliis alios inſinuavit. Cumque mihi dixiſſet ut in libellum compactos alicui primorum illos pro munere offerrem, ego pudore retractus nunquam adhuc cogi poteram. Nuper autem a fratre meo Othmaro rogatus, ut aliquid in laude veſtrâ conſcribere curarem et ego me ad hoc opus imparem non immerito judicarem, vix tandem aliquando ægreque ad hoc animatus ſum, ut hunc minimum viliſſimumque codicellum

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" tia, tum dicitur pneuma a toto choro poſt repetitionem Alle-
" luia."

Notkeriani carminis rationem permulti imitati ſunt: nemo tamen melius quam Godeſchalcus. Innumeri quoque ſcriptores uſque ad ſæculum XVI. ſequentias iſto modo compoſuerunt: jejuniores ſæpe et obſcuriores. Quis, e. g., ferre ſequentiam iſtiuſmodi generis poteſt? " Quid dulcius, fratres cariſſimi, poteſt
" a Chriſtianis audiri, quam quando per ſuorum laudem Sanc-
" torum laus et gloria redoletur Creatori," tum in ordine 107 ejuſdem farraginis verſus? Sed nimis acerbe de iis judicaverunt homines alioquin doctiſſimi. Ita qui pro antiquis plerumque pugnabat ritibus, Le Brun: " *Mais on ne doit pas beaucoup regretter la perte, la plupart n'étant que de pitoyables rhapſodies.*" Bilem ſcriptori movebat illa; — *Alle — celeſte necnon perenne — luia.* Erant, fateor, in ſequiore ævo inconditi ſæpe et inficeti; ſed et tum temporis erant quoque quæ non carebant mirâ ſuavitate et venuſtate. Quam religioſe obſervatus hic ritus ſemper fuerit, teſtatur ſequentia in impiâ illâ Miſsâ de Andreæ Carolſtadtii nuptiis a Germanis novatoribus conſcripta. Ejus principium: " DEUS, in tua virtute Andreas Carolſtadtius gaudet et lætatur in thalamo copulatus."

Et primo quidem non niſi aſſonantiis, vel, ut plurimum, conſonantiis ſimplicibus, utebantur ſequentiarum ſcriptores: S. Notkerus ipſe aliquando, ut in *Eja recolamus* ſingulos verſus, pleraſque ex interciſionibus, ſyllaba A claudit: ſequentiam *Laus tibi Chriſte* (in feſto SS. Innocentum) in E. Aliquando in aliquibus ex dicolis et interciſiones et fines aſſonantes habet; e. g.: Ergo nos ſupplicant*es* | tibi exaudi propitius, Sancte Spirit*us*, || Sine quo preces omn*es* | caſſæ creduntur et indignæ DEI auri*bus*. || Sed hæc non niſi raro. Hermannus Contractus multo ulterius progreditur: is circa A. D. 1070 floruit. Nam duplicibus conſonantiis non ſolum utitur, ut in illo: Tu Agnum, Regem terræ dominatorem, Moabitici de petra deſerti ad montem filiæ Sion traduxi*ſti* || Tuque furentem Leviathan, ſerpentem tortuoſumque et rectum collidens, damnoſo crimine mundum exemi*ſti* ||: verum etiam aliquando ad formam accentumque hymnorum ſuos redegit verſus. Exemplo ſit: Audi nos, nam te Fi*lius* nihil negans hon*orat* || Salva nos, JESU, pro quib*us* te Virgo Mater *orat*. || Sequentiæ ſæculis XI. compoſitæ et ineunte ſæculo XII. magis magiſque in hanc normam vergebant:

veſtræ celſitudini conſecrare præſumerem. Quem ſi in eo placitum veſtræ pietati comperero, ut ipſi fratri meo apud Dominum Imperatorem ſitis adminiculo, tum quod de vitâ Sti. Galli elaborare pertinaciter inſiſto, quamvis illud fratri meo Salomoni prius pollicitus fuerim, vobis examinandum habendum ipſique per vos explanandum dirigere feſtinabo."—*Daniel.*]

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ut illa, *Victimæ Paſchali*, quam ſæculo XII. aſcribo, ampliſſime probat. Dic nobis, Maria, | quid vidiſti in via? || Angelicos *teſtes*, ſudarium et *veſtes*. ||

Hinc fortaſſe ſuam ſequentiarum formam mutuatus eſt Adamus de Sancto Victore, qui circa A. D. 1190 vitam cum immortalitate commutavit. De eo ſcite quidem et eleganter Vir Reverendus, Richardus Chenevix Trench, cujus verba hic juvat Latinâ verſione donare. "De Adami ſequentiis alii aliter judi- "caverunt. Qui eum in ſummo honore habent, vix infitias "ibunt, poetam in myſticâ Veteris Teſtamenti explicatione "nimium laborare, ſuoque ipſius ingenio, ad id adhibito, nonnun- "quam abuti. Nec ſemper doctiſſimas ſuas obſervationes in "poeſeos fervorem perfecte effuſas exhibet. Aliquando etiam "plus æquo laborat, ut verſus nimiâ componat arte, intrica- "tiſſimas conſonantias jam prodigaliter accumulet, jam ſubti- "liter inter ſe liget: ut ſe magiſtrum omnis verſuum generis "abſolutiſſimum exhibeat, nec tam a vinculis ſuis adhiberi, "quam in eis gloriari demonſtret. Culpæ, quæ nimii aliquid "meriti in ſe habent. Circulum univerſalis theologiæ perfec- "tiſſime callet, Sanctâ Scripturâ non minus abundanter quam "mirabiliter utitur, verſus exquiſitâ quadâm arte ordinat, conſo- "nantiaſque diſponit, melodiam, dum ad finem vergit, ditiorem "plenioremque exhibere curat, in ſingulos verſus mirum quantum "vis infundat (e. g., 'Offert multa, ſpondet plura, *Periturus* "*peritura*:—Per quam plebs Alexandrina *Feminæ non fæminina* "ſtupuit ingenia;) feliciſſimum narrandi artificium ideo gratius "lectoribus reddit, quia quæ aliis profert ipſe ſe credere et ſen- "tire tam liquido demonſtrat.'"—Nec abſurde Johannes Toloſa- nus, et ipſe Prior Victorinus: "Valde multas proſas fecit, "quæ ſuccincte et clauſulatim progredientes, venuſto verborum "matrimonio ſubtiliter decoratæ, ſententiarum floſculis mira- "biliter picturatæ, ſchemate congruentiſſimo componuntur: in "quibus et cum interſerat prophetias et figuras, quæ in ſenſu "quem protendunt videntur obſcuratiſſimæ, tamen ſic eas adaptat "ad ſuum propoſitum manifeſte, ut magis videantur hiſtoriam "texere quam figuram."

Nec mirum, tanti nominis auctoritatem tantamque ingenii poetici vim novum ſequentiarum genus a Scandinavia uſque ad Alpes propagaſſe. Innumeri exſtabant Adami imitatores: qui in CCC annorum decurſu Miſſalia omnimodâ proſarum farragine implebant. E quibus multæ non ſpernendum locum ſibi vindicant: nec tamen, tribus quatuorve exceptis (e. g. Thoma de Celano, S. Thoma Aquinenſi, Jacobo de Benedictis, Henrico Piſtore) cum Adamo comparandus iterum exſtitit. Ex eo tem-

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pore Notkerianas proſas pauciſſimos inveniſſe imitatores nemini non notum eſt.

In tam immanem multitudinem ſequentiarum crevit numerus, tamque inſcitæ et immodulatæ pleræque evaſerunt, ut Synodus Colonienſis (A. D. 1536) minuendas reformandaſque eas duxerit. Penitus enim intolerabile erat, verſus hujuſcemodi, quos in Miſſali Andegavenſi inveni, ab Eccleſia cantatos eſſe: "Clerus " Andegavenſium Pſallat cum turmâ civium: Quod Mauricii " brachium Nobis miſit Byzantium. Conſtantinopolitana Civi- " tas diu profana Manſerat. Et duritiâ veſanâ Dogmata ſacra " Romana Spreverat. Franci fortes accinguntur Venetis aſſo- " ciati, Villam hanc aggrediuntur: Cadunt Græci ſuperati. " Archipræſul Philippenſis Genere Rothomagenſis Francis opem " præbuit: Et de rebus civitatis Ob mercedem probitatis Opes " multas habuit," etc. At in Reformatione Miſſalis Romani judices tam iniquos ſe erga proſas monſtraverunt, ut omnes, hiſce exceptis, *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, *Victimæ Paſchali*, *Lauda Sion Salvatorem*, *Dies iræ*, deleverint; quod maximâ cum ſtrage rei liturgicæ factum eſſe, nemo eſt qui non viderit. Quis enim non dolet proſas ab Eccleſia damnatas fuiſſe, quæ non ſine ferventiſſimo cordis ſtudio vel legi poſſunt? Exemplis ſunt: illa, quæ omnem laudem ſuperat, Sequentia Alleluiatica S. Notkeri: *Sancti Spiritus adſit nobis gratia*; ejuſdem *Pſallat Eccleſia*; Adami *Zyma vetus expurgetur*; *Heri mundus exultavit*; *Quam dilecta tabernacula*, et ſexcentæ aliæ.*

De duobus Sequentiarum generibus hæc Clichtovæus: "Proſa " eccleſiaſtica ſecundum ſpecialem rationem modo explicatam " ſumpta duplex invenitur. Quædam rhythmica, quæ certum " numerum ſyllabarum in unâquâque clauſulâ et in fine conſi- " milem exitum duarum poſtremarum ſyllabarum cum aliis " clauſulis ſervat:" et hæc eſt ea in quâ Adamus de S. Victore facile princeps exſtitit: quâ de causâ Victorinas haſce poſſumus

* [Sequentiis e Romana eccleſiâ expulſis refugium et portus erat communio Lutherana. Etenim non nullæ publicis ritibus adhibitæ ſunt, permultæ capitulorum Cathedralium officiis privatis inſervierunt. Ut exemplum afferam, capitulum inſignis eccleſiæ Halberſtadenſis præter horas canonicas quotidie recitatas, diebus dominicis ac feſtivis miſſam celebravit Lutheranam, Romanæ ad Credo uſque (incl.) pediſſequam. In his miſſis et Sequentiæ lectæ ſunt. Liber Ritualis Halberſtadenſis decem habet Sequentias: *Eja recolamus*, *Exultemus pari voto*, *Natus ante ſæcula*, *Grates nunc omnes*, *Agni paſchalis eſu*, *Laudes ſalvatori*, *Summi triumphum*, *Sancti Spiritus aſſit*, *Benedicta ſemper*, *Summe rex Chriſte*. Et is Sequentiarum cantus adhuc obtinuit ad tempora Hieronymi Gueſtphaliæ regis qui cum aliis eccleſiæ opibus et capituli Halberſtadenſis divitias diſſipavit 1810.—*Daniel.*]

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vocare ſequentias. " Alia vero non rhythmica," inquit Clichtovæus (qui *minus ad aurem quamlibet rhythmica* dicere debuit), " quæ nec determinato clauditur ſyllabarum numero," (hoc plerumque falſum eſt, ut infra monſtrabimus) " neque conſonantiam in exitu certam obſervat." Et hæc eſt Notkeriana.

De Notkerianis primum. Mirum enim quam craſſa apud homines rei liturgicæ non ignaros de earum metro ignorantiâ, mirum quantum in ipſis Miſſalibus vel incuriæ vel inſcitiæ. Nec, quod ſciam, Wolfio Monioque exceptis, ulli in mentem venit regulas inveſtigare, verſus ordinare, corrigenda vel facillime corrigere. Et ex hoc ſequentiarum genere, quia ſolutioribus videbatur regulis teneri, in uſum venit aliud nomen, *Proſa:* quod poſtea omnibus ſequentiis commune fuit.

Sequentia igitur Notkeriana, ſeu Proſa, ex incerto numero verſuum conſtat: ſinguli verſus ex incerto ſyllabarum numero. Verſus bini et bini, aliquando plures, reſpondent tum ſyllabis, tum ſæpe accentibus, tum interciſionibus. In pleraſque enim interciſiones ſive clauſulas verſus ſinguli dividuntur; exemplo ſit hoc:

Sic te náſcitúrum | Fíli Déi | vátes túo dócti | Spíritu díxerant
Síc te óriénte | láudes tíbi | cántant pacem térris | Ángeli núntiant.

Age vero, quoniam in hanc materiam nobis aditum patefecimus, aliquas ex Notkeri ſequentiis metrice examinemus: quarum duas jamdudum docte quidem, ſed non omnino, inveſtigavit Wolfius.

I. Eja recolamus laudibus piis digna. Vs. irreſponſorius.

II. Hujus diei carmina | in qua nobis lux oritur | gratiſſima | Noctis inter nebuloſa | pereunt noſtri criminis | umbracula | 8+8+4=20.

III. Hodie ſæculo maris ſtella | eſt enixa | novæ ſalutis gaudia Quem tremunt barathra, mors cruenta | pavet ipſa | a quo peribit mortua 10+4+8=22.

IV. Gemit capta | peſtis antiqua | coluber lividus perdit ſpolia Homo lapſus | ovis abducta | revocatur ad æterna gaudia 4+5+11=20.

V. Gaudent in hac die agmina | angelorum cœleſtia Quia erat drachma decima | perdita et eſt inventa 9+8=17.

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VI. { O culpa nimium beat*a* | qua redempta eſt natur*a* / DEUS qui creavit omni*a* | naſcitur ex fœmin*a* } 9+8=17. 9+7=16.

Ideoque non ſatis apte inter ſe reſpondent verſus. Libenter cum Miſſali Sariſburienſi pro *culpa* legerem *plebs*, niſi, quod et tu, V. Cl., obſervaſti, poetam Auguſtiniano oxymoro uti velle crederem. Itaque omittendum eſt O, hunc in modum :—

Culpa nimium beata qu*a* | redempta eſt natur*a* / DEUS qui creavit omni*a* | naſcitur ex fœmin*a* } 9+7=16.

VII. { Mirabilis natur*a* | mirifice indut*a* | aſſumens quod non er*at* | manens quod er*at* / Induitur natur*a* | divinitas human*a* | quis audivit tali*a* | dic, rogo, fact*a* } 7+7+7+5=26.

VIII. { Quærere vener*at* / Induit gale*am* | paſtor pius quod perier*at* / certat ut miles armatur*a* } 6+9=15.

IX. { Proſtratus in ſua propri*a* | ruit hoſtis ſpicul*a* | auferuntur tel*a* / In quibus fidebat divi*ſa* | ſunt illius ſpoli*a* | capta præda ſu*a* } 9+7+6=22.

X. { CHRISTI pugn*a* | fortiſſim*a* | ſalus noſtra eſt ver*a* / Qui nos ſu*am* | ad Patri*am* | duxit poſt victori*am* } 4+4+7=15.

XI. In qua ſibi laus eſt æterna. V. irreſponſorius.

[II.] *Natus ante ſæcula.*

I. { Natus ante ſæcul*a* | DEI Filius inviſibil*is* | interminus / Per quem fit machin*a* | cœli et terræ, maris et in h*is* | degenti*um* } 7+10+4=21. 6+10+4=20.

Itaque haud recte cohærent verſus, quod ſilentio prætermiſit Wolfius. Equidem levi mutatione legerem. Per quem *fuit* machina. II. 7+7+4=18. III. 10+12+9+8+10=49. IV. 9+9+5=23. V. 7+8+6+8=29. VI. 14+8+5=27.

[III.] *Hanc concordi famulatu.* Expoſuit Wolfius, p. 296.

[IV.] *Johannes Jeſu Chriſto.*

I. Johannes JESU CHRISTO ‖ multum dilecte virgo. Vs. irreſp.

II. { Tu ejus amore | carnalem in navi ‖ parentem liquiſti / Tu leve conjugis | pectus reſpuiſti ‖ Meſſiam ſecutus / Ut ejus pectoris | ſacra meruiſſes ‖ fluenta potare } 6+9+10=25.

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III. { Tuque in terrâ positus | gloriam conspexisti filii DEI
Quæ solum sanctis in vitâ | creditur contuenda esse perenni } 8+14=22.

Satis recte, quoad syllabarum numerum, se habet dicolum. Sed quum et sensus emphasis in *terrâ* et *vitâ* posita sit, et assonantia in eisdem verbis locum habeat—adde quod aliud prætulerim verbum, *in via*—nullus dubito quin ita legamus:—

Tuque positus in *viâ* | gloriam conspexisti filii DEI
Quæ solum sanctis in *vitâ* | creditur contuenda esse perenni.

IV. { Te CHRISTUS in cruce triumphans | matri suæ dedit custod*em*
Ut virgo virginem servares | atque curam suppeditar*es* } 9+9=18.

V. { Tute carcere flagrisque | fractus testimonio pro CHRISTO es gavisus
Idem mortuos suscitas | inque JESU nomine venenum forte vincis } 8+7+7=22.

Versus poeta indignus, quippe qui nullam interciſionem facile permittat.

VI. { Tibi summus tacitum præ ceteris | Verbum suum Pater revel*at*
Tu nos omnes sedulis precibus | apud DEUM semper commend*a* } 11+9. 10+9.

Legendum:—Tibi summus tacit*um* | ceter*is* | Verb*um* suum | Pat*er* revel*at*
Tu nos omnes precib*us* | sedul*is* | apud Dom | semp*er* commen*da*.

VII. Joannes, CHRISTI care. Vs. irresp.

[V.] *Laus tibi Christe.*

I. Laus tibi CHRISTE patris optimi ‖ nate DEUS, omnipotentiæ. Vs. irresp.

II. { Quem cœlitus jubilant supra astra | manentis plebis decus harmoniæ
Quem agmina infantium sonoris | hymnis collaudant ætheris in arce
Quos impius ob nominis odium | tui misero straverat vulnere } 11+11=22.

III. { Quos pie nunc remuneras in cœlis | CHRISTE pro pœnis nitide
Solita usus gratia qua tuos | ornas coronis splendide } 11+8=19.

IV. { Quorum precibus sacris | dele precamur nostræ pie | crimina vitæ
Et quos laudibus tuis | junxeras nobis istic dones | clemens favere } 9+9+5=23.

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V. { Illis æternæ / Nobis terrea | dans lumen gloriæ / concede vincere } 5+6=11.

VI. { Ut liceat ſerenis actibus | plenitur adipiſci | dona tuæ gratiæ / Herodis ut non fiat ſocius | quiſquis in horum laude | ſe exercet propere. } 10+7+7=24.

VII. Sed æternaliter cum eiſdem catervis tecum ſit, DOMINE. Vs. irreſp.

Jam vero quærendum eſt, quonam modo facillime et rectiſſime ordinari poſſint interciſiones. Alii enim aliter diviſerunt, nec certo quidquam de ea re ſtatui poteſt. Nec mirari non poſſum, quo pacto Vir Cl. I. T. Monius ſatis ſe reſponſoria edidiſſe ſibi viſus ſit, quum nil, niſi quod oculis verſus interciſos repræſentavit, ejuſmodi ſæpe fecerit. Exemplo ſit Tom. i. Hymn. 153. Ita ille edidit et interpunxit :—

1. Agni paſcalis
eſu potuque dignos

Moribus ſinceris
præbeant omnes ſe
chriſtianæ animæ,

Pro quibus ſe DEO
hoſtiam obtulit
ipſe ſummus pontifex

2. Quarum frons in poſtis eſt
modum ejus illita
ſacro ſancto cruore
et tuta a clade canopica,

Quarum crudeles hoſtes
in mari rubro ſunt obruti.

At hoc vero non tam parallelizare eſt, quam ἀπαραλλήλους ſub ſpecie paralleliſmi verſus ſinere. Nemo melius in hac materiâ laboravit quam Wolfius, qui utinam quod paucis præſtitit ſequentiis, multis præſtitiſſet! Exemplum vero capiamus : Moniique interciſionem primam, dein noſtram, ſpectemus. Ex notiſſimis eſt ſequentia : *Sancti Spiritus.* Ita Monius :—

1. SANCTI SPIRITUS aſſit
nobis gratia.

Sed plane irreſponſorius eſt verſus : nec ita in duas partes dividi poteſt.

2. Quæ corda noſtra ſibi faciat
habitaculum

Expulſis inde cunctis vitiis
ſpiritalibus.

SPIRITUS alme,
illuſtrator hominum,

Horridas noſtræ
mentis purga tenebras.

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Sed, quæſo, cur ſub iſto numero (2) duo includuntur binarii? præſertim cum inter ſe nullo modo cohæreant.

Tu mecum, ne fallor, ita diſpones :—

II. Quæ corda noſtra ſibi | faciat habitaculum
Expulſis inde cunctis | vitiis ſpiritalibus.

Ad *ſibi* et *cunctis* ponenda eſt interciſio: minime poſt *faciat* et *vitiis*. Ita enim aſſonantia (*ſibi*, *vitiis*) jubet: ita emphaſis ipſius ſententiæ ſuadet. *Sibi* enim, non alii, ſibi, DOMINO et Vivificanti, SPIRITUS SANCTUS corda noſtra facit habitacula; itaque nullos, niſi ſe, dominos agnoſcit vel agnoſcere poteſt, et *cuncta* vitia expellit.

III. SPIRITUS alme | illuſtrator hominum
Horridas noſtræ | mentis purga tenebras;

ut et quæ ſequuntur: niſi quod iterum duos binarios ſub uno numero includit editor.

Jam vero experimentum aliud faciamus: notiſſimam illam Sequentiam *Benedicta ſit ſemper* in materiam adhibentes. Ita illam ordinat Monius :—

1. Benedicta ſemper ſit
ſancta Trinitas,
deitas ſcilicet unica,
coæqualis gloria.

Pater, Filius,
Sanctus Spiritus,
tria ſunt nomina, omnia
eadem ſubſtantia.

2. DEUS genitor,
DEUS genitus,
in utroque ſacer Spiritus
deitate ſocius.

Non tres tamen dii ſunt,
DEUS unus eſt,
ſic Pater Dominus, Filius
Spirituſque Dominus.

At, ſi quid video, neque inter ſe verſus primus et ſecundus, neque eorum partes mutuo reſpondent. Duplici ergo modo ordinari poteſt hoc exordium. Vel ſic :—

A { Benedicta ſemper ſit Sancta Trinitas | Deitas ſcilicet unica | coæqualis gloria
I. { Pater, Filius, Sanctus Spiritus | tria ſunt nomina, omnia | eadem ſubſtantia
DEUS genitor, DEUS genitus | in utroque ſacer Spiritus | deitate ſocius
B { Non tres tamen Dii ſunt, DEUS eſt unus | ſic Pater Dominus, Filius, | Spirituſque Dominus.

Quod et Monium, licet obſcure, ſignificaſſe credo.—Dedi *eſt unus*, qui A cum B correſpondent: ut commatiſmi ſeu interciſiones τοῦ A aſſonantes ſunt: ideoque interciſiones τοῦ B debent eſſe. Sed

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quum nulla ſit Sequentia quæ plures acceperit formas, ita ut non ſolum verba varientur, ſed et ipſi verſus vix iidem, in variarum Eccleſiarum Miſſalibus, videantur; quumque in primâ clauſulâ *τὸ ſemper* non ſemel omittatur, ultima vero clauſula, niſi fallor, non ſemel penitus exciderit, mihi perſuadere non poſſum, quin in honorem SS. Trinitas tricolo carmen ſuum incipere voluerit poeta in hunc modum:—

Benedicta ſit Sancta Trinitas: | deitas ſcilicet unica | coæqualis gloria
Pater, Filius, Spiritus Sanctus | tria ſunt nomina, omnia | eadem ſubſtantia
Deus genitor, Deus genitus | in utroque ſacer Spiritus | deitate ſocius.

Tum vero aliquem, theologiæ quam poeſeos peritiorem, ne Sabellianiſmi incurreret ſuſpicionem poeta, clauſulam quartam, verbis ex confeſſione Athanaſianâ pæne deſumptis, addidiſſe: quo facto, ne mancus exſtaret ſyllabarum numerus, *τὸ ſemper* alia manu in initio additum fuiſſe. Sed tu vide, Vir Doctiſſime, an tibi hæc conjectura ſatis placeat.

Mihi autem videtur, non aliam legem de interciſionum numero et locis ſtatui poſſe, quam haſce, quas breviſſime percurram. Vix enim, vel ne vix quidem, hâc de re aliquid certi e notis muſicis adipiſci poſſumus: ducibus ſane, quod verſus attinet, eximiis: quod interciſiones, inutilibus. Et primo quidem parum intereſt, utrum pauciores an plures eas faciamus, dummodo recte, ubi dividimus, dividamus; e. g. qui ita legere vult, me certe admodum repugnantem non habebit:—

Illuxit dies
quam fecit Dominus,
mortem devaſtans,
et victor ſuis
apparens
dilectoribus vivus.

Primo Mariæ,
dehinc apoſtolis
docent ſcripturas
cor aperiens
ut clauſa
de ipſo referarent.

Quamquam, ut mihi videtur, convenientius ita diſtribui poteſt:

Illuxit dies quam fecit Dominus,
mortem devaſtans
et victor ſuis apparens dilectoribus vivus.

Primo Mariæ, dehinc apoſtolis,
docens ſcripturas
cor aperiens ut clauſa de ipſo referarent.

Prima itaque ſit regula; interciſiones, ſeu una ſive plures ſint, ſenſus emphaſin ſequi deberent. E. g.:—

Qui cœli qui terræ regit ſceptra ‖ inferni jure domito
Qui ſeſe pro nobis redimendis ‖ permagnum dedit pretium.

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Iterum : verſus iſtos tu noli ſic interpungere :—

Eccleſiam	veſtris doctrinis	illuminatam
Per circulum	terræ precatus	adjuvet veſter

qui potius ſic excudi debent :—

Eccleſiam veſtris || doctrinis illuminatam
Per circulum terræ || precatus adjuvet veſter.

Cadunt certe vis et emphaſis ſententiæ in *veſtris* et *veſter*. Sanctos apoſtolos enim exorat poeta, ut quam doctrinis ſuis olim erudierint eccleſiam, eam quoque nunc ſuis precibus ne omittant adjuvare. Iterum :—

Hæc domus aulæ cœleſtis	probatur particeps
In laude regis cœlorum	et cæremoniis.

Quo bene obſervato occurrit ſæpius leviſſima mutatio, quæ metrum æque ac ſententiam adjuvat. Legimus in Sequentia de SS. Innocentibus :—

Recentes atque teneri milites || Herodiano enſe trucidati te hodie prædicaverunt
Licet necdum potuerunt linguula || effuſione tamen te, CHRISTE ſui ſanguinis præconati ſunt.

Interciſionem non niſi unam ſententiæ verſus patitur : quis enim hunc in modum legeret ?

Recentes atque teneri | milites Herodiano | enſe trucidati te hodie prædicaverunt
Licet necdum potuerunt | linguula effuſione | tamen te CHRISTE ſui ſanguinis præconati ſunt.

Sed in ultima clauſula circumſpiciamus, an non in aliquod verbum ambobus verſibus commune vis ſententiæ cadat. Certiſſime, ex *te* omne, quidquid id eſt, dependit. Tu ergo ſic corrigas :—

Recentes atque teneri milites | Herodiano enſe trucid*ati* | *te* hodie prædicaver*unt*
Licet necdum potuerunt linguula | effuſione tamen CHRISTE ſu*i* | *te* ſanguinis præconati ſ*unt*.

Vel ita, ut cum Bentleio loquar, ſcripſit, vel debuit ſcribere poeta. Eâdem de causâ nollem interciſionem inter ſubſtantivum et ſuum adjectivum interponere, niſi, quod ſæpe fit, venuſtas ſententiæ ita poſtulat. Sequentem, e. g., Sequentiæ Pentecoſtalis verſum hoc modo ordinarem :—

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Idem vel latronem ſuſpenſum || perſuaſor ſacratum convertit in confeſſorem
Teloneo quondam ſedentem || artifex peritus transformat in evangeliſtam.

Atqui, ſi ſcripſiſſet poeta (quod et melius fortaſſe ſcribere potuit) *peritum*, tum poſt *perſuaſor* et *artifex* clauſulas interpunxiſſem. Multo minus, mea quidem ſententia, poſt verba imbecilliora, e. g. *in*, *atque*, *qui*, *quos*, aliaque ejuſdem generis. Quod tamen ſæpiſſime facit Monius, e. g. :—

Atque pretium, *tu*
vectis es botri
nati in vineis Engaddi.—

Gaudens eccleſia *hanc*
dieculam venerando.

At ſæpe accidit, nullam in verſu emphaſin ita ineſſe, ut de ſtatuenda interciſione ab ea doceamur. Tum, ſi quæ exſtat, quærenda erit aſſonantia, utiliſſima ſane et fidiſſima adjutrix. Exempla exſtant innumera.

Hymnite nunc ſuper*i* || paritur reſonate infer*i*
Et omnis in DOMIN*i* || ſpiritus gratuletur æne*si*.—

Quarum coron*is* || ornatur mater eccleſia
Quarum triump*his* || exſultat cœlorum curia.—

Spiritus alm*e* || illuſtrator hominum
Horridas noſtr*æ* || mentis fuga tenebras.—

Tu purificator omniu*m* || flagitiorum Spiritus
Purifica noſtri oculu*m* || interioris hominis.

Ubi optime inter *omnium* et *flagitiorum* cadit cæſura. Cunctis enim ex flagitiis puram præſtare mentem ei debet, qui DEUM *oculo interioris hominis* videre deſiderat.

Jam ſe replic*at* | ſæculi ſeri*es* | maxim*a* || venit etia*m* | vatis Cumææ veridicæ | jam ætas carminis ultim*a* |
Vago reme*at* | ſæcula reveh*ens* | aure*a* || adſunt tempo*ra* | quo gens ferrea jam deſinat | et mundo pullulat aure*a* |

quod et exemplum minime ſpernendum eſt crebriorum aſſonantiarum, poetâ ſane in talibus vinculis gloriante.

Vigilat paſtorum cur*a* || vox auditur angeli*ca*
Cantant inclyta carmin*a* || plena pace et glori*a*
CHRISTO referunt propri*a* || nobis canunt ex grati*a*.—

Gaude homo: || cum perpendis tali*a*
Gaude caro: || facta Verbi ſoci*a*.

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Atqui ſæpius, præſertim in ſequentiis ſerioris ævi, in conſonantias hæ aſſonantiæ ſeſe verterunt; ita ut medium quendam locum inter Notkerianas teneant et Victorinas.

Jam de verſibus irreſponſoriis aliquid ſtatuendum eſt. Exſtant præcipue duo, unus ad principium, alter ad finem carminis. Aliquando non niſi unum, aliquando ne unum quidem invenimus. Apponamus igitur eos, qui a S. Notkero profecti ſunt, ut ſi quam conſtructionis normam exhibent, eam in medium proferamus. Sunt igitur qui ſequuntur:—

Ad Principium.

1. Eja recolamus laudibus piis digna.
2. Hanc concordi famulatu colamus ſolemnitatem.
3. Johannes Jesu Christo multum dilecte virgo.
4. Laus tibi Christe Patris Optimi Nate, Deus omnipotentiæ.
5. Feſta Christi omnis chriſtianitas celebret.
6. Concentu parili hic te Maria veneratur populus teque colit cordibus.
7. Laudes Salvatori voce modulemur ſupplici.
8. Pangamus Creatori atque Redemptori gloriam.
9. Agni paſchalis eſu potuque dignas.
10. Summi triumphum Regis prolequamur laude.
11. Sancti Spiritus adſit nobis gratia.
12. Sancti Baptiſtæ, Christi præconis.
13. Laurenti David magni martyr mileſque fortis.
14. Congaudent angelorum chori glorioſæ Virgini.

Ad Finem.

1. In qua ſibi laus eſt æterna.
2. Nunc inter inclytas martyrum purpuras coruſcas coronatus.
3. Johannes, Christi care.
4. Sed æternaliter cum eiſdem catervis tecum ſit, Domine.
5. Huic omnes auſcultate populi præceptori.
6. Laus quoque Sancto Spiritui per ævum.
7. Spiritales chori Trinitati.
8. . . . . .
9. Poſt mortem melius cum eo victuros.
10. In fine ſæculi ipſe quoque ſemper ſit nobiſcum.
11. Hunc diem glorioſum feciſti.
12. Amice Christi Joannes.
13. Martyr mileſque fortis.
14. Ut ſibi auxilio circa Christum Dominum eſſe digneris per ævum.

Et primo obſervandum eſt, multos ex verſibus ad principium poſitis duas eaſdemque pares clauſulas in ſe continere,—

Hanc concordi famulatu
Colamus ſolemnitatem—

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Joannes JESU CHRISTI
Multum dilecte virgo—

Laurenti David magni
Martyr milesque fortis—etc.

Sic quoque (Mon. 197) :—

Laudantes triumphantem *
CHRISTUM canamus hymnum.

Multos ex dicolo, vel tricolo, addito monocolo, componi, hunc in modum :—

Agni paschalis
esu potuque
dignus—

SANCTI SPIRITUS
adsit
nobis gratia—

Congaudent
angelorum
chori
glorioſæ
Virgini—

Laudes Salvatoris
voce modulemur
supplici—

Pangamus
creatori
atque
redemptori
gloriam—

Quod cum *Congaudent* eundem habet rhythmum.

Et ut experimentum in prosis sequioribus faciamus :—

Laude celeberrima
recolamus
festa sacratissima—

Benedictio
trinæ
Unitati
simplici
Deitati
semper
omnifaria.

Cantemus cuncti †
melodum
nunc Alleluia.

Regnantem sempiterna
per sæcla susceptura
concio
devota
concrepa.

Speciosus formâ
præ natis
hominum IESUS.

Quod et de postremis versibus notari potest, e. g. :—

In qûa sibi
laus
est æterna—

Spiritales
chori
Trinitati—

* Quod ille mirum in modum interpungit :—
Laudantes triumphantem CHRISTUM
Canamus hymnum.

† Male interpungit Monius :—
Cantemus cuncti melodum
nunc Alleluia.

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In fine ſæculi
ipſe quoque
ſemper ſit nobiſcum—

Amice
CHRISTI
Joannes—

Poſt mortem
melius cum eo
victuros—

Hunc diem
glorioſum
feciſti—

Sed æternaliter
cum eiſdem
catervis
tecum ſit DOMINE—

Huic omnes
auſcultate
populi
præceptori—

O Galle
DEO
dilecte—

Nunc inter inclytas
martyrum purpuras
coruſcas coronatus—

Te crux aſſociat
te vero gladius
cruentus mittit CHRISTO—

(et hi duo ejuſdem ſunt normæ).

Vel elaboratior, ut quem apud Monium legere eſt, verſus:—

Ergo perſolvamus
gratias DEO patri
qui nos cohæredes
fecerat CHRISTI ſui
et prodigo
ſui ſanguinis CHRISTO
Spiritui
quoque cordis unctori
jubilemus.

Sed, ut verum fatear, ne ita quidem omnes verſus in ordinem redigi poſſunt, qui, quod et ipſe fatetur Monius, majore indigent luce et peritiâ. Inter hos exſtant fortaſſe multi, qui indocte ſcripti, corruptiſſimi ad nos venerunt. Nec mirum; quum harum leges ſequentiarum multos etiam medii ævi ſcriptores penitus latuerint. Jamdudum vidimus, Clichtovæum eas nullis teneri vinculis credidiſſe. S. Hildegardis, quæ ſequentiam a Monio editam compoſuit *O ignis Spiritus Paraclite*, plane ἀμέτρους eas fuiſſe putabat. Quid ergo mirandum, ſi recentiores mira proſarum ars effugerit, ita ut pro ſuo quiſque placito vel interpolaret, vel corrigeret, nullo metri, quod abeſſe putabatur, reſpectu habito?

Ita, cum in Miſſali Sariſburienſi ſequentia Paſchalis elegantiſſima hunc in modum incipiat:—

Dic nobis quibus e terris nova
cuncto mundo nuncians gaudia
noſtram rurſus viſitas patriam

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Corrector Miſſalis Cameracenſis hunc in modum legit:—

Eja dic nobis, quibus e terris tantis nova, etc.

Jam de accentibus dicendum eſt. De eis ſequentiarum ſcriptores idem, quod de homœoteleutis vetuſtiores hymnographi, judicabant. Ubi ſponte reſpondebant, bene erat; ubi ſine magno labore reſponſorii fieri potuerunt, haud male; ubi difficiliores ſeſe præbuerunt, laborem non valebant. Exemplum videamus:—

1 2 3 4 5
Nos corde | percepimus | qualis ac quantus | eſt quia vicinus | dignitate |
6
CHRISTI fit et morte
1 2 3 4 5
nam morte | turpiſſima | damnatur ſponſus | ſponſi et amicum | damnant
6
morte | recte turpiſſima

In primâ, ſecundâ, quintâ clauſulis rectiſſime currunt accentus. In quartâ mediocriter tantum. In tertiâ, cum primus verſus accentum ita habeat, ´ — — ´ —, ſecundus accentum hunc in modum figit — ´ — ´ —. In ſextâ, primus ita ſe habet, ´ — ´ — ´ —; ſecundus ´ — — ´ — —. Ut curreret ictus recte *damnătur*, *turpiſsima* pronuntianda eſſent. Aliud apponamus exemplum:—

1	2	3	4
Dæmoniis	eam ſeptem	mundas ſeptiformis	Spiritus
Ex mortuis	te ſurgentem	das cunctis videre	priorem.

1 2 3
Hac CHRISTE proſelytam | ſignas eccleſiam | quam ad filiorum menſam |
4
vocas alienigenam
1 2 3 4
Quam inter convivia | legis et gratiæ | ſpernit Phariſæi faſtus | lepra vexat
hæretica

Vides hic optime procedere omnia, excepta quarta primi binarii interciſione: ubi prior verſus quaſi-cretico, alter quaſi-amphibrachy conſtat. Nec hanc accentuum diſparitatem incuriam vocare poſſumus, multo minus ignorantiam, ſed, ſive libertatem velis, ſive licentiam. Et idem eſt, etſi rarius, obſervare in ſequentiis et in hymnis rhythmicis, e. g.:—

Altiſsimâ providente
Cuncta recte diſponente
DEI ſapientiâ.

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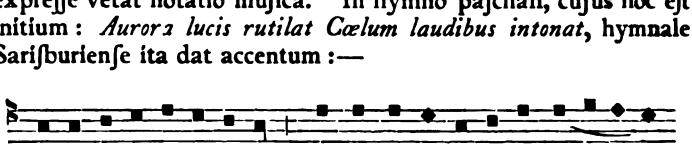
Urbs beata Jerusálem,
Dicta pacis visio.

Nunc dimisso adultéro
Maritatur sponso vero.

Nec ideo statuere possumus, has syllabas ita enuntiatas fuisse. Id expresse vetat notatio musica. In hymno paschali, cujus hoc est initium : *Aurora lucis rutilat Cœlum laudibus intonat*, hymnale Sarisburiense ita dat accentum :—



Au-ro-ra lu-cis ru-ti-lat Cœ-lum lau-di-bus in-to-nat

ubi brevis legitur, quam productam vult accentus, penultima τοῦ *laudibus*. Inconditum sane invenustumque id nobis videatur. Sed et nos, æque ac vestrates, Vir Doctissime, licentiam ejusmodi usurpamus, haud minus auribus Græcorum vel Romanorum barbaricam : eam dico, quâ in primo vel tertio versuum iambicorum pède pro iambo vel spondeo trochæus locum habere potest.— At quoniam notas musicas spectat oratio, haud spernendum fortasse judicabis, si, quod de iis in hâc materiâ observavimus, dicamus. Fortasse jam ab aliis observatum est : quod tamen me legisse non memini. Inter libros MSS. sunt, qui in loco signi ℣ flavâ, et pro signo ℣ rubrâ utuntur lineâ. Id mihi sic explicandum videtur. Signum ℣, sive C, recte auream sibi vindicat lineam, quia C pro *Caritate* capi potest : caritas autem pretiosissima inter virtutes est, velut inter metalla aurum. ℣ vero, sive F, rubro depingitur colore, quia in istâ literâ *Fides* significari potest : qua Martyres purpuratam sui cruoris chlamydem induti sunt.

Jam de variis istarum sequentiarum nominibus aliquid dicendum est. Et mihi quidem, si ita statui posset, convenientius videtur, ut quæ Notkerianam referunt indolem, eæ *prosarum*, quæ vero rhythmice scribuntur, *sequentiarum* titulo intelligerentur. Monius, manuscriptorum fortasse auctoritatem secutus, S. Notkeri fœtum *troparia* vocat.* Quod tamen aliquid incommodi habet. Optandum enim esset ut, quoad fieri potest, unum idemque verbum unam eandemque rem significaret ; multo autem magis, cum de pari materia agitur. At sequentiæ Notkerianæ quodam modo Ecclesiæ Græcæ ᾠδαῖς respondent ; quæ Odæ ex incerto numero τροπαρίων constant. Ideo singuli sequen-

* [Ego ne unum novi codicem, in quo Sequentiæ Notkerianæ adscripta sit vox *troparii*. Neque Monius, quoad sciam, hanc vocem in libris MSS. invenisse autumat.—*Daniel.*]

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tiæ verſus, minime vero tota ſequentia, eo titulo vocandi eſſent, ſi analogiam dicendi ſervare, quod poſſumus, vellemus.—Atqui Notkerianis ſequentiis alii in manuſcriptis nonnunquam præfiguntur tituli, quos e re erit in medium proferre. *Occidentana. Fidicula. Lætatus ſum. Dominus regnavit. Duo, tres. Juſtus germinabit. Symphonia. Romana. Frigdola.*—A poſtremis incipiamus. Eckehardus in ſuo de caſibus S. Galli libello ita ſcribit: "Fecerat quidam Petrus ibi jubilos;"—id eſt, *neumata*, de quibus antea dictum eſt—"ad Sequentias quas Metenſes vocabat"—ſequentiarum nomine ſeriem neumatum innuit—"Romanus vero Romane et amœne de ſuo jubilos modulaverat, "quos quidem poſt Notkerus quibus videmus verbis ligavit. "Frigdoræ videlicet et Occidentanæ quos ſic nominabant jubilos, "his animatus etiam ipſe de ſuo excogitavit." In quibus Eckehardi verba, ut olim obſervavit Du Cangius, vim aut etymon verbi vix quis agnoſcat.—*Occidentana* forſitan nomen traxit ex iis melodiis, quas "a Gimediâ, (a Nordmannis vaſtatâ" id eſt, Jumiéges) preſbyterum quendam ad S. Gallum attuliſſe narrat S. Notkerus. *Romanam* non niſi melodiam quæ ab Urbe veniſſe credebatur intellexerim. *Frigdola* vel *Frigdora* facilius agnoſcit etymon: idem enim vult atque Phrygo-Doricum; id eſt: Tonus primus mixtus cum tertio. *Fidiculam*, auctore Wolfio, eccleſiaſticæ muſicæ inſerviiſe ſat ſcio; quid autem loco tituli ſibi velit viderint doctiores. Quod et de illo, *Duo tres*, dicendum erit. An cetera, *Dominus regnavit*, *Juſtus germinabit*, *Lætatus ſum*, introitus eccleſiæ S. Gallenſi proprios ſpectarint mihi incompertum eſt: certe hirmorum locum (de quibus infra dicetur) non tenent, quippe qui verſibus Pſalterii ſupradictis minime reſpondeant. De his conſuli poteſt Monius, i. 197. *Symphoniam* bene notat Wolfius inſtrumentum muſicum fuiſſe: quem tamen miror non laudaſſe hymnum:—

Dies feſtus agitur,
Tange *ſymphoniam.**

* [Addo quæ ego de Sequentiarum titulis ſentio. Eſt autem eorum genus quintuplex. 1. Primi generis tituli vere ſunt melodiarum indicia; quam ad rem plurimum facit locus in Eckehardi caſibus S. Galli, qui ſupra legitur. —Alios muſicos titulos index exhibebit. 2. Alterum appellationum genus ex aliquâ voce, cujus eſt gravior ſignificatio, in fronte Sequentiæ poſita pendet; ex more antiquitus uſitato, cujus exemplum agnoſcimus jam. II. Reg. 1, 18. 3. Alii tituli ex Graduali vel ex Epiſtola Sequentiæ proxime præcedente petiti ſunt, vel non nunquam ex Introitu aliiſque partibus Officii Miſſæ. 4. Alii porro in Sequentiis certorum feſtorum uſibus deſtinatis breviter denotant feſti nomen vel materiam, vel rem in hiſtoria feſti notabilem. 5. Quum autem non unaquæque Sequentia propriam haberet melodiam, titulo ſæpenumero ea Sequentia ſignificatur, cujus melodiam altera ſequebatur. Non raro ad hæc aliæ quoque rationes, ſubtiles et ingenioſæ, accedunt.

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Non poſſum ſilentio prætermittere quantum ſimilitudinis quoad metricas rationes inter ſequentias Notkerianas et Odas, quas in matutinis ſuis uſurpant Græci, inſit. Illæ enim incerto interciſionum numero, quamvis longe majore, conſtant, et ad normam certorum verſuum, ſive, ut vocantur, εἰρμῶν, numeros accentumque ducunt. Exemplo ſit hoc :—

ῥείθροις αἱμάτων κατασβέσας | παναοίδιμε τὸ πῦρ τῆς ἀσεβείας | τῶν θαυμάτων ἅμαρ ἑκάστοτε δροσίζεις
θεῖον εἰς γνόφον ὕπεις δύνας | τὸν ἀθέατον ὡς θέμις ἐθεάσω | τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὸν νοῦν φωτίζοντά σου, μάκαρ

τῷ νικητῇ Ζηνόβιε | τοὺς ἐν πίστει σε ὑμνοῦντας
εὐσεβοφρόνας μέλποντα | ὁ Θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἶ.

De Victorinis ſequentiis pauca reſtant dicenda. Has in tres partes pro commodo noſtro dividere poſſumus: eas ſcilicet quæ quaſi-trochaico conſtant metro, quæ quaſi-iambico, quæ denique aliis metri rationibus. Nemo eſt qui neſcit trochaicos numero longe antecellere alios: in ſtrophis plerumque ordinatos, ſæpius triphthongos. De quibus auctor *Artis rhythmicandi* vetuſtus: "Triphthongus fit tribus modis; primus modus eſt quando duæ "diſtinctiones (verſus) concordant ſimul, et additur cauda," (Germ. Refrainzeile, Angl. Tail-rhyme) "et duæ aliæ ſimul, "et additur cauda, et caudæ concordant." Hunc ſcilicet in modum: a a b c c b: ubi *a* et *c* quaſi-trochaici dimetri ſunt (– ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ –), *b* quaſi-trochaicus dimeter catalectus (– ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑). Cujus rei exempla præbent *Stabat mater doloroſa*; *Lauda Sion ſalvatorem*; *Qui procedis ab utroque*; et ſexcenta alia. Verum notandum eſt, paucas ex his eandem rhythmorum ſeriem a principio uſque ad finem tenere, ut fit in *Stabat mater*; *Corde, voce pulſa cœlis* (Neale, xlvi.); *Paulus Syon architectus* (Mone, iii. 85); *Plauſu chorus lætabundo* (Dan. ii. 112). Plerique ad finem in omnia alia abeunt: ſolent quoque Adamus ejuſque ſectatores in medio duos verſus inſerere iambicos trimetros brachycatalecticos.

Servi crucis crucem laudent,
Per quam crucem ſibi gaudent
Vitæ dari munera:

Dicant omnes et dicant ſinguli:
Ave ſalus totius ſæculi,
Arbor ſalutifera.

Plerumquæ Sequentiæ alienis accommodatæ melodiis ætate ſunt inferiores; atque omnino titulorum ad cognoſcendam Sequentiarum ætatem magnum eſt momentum, neque minus ad Sequentiarum diviſiones recte faciendas, ex comparatione earum, quæ eundem titulum ferant.—*Daniel.*]

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Iterum :—

Jam divinæ laus virtutis,
Jam triumphi, jam ſalutis
Vox erumpat libera.

Hæc eſt dies quam fecit DOMINUS :
Dies noſtri doloris terminus :
Dies ſalutifera.

Cœtus noſter hic applaude
Hunc honora dignum laude
Qui vivit in gloriâ :
Sciant omnes et ſciant ſinguli
Non quæſivit gloriam ſæculi
Nec patris imperia.
Regni liquit et fugit patriam,
Et ſubivit tranſiens januam
Pontici confinia.*

Quod genus præcipue in tertio occurrere verſu obſervamus.

Sæpiſſime autem uno homœoteleuto clauduntur omnes caudatæ, ut fit in nobiliſſima illa proſa : *Veni Sancte Spiritus.* Moris quoque Adamo ſectatoribuſque ejus eſt, inter duplicia homœoteleuta ſimplicia hic illic ſpargere ; e. g. :—

Nulla ſalus eſt in domo
Niſi cruce munit homo
Superliminaria :
Neque ſenſit gladium,
Nec amiſit filium
Quiſquis egit talia.

Adamus autem, quâ verborum copioſitate pollet, dum ad finem vergit, grandior et diſertior in materiam ſuam aſſurgens, homœoteleuta reduplicat : hunc in modum : aaabcccb : vel etiam : aaaabccccb : cujus rei admirabile exſtat ſpecimen in ultimâ ſtrophâ hymni *Lauda Sion ſalvatorem*, a S. Thoma ſcripti.— Permiris metri rationibus aliquando utebantur poetæ, dum hoc genus verſuum ingenioſius quam fructuoſius texebant. E. g. :—

Per unius caſum grani
De valle Gethſemani
Grana ſurgunt plurima :
Orbem terræ, cœli gyrum,
Ornant rores Martyrum
Una CHRISTI victima.

Quum enim oculis hic verſus duplex homœoleuton exhibeat, nihil minus re habet : arſi hinc, theſi inde reſpondente.

* De S. Iodoco (Mone, iii. 344).

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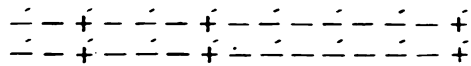
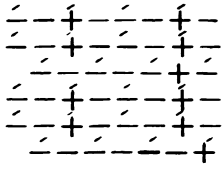
Jam de aliis triphthongorum trochaicarum generibus hæc dicta ſunto.

ά. a a b c c b.



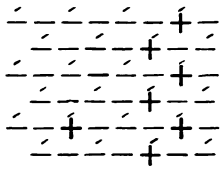
Omni die dic Mariæ laudes mea anima
Ejus geſta ejus feſta ede ſplendidiſſima

quod et aliquando duplicatur: hunc in modum:—



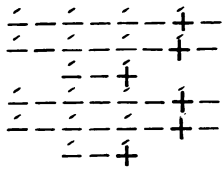
Urit ira tua dira
O Trajane inhumane
Proprio ex vitio,
Sanctum CHRISTI eum juſſiſti
Flagellari, cruciari
Nimio ſupplicio.

β́. a b a b c c b.



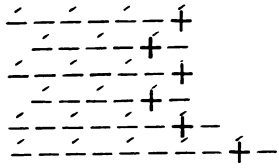
Menſa fuit teſtamenti
DOMINUS rex gloriæ
Se dat eſcam ſacramenti
Dignus, ut aporiæ
Mors necetur, et purgetur
Vitæ zyma ſcoriæ.

γ́. a a b c c b.



Quod jam dudum præſignavit
Qui tres videns adoravit
Monadem
In fornace tres intacti
Sacramenta ſunt adepti
Eadem.

δ́. a b a b c c.



Sonent laudes pueri
Sonent et provecti,
De ciſterna veteri
Pariter ejecti.
Proles naſcitur divina
Perituræ gentis medicina.

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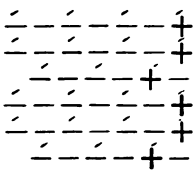
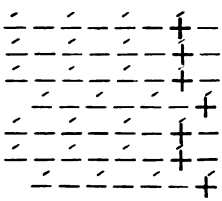
ε. a a b c c b.



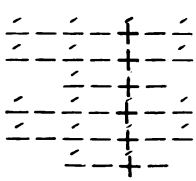
Non eſtis de fatuis
Quæ cum vaſis vacuis
CHRISTUM præſtolantur
Immo de prudentibus
Quæ plenis lampadibus
Digne præparantur.

ϛ. a a b c b b c.



Is qui verbo nos creavit
Sanguine ſic recreavit
Tantum cur diſparitatem
In hoc DEUS voluit
En amoris poteſtatem
Quæ peccati pravitatem
Aquæ lance diluit.

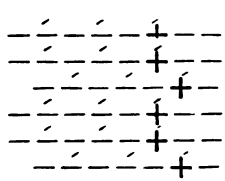
ζ. a a b c c b.



Hic eſt fructus fœminæ
Naſcens ſine ſemine
Sine viro
Rore SANCTI SPIRITUS
Flos proceſſit inclytus
More miro.

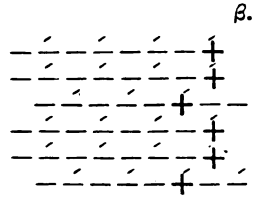
En tibi ex immani trochaicarum triphthongorum multitudine ſpecimina aliqua—πίδακος ἐξ ἱερῆς ὀλίγη λιβάς. Multo paucioribus in hoc genere iambicorum rhythmis utebantur poetæ; nec plerumque niſi tribus.

ά. a a b c c b.



Idcirco cives cœlici
Et ſpiritus angelici
Præ gaudio mirantur
Myſterium mirabile
Excellens ineffabile
Exultant gratulantur.

β́. a a b c c b.



En nunc tempus reciprocat
Lucem quæ mundum renovat
Et generans verbigenæ
Hunc Virgo mater genuit,
Vis quem inferni tremuit
Quem jubilant cœligenæ.

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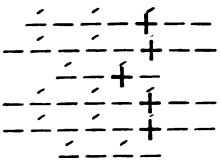
γ'. Quod cum trochæis mixtum eſt.

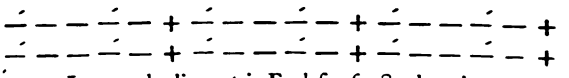
a a b c c b.



Rex Olave, qui regium
Nomen habes egregium
Unctionis:
Cujus nomen eſt oleum
Effuſum per aculeum
Paſſionis.

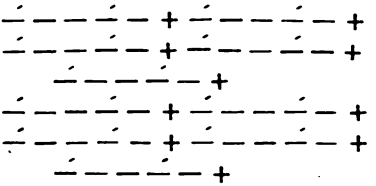
Tria æque inter dactylicas triphthongos commemoranda videntur genera.

α'. a a b c c b.



Lætetur hodie matris Eccleſiæ ſancta devotio
Anniverſaria reduxit gaudia Transfiguratio.

β'. a a a a b c c c c b.



Tulit ab impia gente ludibria
Minas et odia pœnas exilia
Sed mente ſtabili
Mira conſtantia devicit omnia
Felix felicia migrans ad gaudia
Cum palma nobili.

γ'. Notiſſimum illud: Mittit ad Virginem (ababc) quod hexaphthongum potius nominaveris.

Reſtat adhuc unum triphthongorum genus, rariſſimum illud in Sequentiis, at meo quidem judicio—an recte, viderint doctiores—ſuaviſſimum. Illam hexametri ſpeciem dico, quam in ſuo de *Contemptu Mundi* poemate adhibuit Bernardus de Morlay.

Luce replebere jam ſine veſpere jam ſine luna
Lux nova lux ea lux erit aurea lux erit una
Tunc nova gloria pectora ſobria clarificabit
Solvet ænigmata veraque ſabbata continuabit
Liber ab hoſtibus et dominantibus ibit Hebræus
Liber habebitur et celebrabitur tunc jubilæus
Jeſus amantibus afferet omnibus alta trophæa
Jeſus amabitur atque videbitur in Galilæa.

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Nec miror, quum tam immanis ſit verſus ejuſmodi difficultas, quod ita ſcripſerit Bernardus: "Non ego arroganter, ſed omnino humiliter, et ob id audacter affirmo, quia niſi Spiritus ſapientiæ et intellectus mihi affuiſſet et effluxiſſet, tam difficili metro tam longum opus contegere non potuiſſem. — Hildebertus de Laverdino, qui ob ſcientiæ prærogativam prius in epiſcopum, poſt in metropolitanum provectus eſt; Vuichardus Lugdunenſis canonicus, verſificatores præſtantiſſimi, quod parum in hoc metrum contulerint, palam eſt.—Quorſum hæc? illud ſcilicet intelligatur, quod non niſi DEO cooperante et animum confirmante tres libros eo conſcripſi metro, quo vix illi pauciſſimos verſus."

Jam vero nec temporis noſtri, nec chartæ eſt, reliqua verſuum genera, ut hic triphthongos, percurrere. Id ſolum obſervari debet: quanto rarius inter proſas iambici, quam trochaici inveniantur rhythmi. Ex illis, non niſi duo genera plerumque occurrunt. Unum, id quod niſi fallor Adamus de S. Victore ipſe invenit:—

Confuſa ſunt hic omnia
  Spes, mœror, metus, gaudium,
Vix hora vel dimidia
  Fit in cœlo ſilentium.

Quod tamen ille uſitato iambicorum genere plerumque intermiſcet; ut hic ſequitur:—

Quam felix illa civitas
In qua jugis ſolemnitas!
Et quam jucunda curia
Quæ curæ prorſus neſcia!

Homœoteleutis ejuſdem generis utitur S. Thomas in Sequentiâ illâ mirabili: *Verbum ſupernum prodiens.*

Aliud iambicorum genus, quo hic utitur Adamus, nonnunquam alii:—

Jeruſalem et Sion filiæ
Cœtus omnes cœleſtis curiæ
Hymnum pangant jugis lætitiæ
  Alleluia.

Sat ſcio, verſus et alios inter iambicos ſæpe deputatos eſſe: e.g.:—

Sanctæ Sion adſunt encœnia
Deſponſatur præſens eccleſia.

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Sed iſti dactylice proferendi ſunt, hunc ſcilicet in modum :—

Pérpes glória régi pérpeti
Exercítuum Chriſti príncipi
Pátri páriter ét Spirítui.

Nec minus falſum eſt, id quod tamen aliqui docti effantur, hymnos eodem metro conſcriptos, quo S. Thomæ *Sacris ſolemniis juncta ſint gaudia*, iambico compoſitos fuiſſe metro. Pro certo quidem habeo, de choriambis æque cum ignariſſimis cogitaviſſe poetam ; ille dactylice hymnum pronuntiandum decreverat, hunc in modum:—

Rócho conjúbilent ómnia laúdibus
'Axis ſtelliferi régia gaúdeat
Et mundi téretis cóncrepet órbita
Sít vox úna canéntium.

Ut ad propoſitum redeamus, ſequentiæ non ſolum latino, ſed etiam vernaculo utebantur ſermone. Id fiebat in quibuſdam parochiis diœceſis Remenſis, uſque ad medium ſæculi decimi ſeptimi. Exempla aliquot apponemus. In eccleſia Alghereni, quæ in Sardiniâ eſt, ſequentia quâ et adhuc utuntur in Nativitate DOMINI, ita incipit :—

Un Rey vindra perpetual
Veſtit de noſtra carn mortal :
Del cel vindra tol certament
Per fer del ſegle jugement.

In eâdem Cathedrali, proſa vere belligera, anno 1412 compoſita, cujus uſus jam antiquatus eſt, ita incipiebat :—

Muiran, muiran los Franceſos,
Ils trahidors dos Saſſareſos,
Qui han fit la trahiciò
Al molt alt Rey de Aragò.

Diu apud Bohemos in uſu fuit S. Adalberti canticum, hymnus tamen potius quam ſequentia :—

Hoſpodine pomilugny :
Jezu Kryste pomilugny,
Tys ſpaſe wſſie o mira, etc.

In Dalmatiâ, Sequentia Natalis adhuc in uſu eſt :—

Iſvè vrîme godiſćta
Mîrſe ſvètu navîſćtà, &c.

Sequentia in Anglia compoſita :—

Flur de virginite,
Chambre d'oneſtite,
De merci mere et de pite ;

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DIEU vus ſant, virgine pure,
Ki nature
D'engendrure
E porteure
Surmontez Par vos bontez Dont tant avez
Ke bien poez Aider aſſez As meſſaiſſiez, etc.

In Galliâ, pro dedicatione eccleſiæ, auctore Marbodo Ep. Redonenſi:—

Ki DIEU voudra ſervir
Cum des pieres contez clairzur,
En la Cite DIEU ſera poſe
E el fundamente bien alloe
En viſion de paz repoſera
En laquel ſen fin joir pourra.

In Luſitania, ſequentia a Philippa Lancaſtrienſi ſcripta, hæc habet:—

Si mi meſmo não deſamo,
Não vos poſſo bem amar:
A me ajudar vos chamo
Sem quem não he repouſar.

Sequentiarum autem vernacularum uſus a Conciliis etiam ſequioris ævi, ſub certis limitibus, approbatus eſt. Concilium Avenionenſe, 1584: "Quod ſi carmina quædam vernaculâ "linguâ in Natali DOMINI permittenda ſint in Eccleſiâ concini, "ea primum ab Epiſcopo legantur et examinentur; nec niſi "approbata et cum ſubſcriptione canantur." Conſtitutiones Diœceſis Wratiſlavienſis in Sileſia, 1592: "Epiſtolâ jam lectâ, "præcentor cum totâ communitate aliquem ſacrum hymnum in "vernaculâ linguâ ipſis familiarem decantet." Synodi Auguſtana (1610) et Monaſterienſis (1655) idem permittunt. Procliviores enim ad hæc ſeſe monſtraverunt ſemper Germani, quam Gallorum Epiſcopi.

At expreſſe vetat concilium Baſileenſe cantiones hybridas, ex linguis vernaculari et Latinâ compoſitas. Exemplum ejus rei damus.

Exſtat in permultis Miſſalibus ſequentia de B. M. V., cujus hoc eſt principium:—

Verbum bonum et süave
Perſonemus illud Ave
Per quod CHRISTI fit conclave
Virgo, mater, filia:

Per quod Ave ſalutata
Mox concepit fœcundata
Virgo David ſtirpe nata,
Inter ſpinas lilia.

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Eam Miſs. Argentoratenſe ſæculi XV. ita exhibet :—

Ein verbum bonum und süave
Sand dir GOT, der heiſſet Ave,
Zehende wert du GOTZ conclave
Mutter, mag, et filia.
Da mitte wurdeſt ſalutata,
Vom heilgen geiſte fœcundata,
Von herr Davitz ſtammen nata
On dorne ſind den lilia.

Ita quoque in Anglia :—

Bleſſyd be that mayde Mary!
Born He was of her body,
Goddes Sone that ſyttet on high
Non ex virili ſemine.

Iterum :—

CHRIST, that deydeſt on the tree
Pro noſtrâ ſalute,
And aroſeſt in dayes three
Divinâ virtute,
Yif us grace ſinne to flee
Stante juventute
That on domeſdaye wee maye ſee
Vultum tuum tute.

Quod perſæpe in Hymnis, idem quoque in Sequentiis obſervandum eſt. Scriptor novæ proſæ principium ex antiquiore, et gratiæ conciliandæ et melodiæ cauſâ, haud raro petivit. Nemini non nota eſt Sequentia illa Bernardiana :—

Lætabundus exultet fidelis chorus: Alleluia.
Regem regum intactæ profudit thorus: Res miranda.

Quam multas habuerit imitationes, hæc ſint exemplo.

Miſſale Leodienſe, in Feſto SS. Simonis et Judæ :

Hac in die lætetur chorus fidelis: Alleluia.
Qua cum Juda ſit Simon advectus cœlis: Res miranda.

Miſſale Pictavienſe, in Feſto S. Johannis Evangeliſtæ :—

Lætabundus gratuletur chori cœtus: Alleluia.
Johannes eſt quem non tangit mortis metus: Res miranda.

Miſſale Salzburgenſe, de ſeptem doloribus B. M. V. :—

Gemebundus Mariæ decantet clerus: Voce pia:
Quam confixit novus dolor, amor verus: Res miranda.

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Miſſale Moguntinum :—

Lætabundus decantet fidelis melos: Alleluia.
Katherina triumphans aſcendit cœlos: Res miranda.

Miſſale Naumburgenſe :—

Lætabundus Franciſco decantet clerus: Alleluia.
Quem confixit nobis clavis amor verus: Res miranda.

Nec mirum eſt has parodias in pejus detorſas fuiſſe. Inde e. g. illa cantilena, quæ, ut cum medii ævi ſcriptoribus loquar, *ſuper* "Verbum bonum et ſuave" facta eſt :—

Vinum bonum et süave,
Bonis bonum, pravis prave,
Cunctis ſapor dulcis, ave,
Mundana lætitia:
Ave felix creatura
Quam produxit vitis pura,
Omnis menſa fit ſecura
In tua præſentia.

Illa quoque, ſuper carmen Bernardianum :—

Bevez quant avez en poin,
Ben eſt droit, car nuit eſt long,
Sol de ſtella:
Bevez bien et bevez bel,
Il vos vendra del tonel
Semper clara.

Et hinc fortaſſe in eccleſiam Scoticam ſubtiliſſimam nocendi machinam fabricavit Johannes Knox; ſcilicet cum ſequentiarum hymnorumque melodias ubique vidit ſparſas, ubique amatas, "ſuper" eas alia verba compoſuit, vel componenda curavit, levia et indecora plerumque, nonnunquam obſcœniſſima, ut in contemptum muſicam redigeret eccleſiaſticam. Vivunt adhuc apud nos melodiæ multæ, e. g.: "Cauld kail in Aberdeen,"—"Coming through the rye,"—"John Anderſon my jo, John," quæ ex ſequentiariis et hymnariis originem (pleriſque incompertam) traxerunt.

Hæc ſunt, Vir Doctiſſime, quæ in promptu habui, a te, prout viſum eſt, accipienda vel rejicienda. Tu primus Hymnologiæ veteres nobis aperuiſti Theſauros; tu ſine dubio in Editione, quæ jam ſub prelo ſudat, et locupletiores et præſtantiores eos efficies. Et quamvis noſtrates adhuc rarius ſeſe his addixerint ſtudiis,

Non adeo obtuſi geſtamus pectora Pœni,
Nec tam averſus equos Tyriâ ſol jungit ab urbe,

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quin opera tua inter nos verſentur, doceant, laudentur. Perge, Vir Optime, nos tantis talibuſque ditare ſtudiis: faxitque D. O. M. ut illa adveniat dies, in qua uno corde et uno ore, quotquot jam invicem ſeparamur, laudemus DEUM, et PATREM D. N. JESU CHRISTI. Te, ſat ſcio, eum talibus precibus conſentientem habebo. Vale.

Dabam e Collegio Sackvillenſi
apud Eaſt-Grinſted,
a. d. IV. Non. Auguſt. A. S. MDCCCLV.

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XIV.

PASTORAL POETRY OF THE MIDDLE AGES AND THE RENAISSANCE.

IF there be one ſpecies of compoſition which more than another has been the amuſement of dulneſs, and has, with moſt perfect juſtice, drawn on itſelf the deriſion of ſatiriſts, no doubt it is the Paſtoral. As Dr. Johnſon obſerves, "No great ingenuity is required when one god aſks another god what has become of Lycidas, and neither god can tell." Any one who turns over the pages of the *Muſæ Anglicanæ*, or the Oxford and Cambridge collections of verſes, muſt be ſickened with the idylls on royal births and deaths and marriages. How Mopſus aſks Menalcas why he is weeping ſo bitterly, and Menalcas anſwers that it is for the death of the Queen of the ſhepherds, Maria, and for the ſorrow of her auguſt ſpouſe, William, the terror of Gaul, the pillar of religion, &c. And then Mopſus remembers that, on that fatal night, a raven croaked from the blaſted oak; and Menalcas comforts himſelf by telling how the gods have turned Maria into a ſtar. How our great-grandfathers could ſit down to pen ſuch traſh—traſh without one redeeming point of originality, ſenſe, or diction,—and how their lucubrations were gathered into volumes and ſent forth as the "Univerſity Lament," or the "Univerſity Congratulation," is one of the drearieſt features of the dreary eighteenth century. It would not be difficult to point out at leaſt fifty different paſtorals, publiſhed at the death of the Duke of Glouceſter, Queen Anne's ſon: the only tangible difference between them being, whether the dialogues are carried on between Corydon and Tityrus, or between Damon and Alpheſiboeus,—and whether Daphnis is received into the aſſembly of the gods, or turned into a meteor or a laurel.

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Nevertheleſs, out of the doleful maſs of rubbiſh which, from the revival of letters till the preſent century, has been inflicted on Europe, we mean to endeavour to extract a little amuſement, and, it may be, a little profit, for our readers: while we take a glance at paſtoral poetry, from its beautiful riſe in Theocritus to its death-blow in England: thoſe nervous verſes of Johnſon's inſerted in Crabbe's *Village*, and dovetailing, as it were, the poetry of the eighteenth and nineteenth century together.

> On Mincio's banks, in Cæſar's bounteous reign,
> If Tityrus found the golden age again,
> Muſt ſleepy bards the flattering dream prolong,
> Mechanick echoes of the Mantuan ſong?
> From Truth and Nature ſhall we widely ſtray,
> Where Virgil, not where fancy, leads the way?

The queſtion has often been aſked, and never, we think, ſatiſfactorily anſwered, why the natural beauty of landſcapes, which forms ſo great a part of modern poetry, was on the whole unknown to, or at leaſt imperfectly appreciated by, the ancients: that whatever of ſympathy their poets ſhowed with the lovelineſs of external nature was in the abſtract, not in the concrete. But there are exceptions; and the inimitable beauty of Theocritus is perhaps the moſt ſtriking. We are not aſhamed to confeſs that, were we at liberty to preſerve only three of the Grecian poets from deſtruction, he, together with Homer and Ariſtophanes, would be our choice. It is not only the exquiſite ſketches of Sicilian ſcenery, but the power—not unlike that of Crabbe—of deſcribing cottage-doings as they really were, and the genius which with one or two ſtrokes can ſketch out a character to the very life. One feels, for example, to have been perſonally acquainted with the poet's Simichidas; and the converſation between Æſchines and Thyonicus, in the fourteenth idyll, is marvellouſly graphic. Add to this the exquiſite beauty and delicacy of the Epithalamium of Helen, thoſe loveliеſt of verſes, the tenderneſs of which is almoſt Chriſtian:—

> ὦ καλὰ, ὦ χαρίεσσα κόρη, τὺ μὲν οἰκέτις ἤδη·
> ἄμμες δ' ἐς δρόμον ἦρι, καὶ ἐς λειμώνια φύλλα, κ. τ. λ.

and we have no cauſe to be aſhamed of our love for the Sicilian poet. The moſt amuſing of his compoſitions is undoubtedly the piece called the "Sicilian Goſſips," barbarouſly murdered as it has been by all its tranſlators. We will attempt—it will, we fear, be a very lame attempt—to do its commencement ſomewhat more juſtice: though to render it as it ought to be rendered, the Doric of the ſpeakers ſhould be turned into the broadeſt Scotch. The reader muſt conceive a grand feſtival at Alexandria; King Ptolemy anxious to ingratiate himſelf with his ſubjects; the merchants

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of the mart of the world vying with each other in the diſplay of their almoſt fabulous wealth; ſailors from every part of the Levant, from the Pillars of Hercules, from Marſeilles, from Carthage, from Rome, from the Piræus, crowding the quays and ſtreets; and in the midſt of all theſe a portly dame, by name Gorgo, the wife of a well-to-do burgeſs of Alexandria, equally formidable in a crowd from her muſcular power and the length of her tongue, elbowing her way through the multitude till ſhe arrives at the ſhop of her friend Praxinoe; the latter having juſt begun to dreſs herſelf, that the two may go forth together and ſee the ſhow, and more eſpecially—the cream of the whole—the Adonis.

Gorgo. Pray, is Praxinoe at home?
Praxinoe (from within). At home: but, Gorgo dear,
How late you are! Though, after all, I wonder you are here.
Put her a ſeat, there, Eunoe, and bring a cuſhion too.
Gorg. Thanks,—nothing can be better.
Prax. Sit down, then.
Gorg. Well, I'm through:
It needed quite a lion's heart,—ſuch buſtle in the ſtreet,
So many gallant cavaliers,—ſuch great clod-hopping feet;
And ſuch a diſtance to your houſe!
Prax. My booby of a man
Would ſettle down at this world's end: you know him—'tis his plan,—
(Houſe, quotha! 'tis a cave, not houſe!) he choſe it juſt for that,
That we might never meet, and have a little quiet chat.
Gorg. Don't ſpeak about your huſband, dear, while the little one is by:
Look! look! he underſtands it all! You only watch his eye!
You know they talk about "great ears" and "little pitchers."
Prax. Ah!
No, no, Zopyrion!—no, my pet!—I did not mean papa.
Gorg. By Proſerpine, he comprehends!—Papa is very good.
Prax. Well, *that* Papa a long time ſince—(for, be it underſtood,
A long time ſince means t'other day)—to market went, to get me
A little rouge and alkali, and brought back ſalt, to fret me.
Gorg. The men, I ſee, are juſt the ſame; my temper alſo tried is:
In the ſheep market, yeſterday, that ſpooney, Diocleides,
Five fleeces bought, mere ſtuff, mere naught, dogs' hides, all ſcraped and ſkinny;
And ſeventeen drachmas for the lot he went and paid,—the ninny!
—Now for the petticoat—and now the buckle. We are going
To the palace of King Ptolemy, to the ſcene they talk of ſhowing:
The Queen is at the expenſe of all—the Adonis and the reſt:
Well, wealthy men do what they like, and we ſhall have the beſt.

* * * * * *

Prax. My ſhawl, now—put it neatly on;—my bonnet!—let us go.
What! take my pretty little one? No, no, Zopyrion, no;
The bogies would be ſure of you: what, are you not aſhamed?
Ay, cry your eyes out if you will: I muſt not have you lamed.
Let us be off. Take baby, nurſe, when we are gone before,
And call the dog to play with him, and ſhut and bar the door.
—Oh! what a horrid crowd! good gods!—how ever ſhall we paſs?
Like ants upon an ant-hill—an endleſs cruſhing maſs.

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A hundred works the king has done right worthy of his race,
Since his good father, Ptolemy, was in a better place:
No pickpocket, Ægyptian-wife, is any more allowed
To creep, as once the rafcals did, and prowl amongſt the crowd.
No pin to chooſe 'twixt this and that. Good gracious, Gorgo, now
Look! look! the royal horſes come! which way to fly, and how?
Good man, you're treading on my dreſs;—keep off, I beg. How wild
That bay is! how he rears and kicks!—You ſtupid, ſtupid child!
What, Eunoe, won't you move away?—He'll tear in bits the groom:—
Oh, what a lucky thing it was I left my boy at home!

Gorg. Cheer up, cheer up, Praxinoe; we're ſafe at laſt, I vow:
The cavalry are all gone by.

Prax. And I am better now.
Horſes and ſerpents, I confeſs, ſince I was but thus tall,
Of all things that I uſed to fear, I dreaded moſt of all.

Gorg. What! from the hall, good mother?

Old Woman. Yes.

Gorg. And can the crowd be paſs'd?

Old W. The Grecians, after ten years' ſiege, got into Troy at laſt.
Try *you*, my children: he that tries is certain to ſucceed.

Gorg. The good old dame ſpeaks oracles,—a propheteſs indeed!

Prax. Women know all things knowable: ay, Jove's and Juno's wedding.

Gorg. Juſt look, Praxinoe, at the crowd upon each other treading!

Prax. Tremendous, Gorgo: quick! your hand; and Eunoe, hold you tight
Of Eutychis: keep cloſe to us, and mind you all go right.
O wretched me! my petticoat is almoſt torn in two!
By Jove, as you would thrive, good man, pray take care what you do!

Stranger. It was not I; but, as I can, I'll help you.

Prax. How pell-mell
They puſh and preſs on us like ſwine!

Strang. Now, madam, all is well.

Prax. Jove bleſs and keep you, my good ſir, for ever and a day,
For what you've done!—Well, that I call a gentlemanly way!
They're ſqueezing Eunoe to death; come, puſh, child; puſh inſide!
"Now we're all in,"—as ſaid the man when he ſhut up his bride!

How ſtale and flat after the nature and livelineſs of Theocritus—ay, and of Bion and Moſchus too, though in a leſs degree,—is the pompous dulneſs of the Eclogues of Virgil! Nevertheleſs, from whatever ſource they may have been derived, the prophecies in the Pollio are ſome of the moſt remarkable things in the whole of heathen literature. It is impoſſible to read of the Virgin returning, of the ſerpent being cruſhed, of the Child ſent down from heaven, of earth and ſea and ſky rejoicing in his reign, without feeling, "This ſpake he not of himſelf." No wonder that, in many a ſeries of thoſe marvellous ſtalls, the glory of their cathedral choirs, among the prophets who have foretold the Advent of our LORD the name of Virgil ſhould ſo frequently occur. In ſome of the rituals of the ſouth

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of Italy the 22nd of September contained a commemoration of Virgil, as the prophet who foretold to the heathen world the LORD'S coming. And the Sequence, appropriated to that day, in alluſion to the legend which repreſents S. Paul as having viſited the tomb of Virgil, commenced thus :—

Ad Maronis mauſoleum
Flebat Paulus ſuper eum
Piæ rorem lacrymæ :
Quanti, inquit, te feciſſem
Si te vivum inveniſſem,
Poetarum maxime !

Running our eye over the courſe of Latin literature, we find no paſtoral poet, till, in the days of its decay, Sicily produced another ſuch bard in the perſon of Calphurnius. Probably not one of our readers has ever taken the trouble to peruſe his ſeven Eclogues ; and yet, truth to ſay, there are ſeveral very pretty touches in them,—touches which look as though Calphurnius had lived among the ſcenes which he deſcribes, and painted them not from books but from nature. Later critics have done him great injuſtice when they call theſe compoſitions "a mere cento of the phraſes and ſentiments of Virgil." To our mind his language is ſingularly unlike that of Virgil. But notice what pretty little pictures are ſuch as theſe :—

Bullantes ubi fagus aquas radice ſub ipsâ
Protegit, et ramis errantibus implicat umbras.

Or again :—

Per me tibi lilia prima
Contigerant, primæque roſæ : vix dum bene florem
Deguſtabat apis, tu cingebare coronis.

Or once more :—

Juvat humida forſan
Ripa, levatque diem vicini ſpiritus amnis.

Or yet again :—

Vere novo cum jam tinnire volucres
Incipiunt, nidoſque reverſa lutabit hirundo.

Or finally :—

Seu reſidere libet, dabit ecce ſedilia tophus ;
Ponere ſeu cubitum, melior viret herba lapillis.

All which ſentences, by the way, are as unlike Virgil as one paſtoral poet can be to another.

Contemporary with Calphurnius was the Carthaginian bard, Nemeſian. His four idylls have been given by Wernſdorff to Calphurnius, but without a ſhadow of reaſon. They are far in-

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ferior in ſentiment, and the Latinity is more degenerate. And yet Nemeſian had honours beſtowed on him, as a poet, ſuch as Virgil and Horace never attained. Theſe two, then, in the miſerable decline of claſſical poetry, were the laſt to write of ſhepherds, and rocks, and goats.

The Middle Ages knew nothing of paſtoral poetry, ſtrictly ſo called. But there are more paſtoral ballads than one of ſingular elegance; only, unfortunately, ſo immoral and licentious, that hardly can one find a verſe here and there to quote, without omiſſion. One cannot but wonder what kind of men thoſe could have been, who, with the daily duties and ſervices of a religious houſe, could have occupied their leiſure hours by compoſitions which ſhow, at leaſt, as much wickedneſs as power. Yet it is a well-known fact that, in one of the ſtricteſt of Carthuſian houſes, when its gates were thrown open by the French revolution, the cells of many of its inmates were found to be filled with the moſt immoral works of Voltaire and Rouſſeau, and other authors of a ſimilar claſs. What could have been their feelings who ſubmitted to the daily auſterities of a Carthuſian life, while, in private, taking delight in the corruptions of books like theſe? But take ſuch a verſe as this,—a true ſpecimen of a paſtoral ballad:—

Deſub ulmo patulâ
Manat unda garrula;
Ver miniſtrat gramine
Frondibus umbracula,
Quæ per loca ſingula
Profluent aſpergine
Virgultorum pendula.

Or again,—it is a ſhepherdeſs who is ſpeaking:—

Hora meridiana
Tranſit; vide Titana;
Mater eſt inhumana:
Jam pabula
Spernit ovicula;
Regrediar
Ni feriar
Maternâ virgulâ.

Or take this curious catalogue of ſpring birds:—

Jam vernali tempore
Terra viret gramine;
Sol novo cum jubare;
Frondent nemora, candent lilia, florent omnia.
Eſt cœli ſerenitas,
Et veris süavitas,
Ventorum tranquillitas;
Eſt temperies clara, et dies: cantant volucres.

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Merulus cincitat, acredula rupillulat, turdus truculat et ſturnus puſitat.
Turtur gemitat, palumbes plauſitat, perdix cicabat, anſer craccitat;
Cygnus dranſat, pavo paululat, gallina gacillat, ciconia clocturat.
Pica concinuat, hirundo triſphat, apis bombilat, merops ſincidulat;
Bubo bubilat, guculus guculat, paſſer ſonſtitrat, et corvus crocitat.

This liſt, which was printed by Kugler,* is certainly curious enough; it is needleſs to ſay that its author lived in France. The royal library at Paris abounds with ballads of a ſimilar deſcription. Many of theſe have appeared in various French periodicals; many more are too groſs to bear republication at all. And in the occaſional poems of ſuch authors as S. Fulbert of Chartres, Hildebert of Tours, Marbodus of Rennes, and others, they have left us ſhort pieces, which, in the beſt and trueſt ſenſe of the word, are paſtoral. The verſes of Fulbert are ſtrikingly beautiful:—

When the earth, with ſpring returning, veſts herſelf in freſher ſheen,
And the glades and leafy thickets are arrayed in living green,
When a ſweeter fragrance breatheth flowery fields and vales along,
Then, triumphant in her gladneſs, Philomel begins her ſong:
And with thick delicious warble far and wide her notes ſhe flings,
Telling of the happy ſpring-tide and the joys that ſummer brings.
In the pauſes of men's ſlumber, deep and full ſhe pours her voice;
In the labour of his travel, bids the wandering man rejoice.
Night and day, from buſh and greenwood, ſweeter than an earthly lyre,
She, unwearied ſongſtreſs, carols, diſtancing the feathered choir;
Fills the hill-ſide, fills the valley, bids the groves and thickets ring;
Made indeed exceeding glorious through the joyouſneſs of ſpring.
None could teach ſuch heavenly muſic, none implant ſuch tuneful ſkill,
Save the King of realms celeſtial, Who doth all things as He will.

This quotation, by the way, would have been valuable to Coleridge, when writing of the joyous note of the nightingale. A hymn in the Sarum books ſpeaks to the ſame effect:—

Collaudemus Magdalenæ lacrymas et gaudium;
Sonent voces laude plenæ de concentu cordium:
Ut concordat Philomenæ turturis ſuſpirium:

where the mournful note of the turtle-dove is contraſted with the joyous ſtrain of the nightingale.

But it is time to turn to the paſtoral poets who wrote after the revival of letters—a long liſt indeed. At this moment we have forty-ſix lying before us, and they are but a ſmall part of what might be found. The firſt, by far the firſt, in reputation, was the once celebrated Mantuan, the ſame of whom the pedant ſpeaks in "Love's Labour's Loſt,"—"Ah, Mantuan, good old Mantuan! he knows thee not, that loves thee not." A paper in the *Chriſtian Remembrancer*, ſome eight or ten years ago, gave

* In his treatiſe "De Werinhero Monarcho Tegernſenſi," p. 37.

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a pretty full account of this worthy, whoſe performances were read in inferior ſchools as lately as the beginning of the laſt century, and whoſe name will be found as an authority even in ſuch a book as Ainſworth's Dictionary. A Carmelite,—and, in proceſs of time, General of his order,—Mantuan ſometimes employed his ſhepherds in diſquiſitions on the Church of the fifteenth century, its corruptions, and its needed reformation; and from him Spenſer learnt the practice of making his ſhepherds diſcuſs ſimilar ſubjects.

The firſt in order of time, or nearly the firſt, among the revivers of learning, who turned his attention to paſtoral poetry, was Petrarch. Not being able to diſcover any peculiar propriety in the word "eclogue," then uſually applied to idylls, he conceived it to be a corruption of "æglogue"—a word by which he intended to expreſs the converſation of goatherds, but which in its natural meaning can ſignify nothing but the converſation of goats. However, he has left us twelve, written in very elegant Latinity, a little, perhaps, pedantic, and out-Virgiliſing Virgil, but with ſome paſſages that would do any writer of Latin verſe credit, and, above all, with the remembrance that he was a Chriſtian. Take the following paſſage from his Parthenias, where his ſhepherd Monicus thus ſpeaks:—

> Let others praiſe thoſe powers: the GOD ſupreme,
> The GOD above all gods, ſhall be my theme:
> Who rules the earth with univerſal ſway,
> Whoſe word is utter'd, and the heavens obey:
> Who balances the liquid air on high,
> Who fills the grove with native minſtrelſy;
> Who by his ſtars the courſe of time metes out,
> And the earth trembles when His thunders ſhout;
> Who bade the mountains riſe, and clad the globe
> With the green ocean's everlaſting robe;
> Who form'd the ſoul, and rear'd her earthlier part,
> And framed each diſcipline, and taught each art;
> Who governs life in riſe and in decline;
> Who rules o'er death, and makes its end divine:
> Who, after fleſhly toils and worldly jars,
> Finds for His ſons a home beyond the ſtars;
> And thither, when earth's joys and cares decay,
> Teaches them now, as once He ſhow'd, the way.

We muſt confeſs, however, that the majority of Petrarch's idylls, his Paſtoral Piety, his Paſtoral Pathos, his Divorce, his Grumbler, are remarkable for nothing ſo much as their extreme length, ſome of them ſtretching themſelves out to upwards of two hundred lines.

Geraldini, ſome years later than Petrarch, has left a ſeries of idylls, taken up with the various events of our SAVIOUR'S life.

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However truly it is recorded in Scripture that there were "ſhepherds abiding in the field, keeping watch over their flocks by night," and however, after the midnight viſion had paſſed, they ſaid one to another, "Let us now go even into Bethlehem," there is ſomething grating to one's feelings when Mopſus relates that he had ſlept all the night through, and requeſts his more wakeful friend Lycidas to inform him of what has happened. But it is ſtill more extraordinary when, in the next eclogue, we find three ſhepherds—Granicius, Battus, and Mycon—introduced to us, who, after all, turn out not to be ſhepherds, but be the three Kings. This faſhion of inveſting every one with the character of a ſhepherd reminds one of nothing ſo much as thoſe early freſcoes which repreſent all kinds of ſcriptural characters under the form of ſheep. Thus, a lamb ſtands by a ſepulchre hewn out of a rock; two more conſpicuous lambs by its ſide; a crowd of inferior lambs in the diſtance; a great lamb comes out of the ſepulchre; and it is the Raiſing of Lazarus. A lamb ſtands in a ſtream; another lamb pours water on its head: it is the Baptiſm of our LORD. A lamb kneels on the top of a mountain; the paw of a lamb, bearing a book, proceeds from a cloud: it is the Giving of the Law. The agnification of ſuch artiſts is near akin to the paſtorification of ſuch authors as Geraldini. But if this, to every principle of good taſte, appears ſhocking, what is to be ſaid of thoſe idylls which treat of yet more ſolemn ſubjects? Thus, for example, we have an eclogue on the Paſſion, and another on the Reſurrection, of the LORD. In the former, with almoſt incredibly bad taſte—taſte, indeed, which cannot be characterized as leſs than profane—our bleſſed LORD is ſpoken of under the name of Daphnis; and "Daphnis in an odoriferous garden," is the commencement of the Agony in Gethſemane:—

> Huc ibi odorifero moriturus Daphnis in horto,
> Sæpe preces Patrem veniens fundebat in altum.

Or, with ſtill greater profanity:—

> Proxima lux feſta eſt: ſoliti dimittere ſontem,
> Hunc ſolvi an Barabam præfertis? Dicite! Cuncti
> Exclamant, Barabam: atque Cruci te affigere Daphnin
> Poſcimus.

And yet again, in the eclogue on the Reſurrection of our LORD, the ſpeakers are Ægle and Acanthus; that is to ſay, S. Mary Magdalene and our SAVIOUR Himſelf. "She turned herſelf, and ſaith unto Him, Rabboni, which is to ſay, Maſter," of the Evangeliſt, is thus paraphraſed by the *poet*:—

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Tune ipſe es nuper vitâ perfunctus Acanthus,
Qui crucis aeriæ fueras ſublatus in aram,
Quem modò condidimus gelidi ſub fornice ſaxi,
Pulchrior evictis tenebris poſt fata reſurgens?
Proh quam læta meam pervadunt gaudia mentem.
Accedam, amplectarque pedes, venerande magiſter.

It is not without importance to notice facts like theſe. What a fearful thing the revival of claſſical learning really was; how it ate like a canker into the very heart of the Church; how, more eſpecially at Rome, and under the Medici at Florence, claſſicaliſm was all in all; how Plato and other ancient worthies were celebrated as ſaints and confeſſors,—all this may, indeed, be learnt from the hiſtories of thoſe times, from Roſcoe's Leo X, better ſtill from Audin's Annals of the ſame pope; but has yet to be worked out and to be duly and critically weighed in ſome future hiſtory of the Church. Above all, a true life of that great man,—for great he was, undoubtedly, whatever degree of ſanctity we may be diſpoſed to attach to him,—Jerome Savonarola, would throw light on this ſubject. Marvellous was the infatuation which could expend all its zeal and energies in the diſcovery of loſt books of Tacitus or Livy, in the production of the pureſt Ciceronian Latin, in the erection of claſſical churches, and which could pay for all theſe Pagan amuſements and ſtudies by the infamous miſſion of Tetzel, unconſcious of the approaching earthquake, regarding the diſcontent of one German monk as ſomething that might—it mattered not whether of the two—be huſhed at the ſtake, or ſilenced by the ſop of a fat benefice. Therefore it is that we conſider ſuch paragraphs as thoſe we have juſt quoted, worthy of all attention from our readers; when paganiſm invades Mount Calvary, the claſſical mania muſt be fierce indeed. This man, this Geraldini, intended well—his whole writings ſhow it; and yet he has fallen into profanity from which ſome open blaſphemers would have ſhrunk. Only imagine the verſe we have juſt quoted: "Looſe Barabbas, and crucify Daphnis!"

However, it muſt not be imagined that ſuch indecencies were confined to the Roman Church. The Lutherans equalled, if they did not exceed them. One of their moſt famous poets, in the ſixteenth century, was Helius Eobanus of Heſſe. He was regarded as the Mantuan of Lutheraniſm, an author who well deſerved to take his place among thoſe of the Auguſtan age. Among other imitations of claſſical authors, he has left us a book of heroic epiſtles, after the manner of Ovid. The firſt of theſe—we really feel uncomfortable while we make an extract from this horrid blaſphemy—is headed,

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DEUS PATER MARIÆ VIRGINI.

Quam legis, eternam rebus paritura ſalutem,
Non eſt mortali litera facta manu.
Pone metus Virgo ſuperis gratiſſima; non eſt
Quem tremis, infeſtus nuncius iſte tibi.

S. Mary replies :—

Quam ſine te non eſt tellus habitura ſalutem,
Ut partam per me poſſit habere, veni.

In the ſame ſtyle we have an epiſtle from S. Mary Magdalen to our LORD, and from S. Mary to S. John. Theſe things were not only admired, but were actually employed in ſchools, and had commentaries written on them for the uſe of youth. At Erfurt, Catzman lectured on them with reputation; ſo did Mylius at Leipſic.

But to return to the author from whom we have digreſſed. Another of Geraldini's idylls deſcribes the compoſition of the Apoſtles' Creed, according to the legend that each of the Apoſtles uttered one of its clauſes. We muſt confeſs that the names of the Apoſtles are given with ſufficient neatneſs :—

Quartus ab his Jacobus ait, Zebedëïa proles:
Ipſum etiam teſtor Pilato præſide paſſum
Pro nobis toleraſſe Crucem, et ſubiiſſe ſepulcrum.
At Didymus nihil addubitans hæc aſſerit ultrò:
Solveret ut Patres, manes deſcendet ad imos,
Et rediit cum ſe lux tertia reddidit orbi.
Ex hinc Alphæus confert quæ ſenſit in unum:
Ad ſuperos penetrans dextræ Patris aſſidet alti
Omnipotens, victorque Erebi cum Flamine regnat.

The twelfth eclogue, on the "Bleſſed Life," opens a door to one of thoſe deſcriptions in which poets of the Renaiſſance, no leſs than thoſe of the Middle Ages, have ſo much delighted :—

Hic aer, noſtrum qui luſtrat pendulus axem,
Non varias ſumet formas, nunc lucidus et nunc
Turbidus, aut raras tendens in vellera nubes,
Non nive non pluviâ non grandine non gravis æſtu,
Non ventis agitatus aget bona noſtra per auras.
Nec vel nocte dies vincetur tempore brumæ,
Vel nox victa die paucas redigetur in horas:
Non erit autumnus, non ver, non bruma, nec æſtas.

Compare with this one or two ſimilar deſcriptions of equally unknown poets. Here is part of the "Aſpiration for the celeſtial country" of James Zevecotius, a Dutch writer, who muſt have been popular in his own time, ſince it is a "new edition" of his poems (Leyden, 1625) from which we quote :—

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Scilicet exilii non ſunt mihi gaudia tanti
Quæque patens mundi nil modo mundus habet.
Scilicet infauſtis fugiens Babylonis ab undis
Spiritus ad patrias feſſus anhelat aquas.
O Patria! O veris felicia regna triumphis!
O Patria! O votis ſæpe petita meis!
Quis me ſideream ſuperum deducat ad aulam,
Ereptum furiis, naufrage munde, tuis!
O ubi perpetuis pinguntur floribus horti,
Ridet et æternis ver geniale comis;
Quas neque tempus edax, nec iniquæ frigora brumæ,
Nec perimant rigidi triſtia flabra Noti!
O ubi nec puras cœnum radiare platæas,
Nec prohibet ſanos vivere dira lues!

It is remarkable, both in the poets of the Renaiſſance and of the Middle Ages, to find the abſence of *mud* ſo dwelt on as one of the glories of Paradiſe. The reader will perhaps remember the glorious rhythm of S. Peter Damiani;

Deeſt limus: abeſt ſimus;
Lues nulla cernitur.

And we muſt remember that the word *lues* is here uſed in its primitive ſenſe of melting ſnow, or what would familiarly be called "ſluſh," which original ſenſe it again takes in the infamous work of Petronius. It ſhows the nature of the country in which our bards reſided that they ſhould dwell ſo forcibly on this one characteriſtic. Let us try one or two more parallel paſſages; while we do not for a moment pretend that they are to be compared to mediæval hymns on the ſame ſubject, they certainly are not without their own great beauty.

Perhaps ſuperior in their elegance to thoſe of Zevecotius, are the following, from the *Pia Deſideria* of Herman Hugo, the origin of Quarles's "Emblems:"—

O qui ſidereas ducis, fortiſſime, turmas,
Cui cingunt decies millia mille latus,
Quam tua magnifico radiant prætoria luxu!
Mens ſtupet, et tantæ languet amore domus.
Nec glacialis hyems tremulo pede pulſat Olympum,
Icta nec hyberna grandine tecta ſonant:
Nec pallent viſo morituræ ſole pruinæ;
Nec ſtant marmoreo flumina vincta gelu:
Perpetuum ver aſtra colunt, friguſque caloremque
Inter, Cœlicolæ tempora veris agunt.
O qui ſidereas habitas, Rex maxime, ſedes,
Quam tua præ terris invidioſa domus!
Stat placidus poſitis Aquilonum flatibus ether,
Servat et eternus longa ſerena tenor:
Sed neque flammantes liquido lavat æquore currus,
Nec ſubit occiduas ſol fugitivus aquas.

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Nec premit aſtra dies, neque ſol fugat æthere ſtellas;
Nec premitur laſſus, nocte fugante, dies:
Clara dies, æterna dies, ſeptemplice Phœbi
Fulmineam noſtri lampada luce premens.
O qui ſidereas habitas, Rex maxime, ſedes,
Quot tua deliciis affluit illa domus!

We muſt not tire our readers by further quotations of a ſimilar kind; or how many beautiful paſſages there are which we might lay before them! That noble deſcription, for example, in the third book of the Poem of Aonius Palearius,—the ſame who was afterwards burnt as a heretic,—on the "Immortality of the Soul;" or the ſtill finer deſcription in the fourth book of the *De Contemptu Mortis* of Daniel Heinſius. We muſt return to our more immediate ſubject. The Paſtorals of John Arnolletti, of Nevers, are, perhaps, ſome of the beſt of their kind. Three are on the ſubject of Faith, Hope, and Charity. There are alſo others on the Sacraments of the Church; the ſcenery, drawn from that about Nevers—very pretty it is, as the writer can teſtify from his perſonal knowledge: and the whole more nearly approaching one's idea of a Chriſtian Paſtoral than perhaps any others. Here is an imitation of that on Baptiſm:—

Colin. Lucy, that cloud, by evening lull'd to reſt,
How ſoftly broods it on its airy neſt!
When Morning from her dewy palace came,
And kindled heav'n beneath her ſteps of flame,
With all the vaſſals of her gorgeous court
The little wanderer join'd in frolic ſport,
Now, paler than the tempeſt-driven ſnow,
Now, ruddier than the roſe's ruddieſt glow.
See, how old age hath ſprinkled it with grey!
It woos no more the breezes' ruder play:
Though ſtill it lingers on, with pinions furl'd,
For one more viſion of our lovely world;
For ere the morn the traveller muſt be
A hundred leagues upon the ſtormy ſea.
Lucy. I marvel not that it laments to leave
A thing ſo beautiful as Spring's firſt eve;
The hazy ſoftneſs of the twilight ſky,
Speck'd here and there with one ſtar's golden eye,
The incenſe of the village gardens round,
The downs' deep calm, unconſcious of a ſound,
While faint and fainter evening o'er them fades,
And deep and deeper wax the hollow ſhades,
And like an Angel's veſper-anthem, ſwells
The diſtant muſic of the village bells.
Look! Evening's ſtar is peeping o'er yon brow;—
Oh, when is earth ſo like to Heav'n as now!
Colin. Yet Twilight, ſhe whoſe advent is ſo fair,
Is all unlike it;—there is no night there!
There ſhall no clouds in evening beauty burn;

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There ſhall no Morn unlock her ſilver urn.
Bright land of cloudleſs ſkies and fadeleſs flowers,
And unknown friends,—GOD make thee one day ours!

Lucy. But, Colin, you have ſcarce yet own'd the praiſe
Due to my labour theſe three bright warm days:
Laſt Autumn's leaves are ſwept from where they fell,
And rake and broom have done their buſineſs well.
And ſee Spring's firſt ambaſſadors, that go
To Winter's palace in their robe of ſnow,
And by their beauty woo the kind old king
To lay his frowns aſide, and call in Spring:
And here are flame-hued crocuſes, that dye
Their leaves in all the tints of Morning's ſky;
Though fairer ſtill this garden plot had ſhown,
Might I have call'd this day's beſt hours my own.

Colin. And what the magic that, in theſe bright hours,
Could win my Lucy's abſence from her flowers?

Lucy. There was a flower, dear Colin, fairer far
Than theſe of mine, all lovely though they are;
A little bloſſom, ſcarce yet taught to bear
The ruder viſitings of ſtranger air;
And long, long years ago, when evening gloam'd,
With me the mother through the meadows roam'd,
Pluck'd the full berry from the autumn briar,
Or plied the needle o'er the winter fire.
I knelt beſide her then, when o'er our head
The Biſhop's conſecrated hands were ſpread:
I ſtood beſide her, when laſt lovely ſpring
Her troth ſhe plighted with the holy ring;
Together now the church-ward path we trod,
To dedicate her little one to GOD.
It was the loveliеſt ſight! Yet tears would riſe
Unbidden, and unwiſh'd for, to mine eyes.
The quaint and ancient font, deck'd round about
With wreaths of flowers, in cold grey ſtone carved out:
The mother veil'd, as is our cuſtom, preſs'd
Her little treaſure cloſer to her breaſt;
The good old paſtor—and 'twas like him—ſmiled
A look of fondneſs on the ſleeping child:
His hand was on the book he loves to quote,
The good old book that ſaints and martyrs wrote;
Then told he what the loved Apoſtle ſaith,
Whoſe words were bright for hope, and ſtrong for faith:
Ye hear, he ſaid, of Him, Whoſe tender breaſt
Let not the little children go unbleſt;
" Doubt ye not then, but earneſtly believe
" That He will likewiſe favourably receive
" This preſent infant,—that He will embrace
" Her in His arms," and ſhield her with His grace;
And, when the world's brief ſcene of change is paſt,
Will guide her ſafely to Himſelf at laſt.
So may that brow through ſhame attain renown,
And, figured by the Croſs, receive the crown!

Colin. In ſooth, I ſcarcely deem the coldeſt heart
Would not, in that ſweet ſervice, bear its part;

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I would I had been there!—Yet not unbleſt
Was I, repoſing on the down's green breaſt:
With every ſight and ſound of ſpring to tell,
The burniſh'd chervil, and the hare's blue bell;
The trees, with boughs like clear and gloſſy lead,
Are putting on their hues of brown and red:
The pheaſants' crow from ſome near valley broke,
The miſſel-thruſh was in the ſapling oak,
And in the underwood might juſt be ſeen
One ſparrow's neſt with four ſmall eggs of green.
Lucy. We have bright ſummer eves, I truſt, in ſtore
For pleaſant converſe,—but to-night no more:
The moonbeams, that a ſickly radiance dart
Down the green hill-ſide, tell us we muſt part.
Colin. Would they were come! or would the day were here
That night might fall, and we might ſtill be near!
It *will* come *ſome* day! There's the evening bell!
One good-night kiſs, dear Lucy, and farewell.

This may ſerve as an example of the poem.

Among thoſe who obtained conſiderable reputation as a writer of Paſtorals, the famous Sannazarius, in his "Piſcatory Eclogues," ſtands prominent. In his "Lycidas and Mycon," he writes prettily enough of the flowers of the ſea, and the ornaments of the caves of the Nereids; but ſtill one is ſtruck all the way through with the feeling that, had theſe men poſſeſſed any real taſte for nature, their paſtoral attempts would have been different indeed. The ſhores of Italy, that marvellous Bay of Naples, the wild creeks and ravines of Calabria, might have afforded ſcenery enough for Sea-Paſtorals of intenſe beauty. Inſtead of this, if one finds three or four pretty lines together, they are followed immediately by all the common-places of pedantic mythology; and the reaſon is plain. The writers were, to uſe the words of Coleridge,—

Poets who have been building up the rhyme
When they had better far have ſtretch'd their limbs
Beſide ſome brook in moſſy foreſt dell
By ſun or moon light, to the influences
Of ſights and ſounds and ſhifting elements
Surrendering their whole ſpirit, of their ſong
And of their fame forgetful: ſo their fame
Should ſhare in nature's immortality,
A venerable thing; and ſo their ſong
Should make all nature lovelier, and itſelf
Be loved like nature. But 'twill not be ſo.

In the ſame way, theſe *dilettanti* poets were baſking in all the luxury of Florence, or Rome, or Naples; were the gueſts and favourites of Coſmo de' Medici, or of Leo X; and never ſaw the country at all, except when they mentally curſed the exe-

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crable pavement and jolting ruts that conveyed them from one town to another. It has been well ſaid that, if a ſtranger were to read Portugueſe poetry, he would think the Portugueſe themſelves devotedly attached to the country and abhorrent of anything like a town. Whereas the fact is that the moſt paſtoral poet of them all would rather have lived in the moſt wretched collection of houſes calling itſelf a city, than in the loveliеſt ſcenery of Minho, or in the wildeſt gorges of Trazos Montes.

On the other hand, it is ſurpriſing how popular Paſtorals have become, when they not only profeſſed to, but did really, imitate nature. The ſucceſs of Gay's Paſtoral, the Shepherd's Week, is a ſtriking proof of this. Incited by Pope to caricature the Paſtorals of his rival, Phillips, by a ſet of compoſitions which ſhould copy the groſſneſs of country life, and writing with that purpoſe only, the nature which he threw into his poems made them at once popular; and when he had intended to excite laughter or diſguſt, he really moved pity and compaſſion. Intended as it was to be ridiculous, no one, we fancy, has ever read his account of the country-girl's death and funeral ſermon,—the exact parody of a funeral ſermon of that date,—

> He ſaid that heaven would take her ſoul, no doubt;
> And ſpoke the hour-glaſs in her praiſe quite out—

without acknowledging that his feelings were intereſted and touched.

Very different indeed from ſuch compoſitions were thoſe of the moſt voluminous writer in this way, the celebrated Boccaccio. He actually wrote ſixteen eclogues, which excited the great admiration of the learned men of his own time; of all of which we can give no more favourable character than does his own Sylvius:—

> Sentis, quam ſtulti Latios cantare putamus
> Paſtores calamis perdentes tempora vocum.

However, not to paſs ſo famous an author without a ſingle quotation, take an example of what he intended, at leaſt, for wit:—

> Tu cupis amplexus Sapphus? Nunc ſidera lambant
> Quos trahis ipſe ſues, volitentque par æthera vulpes;
> Grus trahat, ac anſer pariter, per rura quadrigas.
> Si memini, tu nuper haras mundare ſolebas,
> Et ſcabiem, morſuſque canum, ſeu vulnera veprum,
> Nunc manibus purgare palam, nunc gurgite turpi,
> Unguine nunc vario, ſucciſque potentibus, atque
> Galbaneis fumis, nigrique bituminis offa,
> Viribus ellebori, ſtillâ male olentis amurcæ.

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And no higher praiſe, we are afraid, can be given to a poet whoſe Paſtorals poſſeſſed equal reputation in their own day, Andrew Naugerius. But towards the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the ſixteenth centuries—when it was no unuſual thing for an eccleſiaſtic who had perhaps received only the firſt tonſure, to hold half-a-dozen abbeys, five or ſix archdeaconries, a ſcore of livings, a deanery, a good many canonicates, and perhaps a biſhopric or two into the bargain, and notwithſtanding all this was deeply in debt—it was quite the faſhion to preſent a well-turned Paſtoral, or ſimilar trifle, and to receive in acknowledgment ſome further little piece of preferment. In thoſe unhappy centuries, the bitter epigram of Owen was true enough:—

> An Petrus fuerit Romæ, ſub judice lis eſt:
> Simonem Romæ nemo fuiſſe negat.
>
> Whether Saint Peter was at Rome,
> Is not as yet made out:
> That Simon there has found a home
> No living man can doubt.

But it is very curious and very edifying to contraſt theſe venal Paſtorals, written by hireling eccleſiaſtics, with the longeſt Paſtoral poem the world ever ſaw, the *Prædium Ruſticum* of the Jeſuit Vanier. When, in the end of the ſeventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries, the art of compoſing Latin poetry was held in the higheſt eſtimation, that wonderful Company of JESUS, reſolved that its children ſhould claim the higheſt rank in every branch of ſcience, art, and literature, naturally turned their attention to this alſo; and wherever among its members a talent for Latin verſe was found, there it was cheriſhed and brought before the world with all the advantages the commendation of the Society could give. The Frenchman Vanier devoted his life to this poem. Utterly valueleſs as a didactic work,—for who would write precepts for farming in Latin hexameters?—but moſt valuable as proving that the firſt Latin poet of his age was a Jeſuit, to our ideas it ſeems ſtrange to find a prieſt devoting his life to ſixteen books, each, perhaps, containing eight hundred lines, on ſubjects ſuch as theſe:—How one ought to buy and repair a farm: How to chooſe ſervants: Of greater cattle: Of leſſer cattle: Of trees: The diſeaſes of trees: The ruſtic year: Of potherbs: Of vines: Of wine: Of fattening fowls: Of doves: Of bees (this fourteenth book is eſpecially dedicated to Cardinal de Fleury): Of ponds: Of live ſtock. This is a ſynopſis of the worthy writer's poem: he tells us, in the book on Ponds, which was the firſt written of all, that,

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led away by the bad taſte of youth, he inſerted in it many fables; and had not altogether recovered from this "anility" when he treated of doves and vines. Some twenty years ago, we remember to have looked this poem right through from one end to the other; and it poſſeſſes conſiderable intereſt even for one who, like the preſent writer, cares not a ſtraw for the ſubject on which it treats. There are ſome very fine paſſages in it: the gradual advance of autumn, at the beginning of the eighth book; the heroic charity of Biſhop Belſunce, in the plague of Marſeilles; Eaſter, as celebrated in the country; the way of diſcovering water by the divining-rod. Take, as an example, the deſcription of Eaſter:—

This is the time when nature's urgent needs
Brook no delay: when branches muſt be pruned,
Fields clamour for their ſeed. For holy Church
(Though now ſhe celebrate her forty days)
This toil forbids not. Some ſhe calls to faſt:
You to redoubled toil; for toil was once
The puniſhment of ſin. But when at length
The forty days in Eaſter melt away,
Then caſt off earthly cares; then, then the ſoul
Muſt, mindful of the country whence ſhe came,
Claim all the holy ſeaſon to herſelf.
Till not the field,—rank weeds ſpring up: permit
The autumn orchard to remain unpruned,—
And ſmall the increaſe of the vernal hour.
So muſt the heart be tilled; ſo every vice
Eradicated; ſo muſt toil and pains
Foſter implanted virtue. Elſe the Blood
Of that great Sacrifice was ſhed in vain,
And hell will gripe the ſouls ſo dearly bought
(What price were greater?) by the death of GOD.
Yes: keep your plighted faith, your faith once pledged,
To be His own for ever. This poor world
Is not your laſting home: for them that ſtrive,
And toil, and conquer, there remains a crown
Eternal, incorruptible: a crown
Which CHRIST then won, what time He burſt the bars
That ſhut the ſons of Adam out of heaven,
And promiſed, as their meed who nobly fight,
The many manſions of His FATHER'S houſe.
Amidſt that happy number we one day
Shall worſhip. Meanwhile this poor life we lead,
Expectant of a better: country toils
Again invite our hands: the tools, hung up
In Eaſter reſt, muſt bravely be reſumed.
Thank GOD for all things; while in exile here,
He gives thee cares, with hope to ſolace now,
And an eternal bliſs to guerdon then.

There is an earneſtneſs in this poetry which ſets it far above the Damons and Phylliſes of our paſtoral friends. Of courſe,

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in ſuch a ſubject as the farm-yard, there muſt be much that is proſaic and tedious in the higheſt degree: and Vanier often labours under the ſame difficulty that beſet Dyer in his Fleece, and Grainger in his Sugar-cane,—the choice between ſpeaking of every-day occurrences in the every-day language of proſe, or, to uſe the expreſſion, employing a falſetto, and working them up into grandiloquence. So poor Grainger, in his firſt edition, being compelled to ſpeak of the devaſtation of rats and mice, began a paragraph thus:—

> Now, Muſe, let's ſing of mice.

But ſome friend having objected to the expreſſion as low, it was altered into,—

> Now, Muſe, let's ſing of *rats*.

And now, moſt abſurdly of all, it ſtands:—

> Nor with leſs harm the whiſker'd vermin race
> (A countleſs clan) devour the lowland cane.

And ſo Vanier often found a difficulty in determining whether he ſhould call rats "rats," or the "whiſkered vermin race." We might extend our notices of Paſtoral Poets almoſt indefinitely. Among them we might name Eraſmus, who deſcribes love with all the common-places of pipes, crooks, and kids; Vida, Biſhop of Cremona, whoſe "Poetics" and whoſe "Cheſs" have been more than once tranſlated into Engliſh, and whoſe "Silkworms" and "Chriſtiad" well deſerve to be ſo; but whoſe three Eclogues are on a par with thoſe of his fellows. Then, too, we have Pomponius Gauricius, whoſe tedious compoſitions are ended by this portentous line—and yet the man was a ſcholar too:—

> Urſorumque, canumque, importunorumque luporum:

which how he ſcanned we ſhould like to know. Then there was the learned Joachim Camerarius, better employed in writing his Life of Melanchthon and his Commentary on the New Teſtamont, than his *Diræ* and his *Querela*; and a hoſt of inferior paſtoraliſts, John Rainerius, Hannibal Cruceius, and George Sabinus, a friend of Luther and Melanchthon: then, again, we have Cynthius Giraldus, Philip Girineti, and him who but for his immoralities would have been one of the brighteſt lights of modern Latin verſe, John Secundus. But we will not inflict a liſt of their Paſtorals on the reader. When we look back and ſee what wretched traſh were then the poems which profeſſed to deſcribe the country, and compare them with the power of deſcription with which a truer ſtudy of nature has inveſted the

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preſent age, it is indeed being liberated from the cloſeneſs of a medicated apartment to the freſhneſs and wildneſs of a heath. The time has been when a not ignoble author, Burnett, the writer of the "Theory of the Earth," aſſerting that, "at its firſt creation, it was perfectly flat," made uſe of the argument, "that it could not have been conſiſtent with the beneficence of a merciful CREATOR to deform it with thoſe ugly excreſcences called mountains."

It were unfair to cloſe a ſketch of the Paſtoral poets of the Renaiſſance without alluding to our own true Paſtoral poets. We do not mean Pope, nor Phillips, nor Gay, nor Thomas Warton, but Browne, and Wither, and Herrick. Browne's "Britannia's Paſtorals" (if our readers are not acquainted with them), notwithſtanding his occaſional affectations, will be found the beſt of all ſimilar poems. What a pretty country computation of time, for example, is this:—

> So ſoon as can a martin from our town
> Fly to the river underneath the down,
> And back return with morter in her bill,
> Some little cranny in her neſt to fill,
> The ſhepherd came.

The poem was never finiſhed; but what remains of it will faſcinate thoſe who are fond of ſtudying the country life of the time of Charles I.

And now we have done. Our readers, warned as they were at the commencement of the barrenneſs of our ſubject, could not expect to be introduced to any rich vein of literary wealth. If we have laid before them one or two curious facts, and made them acquainted with one or two names that are not altogether deſerving of oblivion, we ſhall be ſatisfied.

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XV.

LITURGICAL QUOTATIONS.

ONE of the firſt obſervations which muſt occur to a ſtudent of the primitive Liturgies is this: how frequent are the quotations from Scripture with which they abound. We know, in fact, that the few Proteſtant writers, who have advanced even ſo far as to a reſpectable knowledge of theſe works, have never been weary of proclaiming their ſcriptural character—of pointing out that, although Antichriſt was already beginning to whimper in his cradle, nevertheleſs reference was ſtill made "to the law and to the teſtimony."

The ſo-called ſect of Evangelicals, again, would find a ſtill cloſer reſemblance between Liturgical quotations and their own. The paſſages cited are not, to uſe the words of an Evangelical Biſhop, "from the Goſpels, or the other leſs important books of the New Teſtament," but are mainly from the Pauline Epiſtles. Reference may indeed be here and there made to a goſpel fact—or ſome of our LORD'S promiſes may be pleaded with Him by Whom they were ſpoken. But ſtill, as the rule, if a citation, not avowedly ſuch, be made from Scripture, it is three times out of four from the Epiſtles.

But another view of the ſubject may be taken, and it is that to which we are at preſent about to direct the reader's attention.

The queſtion then for our preſent conſideration is this:—The paſſages which occur in the original portions of the primitive Liturgies, and alſo in the Epiſtles,—are we to regard them as quoted in the latter from the former, or in the former from the latter?

The offhand reply would of courſe be—Undoubtedly the Liturgical is a quotation from the Scriptural paſſage. A deeper

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view of the ſubject may perhaps lead us to a different concluſion. It need hardly be ſaid that, if this be the caſe, Liturgies become at once inveſted with a dignity and majeſty ſcarcely inferior to that of the New Teſtament itſelf.

The queſtion is one which has never yet been diſcuſſed at length. The late Profeſſor Blunt—and would that he had been ſpared to follow out the path which he had indicated!—opened up this inquiry; and that with a manifeſt bias to the Liturgical ſide of its deciſion. We will endeavour—*haud paſſibus æquis*—to follow in his ſteps.

One of the cleverest critical eſſays, written during the laſt century, is that of Hurd, afterwards Biſhop of Worceſter, on the marks of poetical imitation. In this he profeſſes to lay down a ſeries of canons by which we may judge whether an apparent imitation is a real plagiariſm or not. We ſhall find ſome of his remarks very uſeful to carry with us as we go along: although our preſent queſtion is not whether there be imitation or not, but in which of two given writings that imitation is to be found.

In the firſt place it is well to obſerve that, without any manner of doubt, ſcriptural writers are in the habit of quoting, not only heathen authors, as in the three examples which S. Paul affords from Aratus, from Simonides, and from Epimenides, but alſo from the eccleſiaſtical compoſitions of that era.

Let us firſt ſet down the places where avowedly S. Paul does make a quotation;—and that, not from the Old Teſtament;—and it will be convenient to have them both in Engliſh and Greek.

1.—1 Corinthians ii. 9.

But as it is written, Eye hath not ſeen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which GOD hath prepared for them that love Him.

Ἀλλὰ καθὼς γέγραπται· Ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε, καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσε, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἃ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ Θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν.

2.—1 Corinthians xv. 45.

And ſo it is written, The firſt man Adam was made a living ſoul; the laſt Adam *was made* a quickening ſpirit.

Οὕτω καὶ γέγραπται· Ἐγένετο ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος Ἀδὰμ εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν· ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδὰμ εἰς πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν.

3.—Epheſians v. 14.

Wherefore he ſaith, Awake thou that ſleepeſt, and ariſe from the dead, and CHRIST ſhall give thee light.

Διὸ λέγει· Ἔγειρε ὁ καθεύδων, καὶ ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ ἐπιφαύσει σοι ὁ Χριστός.

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4.—1 Tim. i. 15.

This *is* a faithful ſaying, and worthy of all acceptation, that CHRIST JESUS came into the world to ſave ſinners.

Πιστὸς ὁ λόγος, καὶ πάσης ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιος, ὅτι Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἁμαρτωλοὺς σῶσαι.

5.—1 Tim. iii. 1.

This *is* a true ſaying, If a man deſire the office of a biſhop, he deſireth a good work.

Πιστὸς ὁ λόγος· Εἴ τις ἐπισκοπῆς ὀρέγεται, καλοῦ ἔργου ἐπιθυμεῖ.

6.—1 Tim. iv. 8, 9.

For bodily exerciſe profiteth little: but godlineſs is profitable unto all things, having promiſe of the life that now is, and of that which is to come.

This *is* a faithful ſaying and worthy of all acceptation.

Ἡ γὰρ σωματικὴ γυμνασία πρὸς ὀλίγον ἐστὶν ὠφέλιμος· ἡ δὲ εὐσέβεια πρὸς πάντα ὠφέλιμός ἐστιν, ἐπαγγελίαν ἔχουσα ζωῆς τῆς νῦν καὶ τῆς μελλούσης·

Πιστὸς ὁ λόγος καὶ πάσης ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιος.

7.—2 Tim. ii. 11-13.

It is a faithful ſaying: For if we be dead with *Him*, we ſhall alſo live with *Him*.

If we ſuffer, we ſhall alſo reign with *Him*: if we deny *Him*, He alſo will deny us:

If we believe not, *yet* He abideth faithful: He cannot deny Himſelf.

Πιστὸς ὁ λόγος· Εἰ γὰρ συναπεθάνομεν, καὶ συζήσομεν·

Εἰ ὑπομένομεν, καὶ συμβασιλεύσομεν· εἰ ἀρνούμεθα, κἀκεῖνος ἀρνήσεται ἡμᾶς·

Εἰ ἀπιστοῦμεν, ἐκεῖνος πιστὸς μένει· ἀρνήσασθαι ἑαυτὸν οὐ δύναται.

8.—2 Tim. ii. 19.

Nevertheleſs the foundation of GOD ſtandeth ſure, having this ſeal, The LORD knoweth them that are His. And, Let every one that nameth the name of CHRIST depart from iniquity.

Ὁ μέντοι στερεὸς θεμέλιος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἕστηκεν, ἔχων τὴν σφραγῖδα ταύτην, Ἔγνω Κύριος τοὺς ὄντας αὐτοῦ· καὶ, Ἀποστήτω ἀπὸ ἀδικίας πᾶς ὁ ὀνομάζων τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου.

9.—Titus iii. 8.

This is a faithful ſaying, and theſe things I will that thou affirm conſtantly, that they which have believed in GOD might be careful to maintain good works.

Πιστὸς ὁ λόγος, καὶ περὶ τούτων βούλομαί σε διαβεβαιοῦσθαι, ἵνα φροντίζωσι καλῶν ἔργων προΐστασθαι οἱ πεπιστευκότες τῷ Θεῷ.

To theſe we may add, as bearing on the ſubject:—

10.—Eph. v. 19.

Speaking to yourſelves in pſalms and hymns and ſpiritual ſongs, ſinging and making melody in your heart to the LORD.

Λαλοῦντες ἑαυτοῖς ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς, ᾄδοντες καὶ ψάλλοντες ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν τῷ Κυρίῳ.

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11.—Col. iii. 16.

Let the word of CHRIST dwell in you richly in all wiſdom; teaching and admoniſhing one another in pſalms and hymns and ſpiritual ſongs, ſinging with grace in your hearts to the LORD.

Ὁ λόγος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐνοικείτω ἐν ὑμῖν πλουσίως· ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ διδάσκοντες, καὶ νουθετοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς, ἐν χάριτι ᾄδοντες ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν τῷ Θεῷ.

12.—2 Tim. i. 13.

Hold faſt the form of ſound words, which thou haſt heard of me, in faith and love which is in CHRIST JESUS.

Ὑποτύπωσιν ἔχε ὑγιαινόντων λόγων, ὧν παρ' ἐμοῦ ἤκουσας, ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ τῇ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.

13.—2 Tim. iv. 13.

The cloke that I left at Troas with Carpus, when thou comeſt, bring *with thee*, and the books, *but* eſpecially the parchments.

Τὸν φελόνην, ὃν ἀπέλιπον ἐν Τρωάδι παρὰ Κάρπῳ, ἐρχόμενος φέρε, καὶ τὰ βιβλία, μάλιστα τὰς μεμβράνας.

Now, from (10) and (11) it follows that Chriſtian hymns and ſpiritual ᾠδαι were extant, and well known, when the Apoſtle wrote.

From (12), that a form of ſound words was delivered by S. Paul to Timothy, as Biſhop of Epheſus. What could this be but one of two things,—a Creed or a Liturgy?

Obſerve, further, that ſix out of the nine acknowledged quotations occur in the Paſtoral Epiſtles; though theſe only contain thirteen ſhort chapters, while the reſt of the Pauline Epiſtles contain eighty-ſeven. Is not this what we might have expected, conſidering S. Paul's repeated commands that "Biſhops" ſhould give attendance to reading? And putting all this together,—and coupling it with the acknowledged fact that the "cloke" has been, by many writers, even from the earlieſt times, underſtood of a Liturgical veſtment,—we ſhall not improbably come to the concluſion that either the books or the parchments were Liturgical.

Let us, however, examine No. 1 as a ſubſtructure for our future remarks.

In 1 Cor. ii. 9, we have this paſſage:—

But AS IT IS WRITTEN, Eye hath not ſeen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which GOD hath prepared for them that love Him.

Where is this written? "Why," they ſay, "in Iſaiah lxiv. 4." Now, we do not deny that, *ſo far as our Engliſh verſion is concerned*, there is a certain reſemblance between the paſſage in the Corinthians and that in Iſaiah: but it is now univerſally allowed that our Engliſh verſion of the text in Iſaiah is quite indefenſible; it probably was only made from the predetermi-

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nation of conſidering S. Paul to be giving the right ſenſe of the prophet; and the true verſion is given in the margin. Let us ſee how the paſſage ſtands in the LXX, which S. Paul muſt have quoted, and which gives the correct interpretation of the Hebrew:—

From the beginning have we not heard, neither have our eyes ſeen, a GOD beſide Thee, and Thy works, which Thou ſhalt do to them that wait for mercy.

There is not much likeneſs here; but we will go a great deal further yet. However, let us firſt hear what Biſhop Lowth ſays on the matter. His verſion is:—

> For never have men heard, nor perceived by the ear,
> Nor eye hath ſeen, a GOD beſide Thee,
> Who doeth ſuch things for thoſe that truſt in Him.

His note is:—

For never have men heard—] S. Paul is generally ſuppoſed to have quoted this paſſage of Iſaiah, 1 Cor. ii. 9: and Clemens Romanus in his Firſt Epiſtle has made the ſame quotation, very nearly in the ſame words with the Apoſtle. But the citation is ſo very different, both from the Hebrew Text and the Verſion of the LXX, that it ſeems very difficult, if not impoſſible, to reconcile them by any literal emendation, without going beyond the bounds of temperate criticiſm. One clauſe, "neither hath it entered into the heart of man," is wholly left out; and another is repeated without force or propriety, viz. "nor perceived by the ear," after "never have heard:" and . . . . . the ſenſe and expreſſion of the Apoſtle is far preferable to that of the Hebrew text. Under theſe difficulties, I am at a loſs what to do better, than to offer to the reader this, perhaps diſagreeable, alternative—either to conſider the Hebrew text and LXX. in this place as wilfully diſguiſed and corrupted by the Jews: of which practice, in regard to other quotations in the New Teſtament from the Old, they lie under ſtrong ſuſpicions: (ſee Dr. Owen, on the Verſion of the Seventy, ſect. vi—ix.): or to look upon S. Paul's quotation as not made from Iſaiah, but from one or other of the two Apocryphal Books, entitled The Aſcenſion of Eſaias, and the Apocalypſe of Elias, in both of which this paſſage was found: and the Apoſtle is by ſome ſuppoſed in other places to have quoted ſuch apocryphal writings. As the firſt of theſe concluſions will perhaps not eaſily be admitted by many; ſo I muſt fairly warn my readers, that the ſecond is treated by Jerom as little better than hereſy. See his Comment on this place in Iſaiah.

Now, we will ſee if we cannot explain what ſo completely puzzled—and it is to his great credit he confeſſes it—Biſhop Lowth.

Firſt, here is the verſion of the LXX:—

Ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος οὐκ ἠκούσαμεν, οὐδὲ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἡμῶν εἶδον Θεὸν πλὴν σου, καὶ τὰ ἔργα σου, ἃ ποιήσεις τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν ἔλεον.

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Now, S. Paul:—

Ἀλλὰ καθὼς γέγραπται· Ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε, καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσε, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἃ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ Θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν.

Obſerve (1), that there is not ONE WORD, literally not ONE WORD, the ſame in Iſaiah and in S. Paul.

(2). Nevertheleſs, this is manifeſtly a textual quotation. We ſay nothing of the καθὼς γέγραπται: but the ungrammatical ſtructure of the ſentence, the relative without an antecedent, the beginning with ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε,—ſhows that it is a mere fragment, taken bodily from ſome other writer. The Engliſh reader will underſtand this better, if we tranſlate—what our verſion has not done—literally:—

But as it hath been written:—"WHICH eye hath not ſeen, and ear hath not heard, and into the heart of man hath not aſcended,—which GOD hath prepared for them that love Him."

You ſee it is manifeſtly a broken ſentence—an exact textual reproduction of ſome paſſage where the firſt *which*—"*which* eye hath not ſeen," muſt have had an antecedent. Caſt your eyes back to the literal verſion of the LXX, and you will now agree that S. Paul *could not* have been quoting Iſaiah; and *was* quoting ſome one elſe—that ſome one elſe, in all probability, diſtantly referring to the prophet.

This we ſhould confidently ſay, even if we could not find what S. Paul was quoting.

Can we find it?

Turn to the Anaphora of S. James, (p. 63.)*

Now then:—

Ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν σὴν ἐπιείκειαν καὶ ἄφατόν σου φιλανθρωπίαν, ὑπερβὰς καὶ ἐξαλείψας τὸ καθ' ἡμῶν χειρόγραφον τῶν σῶν ἱκετῶν, χαρίσῃ ἡμῖν τὰ ἐπουράνια καὶ αἰώνιά σου δωρήματα, ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε, καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσε, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἃ ἡτοίμασας, ὁ Θεὸς, τοῖς ἀγαπῶσί σε· καὶ μὴ δι' ἐμὲ, καὶ διὰ τὰς ἐμὰς ἁμαρτίας ἀθετήσῃς τὸν λαὸν, φιλάνθρωπε Κύριε.

Now we have the textual quotation. *Now* we can explain the want of an antecedent to the relative. Now the ἃ refers to τά σου ἀγαθά.

We tranſlate for the Engliſh reader:—

But according to Thy gentleneſs and meaſureleſs love, paſſing over and blotting out the handwriting againſt us Thy ſuppliants, Thou wouldſt be-

* The references are all made to my own edition of the "Primitive Liturgies" (Hayes, Lyall Place).

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ſtow on us Thy heavenly and eternal gifts, WHICH *eye hath not ſeen, and ear hath not heard, and into the heart of man hath not aſcended, which Thou haſt prepared, O* GOD, *for them that love Thee.*

Is it not now abſolutely certain—certain beyond all aſſurance—that *this* is the paſſage which S. Paul was quoting? This paſſage may very probably glance at Iſaiah, though only diſtantly. This is ſo very important that we repeat the argument.

1. There is not one word the ſame in the paſſage in the Corinthians, and in that of Iſaiah—and the ſenſe is altogether different.

2. Yet the paſſage in the Corinthians is a textual quotation—textual even to ungrammaticalneſs.

3. The exact words of this quotation, the ungrammaticalneſs ſupplied, occur in the Liturgy of S. James.

But irrefragable as this argument appears to us, it will be conſiderably ſtrengthened when we come to conſider the quotations—to one of which Biſhop Lowth refers—of this ſame paſſage in the Iſapoſtolic Epiſtles.

We then come to this conſequence, the theological importance of which may truly be called tremendous.

Whenever two paſſages occur in the ſame words,—on the one hand in the Liturgy of S. James,—or rather in its Anaphora,—and on the other in the Epiſtles to the Corinthians,—or in any later Epiſtles,—S. Paul quotes the Liturgy.

And notice what follows with regard to this very paſſage. The very next verſe proceeds:—

But GOD hath revealed them unto us by His SPIRIT; for the SPIRIT ſearcheth all things, yea, the deep things of GOD.

Τὸ γὰρ Πνεῦμα πάντα ἐρευνᾷ, καὶ τὰ βάθη τοῦ Θεοῦ.

But this occurs in the Poſt-Sanctus of S. James,—which precedes the Words of Inſtitution:—

Holy art Thou, King of Ages,—and LORD and Giver of all Holineſs: Holy alſo is Thine Only-Begotten Son, our LORD JESUS CHRIST: Holy alſo is Thy Holy SPIRIT, Who ſearcheth all things, yea, the deep things of Thee, O GOD.

Ἅγιον δὲ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα σου τὸ Ἅγιον, τὸ ἐρευνῶν τὰ πάντα, καὶ τὰ βάθη σου τοῦ Θεοῦ.

How beautifully natural, ſo to ſpeak, that S. Paul, having quoted "Eye hath not ſeen" from the Invocation of the HOLY GHOST, ſhould ſpeak of that Bleſſed SPIRIT, and ſpeak of Him in words of the ſame Liturgy, (though in another place.) But how perfectly ſtartling is the Apoſtle's continuation:—

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But GOD hath revealed them unto us by His SPIRIT: for the Spirit ſearcheth all things, yea, the deep things of GOD.

For what man knoweth the things of a man, ſave the ſpirit of man which is in him? even ſo the things of GOD knoweth no man, but the Spirit of GOD.

Now we have received, not the ſpirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of GOD; that we might know the things that are freely given to us of GOD.

Which things alſo we ſpeak, not in the words which man's wiſdom teacheth, but which the HOLY GHOST teacheth; comparing ſpiritual things with ſpiritual.

It is of the Invocation primarily he is thinking, when he ſpeaks of "receiving the Spirit Which is of GOD;" it is to the gifts and graces catalogued together at the end of that Invocation (εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, εἰς ἁγιασμὸν ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων, κ.τ.λ.) that he refers when he tells of "the things that are freely given us of GOD;" the πλουσίας δωρεὰς τοῦ παναγίου σου Πνεύματος, as it there follows. And then, at verſe 13, to what ſhould he refer but to "the form of ſound words," the Liturgy, which he left to his Corinthian converts? They are no words of us, the Apoſtles, merely:—*i.e.* were taught them by that very SPIRIT.

Now, then, obſerve:—how completely the whole ſequence of thought is the ſame in the Liturgy and the Epiſtles—ſo completely that that ſequence muſt have been as much followed as the words were quoted either by one or the other. How perfectly natural, if S. Paul quoted the Liturgy! How impoſſibly unnatural, if the writer of the Liturgy quoted S. Paul! In the latter caſe, the mental proceſs muſt have been this:—about to compoſe the Invocation, he called to mind S. Paul's deſcription of the gifts of the SPIRIT. Recollecting what preceded that, he, by a retrograde proceſs re-quoted S. Paul's quotation, and put it in before the Invocation. But who would maintain ſo ludicrous an hypotheſis! Yet, allow that S. Paul was the later, and it *muſt* be maintained.

But yet further notice. What is the ſentence preceding that clauſe, "Eye hath not ſeen, &c?" It runs thus:—"Beſeeching "Thee that Thou wouldſt not deal with us after our ſins, nor "reward us according to our iniquities, but according to Thy "gentleneſs and ineffable love, paſſing by and blotting out the "handwriting which is againſt us, Thy ſuppliants, wouldſt grant "us Thy heavenly and eternal gifts." This is word for word the ſame as that expreſſion in the Coloſſians (ii. 14): "Blotting out the handwriting of ordinances that was againſt us, which was contrary to us:" a paſſage manifeſtly borrowed from this Liturgy,

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and in which the word χειρόγραφον occurs, nowhere elſe to be met with in the New Teſtament.

Now take another example.

In that moſt magnificent commencement of the Anaphora in S. James's Liturgy we have the expreſſion:—

Ὃν ὑμνοῦσιν οἱ οὐρανοί . . . . . Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἡ ἐπουράνιος πανήγυρις, ἐκκλησία πρωτοτόκων ἀπογεγραμμένων ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, πνεύματα δικαίων καὶ προφήτων.

The parallel paſſage in S. Paul is (Heb. xii. 22, 23):—

Ἀλλὰ προσεληλύθατε Σιὼν ὄρει, καὶ πόλει Θεοῦ ζῶντος, Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἐπουρανίῳ, καὶ μυριάσιν ἀγγέλων, πανηγύρει καὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρωτοτόκων ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀπογεγραμμένων, ... καὶ πνεύμασι δικαίων τετελειωμένων.

We might obſerve that the word πανήγυρις nowhere elſe occurs in the New Teſtament; nor is the term πρωτοτόκος elſewhere employed in that ſenſe.

We might alſo remark, that this Epiſtle was written to the Hebrews, *i.e.* the very Church which firſt of all Churches employed S. James's Liturgy.

Further, when we take the paſſage as a reference to the crowning act of Chriſtian life—its approach to, and union with, our bleſſed LORD in the Liturgy, what force do we give the compariſon! "Your fathers in the wilderneſs—for them there "was the mount that burned mith fire, the blackneſs, and dark-"neſs, and tempeſt, and the ſound of a trumpet, when they "drew near to GOD. For you, according to the words which "you daily take in your mouths, there is the Heavenly Jeruſalem "opened, the myriads of angels inviſibly attending, the general "aſſembly and church of the firſtborn united and uniting in your "earthly ſacrifice." Once take the paſſage thus, and does not any other interpretation ſeem impoſſible? Imagine the Liturgy to be the copy, and S. Paul's words loſe half their force.

Let us, however, now go regularly through the Anaphora of S. James's Liturgy, and ſee what quotations we can find from it in S. Paul's Epiſtles. We will confine ourſelves to the Anaphora, becauſe, though there is much of the higheſt antiquity in the Proanaphora, yet there are alſo many manifeſt inſertions, and ſome portions the age of which is fairly an open queſtion. Quotations here will therefore not always be ſatisfactory. For example, in the Great Ectene after the Kiſs of Peace we have this petition:—

Ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν παρθενίᾳ καὶ ἁγνείᾳ καὶ ἀσκήσει καὶ ἐν σεμνῷ γάμῳ διαγόντων, καὶ τῶν ἐν ὄρεσι καὶ σπηλαίοις καὶ ταῖς ὀπαῖς τῆς γῆς ἀγωνιζομένων ὁσίων πατέρων τε καὶ ἀδελφῶν.

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Here *the dens and caves of the earth* is undoubtedly a Pauline expreſſion, but its application to hermits ſhows that it cannot be earlier than the fourth, or, at the earlieſt, end of the third, century; and, therefore, muſt be a quotation from S. Paul.

But the εὐχὴ τοῦ καταπετάσματος, the *Prayer of the Veil*,—a prayer which finds its place in every Liturgy of this family, and which immediately precedes the Anaphora,—is clearly of the ſame date with that. We will firſt give a tranſlation of it; and then ſhow how S. Paul quotes it. It muſt be remembered that the Chalice-Veil is now raiſed, and the Holy Myſteries expoſed to view:—

We render thanks to Thee, LORD our GOD, for that Thou haſt given us boldneſs to the entrance in of Thy holy places, the new and living way which Thou haſt conſecrated for us through the veil of the Fleſh of Thy CHRIST. We therefore, to whom it hath been vouchſafed to enter into the place of the tabernacle of Thy glory, and to be within the veil, and to behold the Holy of Holies, fall down before Thy goodneſs: Maſter, have mercy upon us: ſince we are full of fear and dread, when about to ſtand before Thy holy Altar, and to offer this fearful and unbloody ſacrifice for our ſins and for the ignorances of the people. Send forth, O GOD, Thy good grace, and hallow our ſouls, and bodies, and ſpirits; and change our diſpoſition to piety, that in a pure conſcience we may preſent to Thee the mercy of peace, the ſacrifice of praiſe.

Now, compare with this a paſſage in the Hebrews (x. 19—25):—

Having therefore, brethren, boldneſs to enter into the holieſt by the blood of JESUS,

By a new and living way, which He hath conſecrated for us through the veil, that is to ſay, His fleſh;

And *having* an high prieſt over the houſe of GOD;

Let us draw near with a true heart in full aſſurance of faith, having our hearts ſprinkled from an evil conſcience, and our bodies waſhed with pure water.

Let us hold faſt the profeſſion of *our* faith without wavering; (for he *is* faithful that promiſed;)

And let us conſider one another to provoke unto love and to good works:

Not forſaking the aſſembling of ourſelves together, as the manner of ſome *is*; but exhorting *one another*: and ſo much the more, as ye ſee the day approaching.

The next paſſage, then, on which we come is that about the "General aſſembly and Church of the Firſt-born;" of which we have juſt ſpoken.

The next, that alſo commented on already, "the SPIRIT ſearcheth all things."

Immediately after the Words of Inſtitution follows a clauſe

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which we will write as it occurs in the Liturgies of S. James and S. Mark, and in the Epiſtle to the Corinthians:—

S. JAMES.	S. PAUL.	S. MARK.
Ὁσάκις γὰρ ἂν ἐσθίητε τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον, καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο πίνητε, τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καταγγέλλετε, καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν αὐτοῦ ὁμολογεῖτε, ἄχρις οὗ ἔλθῃ.	Ὁσάκις γὰρ ἂν ἐσθίητε τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον, καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο πίνητε, τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Κυρίου καταγγέλλετε, ἄχρις οὗ ἂν ἔλθῃ.	Ὁσάκις γὰρ ἂν ἐσθίητε τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον, πίνητε δὲ καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο, τὸν ἐμὸν θάνατον καταγγέλλετε, καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάστασιν καὶ ἀνάληψιν ὁμολογεῖτε, ἄχρις οὗ ἂν ἔλθω.

The firſt obſervation to be made is that, explaining the other two paſſages by that in S. Mark, which is undoubtedly the fulleſt, we ſhall imagine that both S. Paul and S. James intended to repreſent the words as uttered by our LORD, ſpeaking of Himſelf in the third perſon. Whence follows a very important corollary. S. Mark cannot be copied from S. James (ſtill leſs, of courſe, from S. Paul), becauſe no man would have ventured to coin words as delivered by the LORD;—and the third perſon being employed in S. James, S. Mark's Liturgy, had it drawn from that ſource, would not have dared to uſe the firſt perſon. Whence it is of co-ordinate, and, therefore, (whether a little later or a little earlier) of contemporary authority. To this point we ſhall have to return again.

The next paſſages are, as we have already noticed:—

Ἐξαλείψας τὸ καθ' ἡμῶν χειρόγραφον, κ. τ. λ.

And the—

Ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε, κ. τ. λ.

And theſe are all the preciſe quotations which the Liturgy of S. James affords.

But let us now, dropping for a moment the ſubject of *literal* quotations, ſee what Liturgical veſtiges occur in connection with them.

And firſt: it will ſcarcely be denied that the opening paragraphs of the fifteenth chapter of the Firſt of Corinthians contain the fragments of a Creed. Be it remembered that S. Paul had a certain "form of ſound words"—in other terms, an orthodox confeſſion of faith, which he committed to his infant Churches. Of ſuch a form he is reminding the Corinthians: "The goſpel which I "preached unto you, which alſo ye have received, and wherein "ye ſtand; if ye *keep in memory* what I preached unto you, "unleſs ye have *believed* in vain." What are the articles of this form?

CHRIST died for our ſins according to the Scriptures;
And was buried,

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And roſe again the third day according to the Scriptures:
And was ſeen of Cephas,
Then of the twelve:
After that of above five hundred brethren.
After that, of James,
Then of all the Apoſtles.

Compare this with the Pauline Expoſition of the Faith, as given to the Jews. (Acts xiii. 26, ſeq.)

Article 1. "CHRIST died for our ſins, according to the Scriptures."

Commentary.—(Suggeſted by the article as it preſented itſelf to the Apoſtle's mind:)
Unto you is the word of this ſalvation ſent.
They that dwell at Jeruſalem, *becauſe they knew...not...the voices of the prophets* which are read every Sabbath-day, have *fulfilled* them.

Article 2. "And was buried."

Commentary.—They took Him down from the Tree, and laid Him in a ſepulchre.

Article 3. "And roſe again the third day according to the Scriptures."

Commentary.—But GOD raiſed Him from the dead.

Article 4. "And was ſeen of Cephas, &c."

Commentary.—And He was ſeen many days of thoſe that came up with Him from Galilee to Jeruſalem.

Surely this is not a mere coincidence of ſequence:—and it is remarkable that neither in the Creed, nor in the Sermon, is there any reference to the Aſcenſion.

Let us now put the Petrine Expoſition of Faith in juxtapoſition with the Pauline.

S. PAUL.	S. PETER.
If ye keep in memory what I preached unto you.	That word, I ſay, ye know.
	GOD anointed JESUS of Nazareth with the HOLY GHOST, and with power.
	Who went about doing good.
CHRIST died for our ſins, according to the Scriptures.	Whom they ſlew and hanged on a tree.
And was buried.	
And roſe again the third day, according to the Scriptures.	Him GOD raiſed up the third day.

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And was ſeen of Cephas, then of the twelve, &c.	And ſhewed Him openly, not to all the people, but unto witneſſes choſen before of GOD, even unto us. He was ordained to be the judge of quick and dead. Whoſoever believeth in Him ſhall receive the remiſſion of ſins.

Theſe may be compared with a paſſage in the Acts of S. Ignatius, (a paſſage which well ſupplies a miſſing link in the Creeds which we have quoted from the Epiſtles.)

The emperor, immediately before condemning S. Ignatius, is interrogating the ſaint about his faith. The replies of the ſaint are directed not ſo much to the emperor as to the Chriſtians who are ſtanding by. Indeed, his wording of the expreſſion "bearing CHRIST within his breaſt" ſeems to have induced the emperor at once to ſentence him as a fanatic. S. Ignatius allowed Trajan to underſtand his words in a ſenſe different from that which they conveyed to the Chriſtians. "Who is Theophorus?" ſaid Trajan. "He," replied S. Ignatius," who has CHRIST in his breaſt." "And do not we," ſaid the emperor, "then ſeem to thee to have the gods within us, who fight for us againſt our enemies?" "You err," ſaid S. Ignatius, "in that you call the evil ſpirits of the heathens gods. For" (here, if ever, is the place for a Creed,—the grand confeſſion of CHRIST'S ſoldier)

"There is one GOD who made heaven and earth, and the ſea, and all that are in them;—

"And one JESUS CHRIST, His only-begotten SON, whoſe kingdom may I enjoy."

"His kingdom," replied Trajan, "you ſay (?) who was crucified under Pontius Pilate." "His," continued S. Ignatius, "who crucified my ſin," and ſo on (condemned for ſaying that he carried the crucified within him). This paſſage ſeems to me to bear importantly on the Apoſtolic hymn in Acts iv. 24.

There is another argument to which we ſhall only allude. It is this,—Why is it more improbable that S. Paul ſhould have quoted a prayer than a hymn? Yet that hymns, as diſtinct from pſalms, then exiſted, and that of two ſpecies, hymns and ſpiritual ſongs, we know from his own teſtimony; and that he quoted them we are able diſtinctly to ſhow.

Eph. iv. 14, *Wherefore he ſaith:*

Ἔγειρε ὁ καθεύδων,
καὶ ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν,
καὶ ἐπιφαύσει σοι ὁ Χριστός.

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Now, 1. Theſe verſes have clearly an Anacreontic ſwing about them, eſpecially if we take the laſt to have really been written *κἀπιφαύσει*:

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And, in point of fact, the earlieſt Greek hymn writers, as S. Gregory and S. Sophronius, *did* frequently uſe Anacreontics.

2. Might we gueſs at the nature of the hymn, we ſhould probably call it *baptiſmal*. We have not only the burial *with* Him, but the illumination *through* Him.

And, in point of fact, the preſent writer had long ſince, on theſe grounds only, come to theſe two concluſions.

But he was perfectly ſtartled at a ſubſequent period, in ſtudying the Gregorian Antiphonal (Thomas. Opp. v. 94), to find a baptiſmal hymn of the very ſame metre:—

Audite voces hymni,
Et vos, qui eſtis digni
In hâc beatâ nocte,
Deſcendite ad fontes.

What more likely than that one who introduced ſo much that was Eaſtern as did S. Gregory, ſhould have taken at leaſt the *motif* of his hymn from that to which the Apoſtle alludes? Anyhow, the coincidence is ſingular.

Again, 1 Corinthians xv. 45, *And ſo it is written:*

The firſt Adam was made a living ſoul;
The laſt Adam was made a quickening ſpirit.

Moſt undoubtedly a hymn. And ſo we think is that glorious paſſage—the conſolation of ſuch millions of mourners:—*Then ſhall be brought to paſs the ſaying that is written:*

Death is ſwallowed up in victory!
O Death, where is thy ſting?
O Grave, where is thy victory?

Of courſe there is a *reference* here—may be a cloſe one—to the paſſage in Hoſea. But, in the firſt place, the Prophet could not, and did not *then* ſay that Death *was* ſwallowed up; it is, "I *will* ranſom; I *will* be thy plagues. And next, the remarkable word *κατεπόθη* does not occur in the Prophet at all. Beſides, how jejune is the ordinary way of taking the paſſage!

It makes the Apoſtle—

1. Quote, very inexactly, the Prophet.

2. Then himſelf burſt out into a rapturous exclamation of holy triumph. And then—

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3. Coolly and, ſo to ſpeak, proſaically, explain his own exclamation.

Did any man ever thus break out into a poetical burſt of language, and then directly explain what he had meant? If it may be allowed on ſuch a ſubject to uſe the expreſſion, the idea is almoſt ludicrous. Remark alſo that a word of ſome importance is omitted in the Engliſh, τὸ ΔΕ *κέντρον.* "*Now* the ſting." As if the Apoſtle would ſay, When you uſe thoſe words, *you know* that the *κέντρον* is *ἁμαρτία.* It is worth while to obſerve that we ſhall have the Anacreontic ſwing here, granting the quotation to be not quite perfect.

Κατεπόθη (∪- -)
ὁ θάνατος εἰς νῖκος!
ποῦ σου, Θάνατε, τὸ κέντρον;
ποῦ σου, Ἅιδη, τὸ νῖκος;

As we write, we feel abſolutely ſure that our hypotheſis is correct; for how tamely does it thus proceed, τὸ δὲ *κέντρον*, &c.

We have only broached this ſubject of Liturgical Quotations, and ſhall hope at ſome future time to return to it; meanwhile we expreſs our firm belief that the mine may be worked much deeper, both in the Pauline Epiſtles, and in that which is in truth only a glorious Liturgical Viſion—the Apocalypſe.

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APPENDIX TO LITURGICAL QUOTATIONS.

DEAR SIR,

ALL of us, I am confident, feel more than intereſted in the queſtion of Liturgical quotations: the queſtion, I mean, which is now openly admitted to diſcuſſion, as to whether the Pauline Epiſtles quote the ancient Liturgies or *vice verſâ*: whether of the two compoſitions, therefore, is the more ancient. To moſt critical and candid minds the one paſſage alone in the Epiſtle to the Corinthians, "Which eye hath not ſeen, &c.," furniſhes concluſive proof of the ſuperior antiquity of the Liturgy of S. James. It is not, however, my preſent intention to write to you concerning this and other proofs (and others do occur to a careful reader) which may be drawn from a ſearching compariſon of the Scriptural Epiſtles (including the Apocalypſe) with the Liturgies. I leave that mine to be worked by the hands which have opened it. What I do venture to aſk is this. Have the Apoſtolic Fathers been duly examined with the ſame object in view? It ſeems to me that their teſtimony would be even more valuable than that of an Apoſtle, for their writings are equally old (or nearly ſo) with the canonical books, and by no means ſo likely to be quoted into the diction of a liturgy. The Church might weave into the texture of her Liturgy the words of S. Paul, or S. Peter, but would heſitate to adopt in the ſame manner the phraſeology of the Shepherd of S. Hermas or the Epiſtles of S. Clement. Yet it ſeemed to me that the ſearch into the remains of theſe Fathers was ſo obviouſly deſirable, that I could not but believe that it had been undertaken and completed by ſome hand whoſe work had eſcaped my notice. I have not, however, been able to diſcover that this is the caſe. Archbiſhop Wake, indeed, ſeemed, a century and a-half ago, to be treading on the very verge of

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the queſtion. He ſays in his introduction to the tranſlation of the Apoſtolic Fathers :—

> Since it can hardly be doubted but that thoſe holy Apoſtles and Evangeliſts did give ſome directions for the adminiſtration of the Bleſſed Euchariſt in thoſe Churches; it may reaſonably be preſumed that ſome of thoſe orders are ſtill remaining in thoſe liturgies which have been brought down to us under their names; and that thoſe prayers wherein they all agree (in ſenſe at leaſt, if not in words) were firſt preſcribed in the ſame or like terms, by thoſe Apoſtles and Evangeliſts; *nor would it be difficult to make a farther proof of this conjecture from the writings of the ancient fathers, if it were needful in this place to inſiſt upon it.*

This merely points to the line of ſearch. But I could find little or no alluſion elſewhere to it by him or others. I have ventured, therefore, to read through the Apoſtolic Fathers myſelf with this view and ſend you the reſult.

Conſidering the rigour of the *Diſciplina Arcani*, I did not hope to find direct quotations from the Liturgies. Yet I thought it very probable that men who were in the cuſtom of learning the Liturgy by heart would, conſciouſly or unconſciouſly, reproduce with their lips the language which moſt nearly touched their hearts. I looked, therefore, to find liturgical terms of expreſſion in the Epiſtles; and thought it not impoſſible that the paſſages in which the writers uſed argument or perſuaſion might be found to bear ſo decided a Liturgical tint as to prove to all reaſonable minds that the diction and arrangement of the Liturgy muſt have been before the mind of the writer.

The firſt of the Apoſtolic Fathers whoſe writings I read with this view was S. Hermas. Knowing his habit of weaving into his ſentences Scriptural texts and phraſes without direct acknowledgment, I thought that I might diſcover Liturgical fragments inſerted in the ſame manner. Any one reading a page of the Shepherd of S. Hermas will at once ſee what I mean. His language is that of a man whoſe mind is ſaturated with Holy Scripture, yet ſo ſeldom does he quote it directly that, if I miſtake not, from beginning to end of his writings his modern editors have been unable to print in italics a ſingle line as being a quotation. References to Holy Scripture there are in abundance in the margin, but no aſſertion of direct verbal quotation. You will ſee, then, the ſort of Liturgical quotation which I looked for. Here is what I found. There is a remarkable paſſage in the Third Book of the Shepherd (Similitude v. 3) in which the ſame prayer in the Anaphora of S. James's Liturgy ſeems to be pointed at, which is quoted by S. Paul in the famous paſſage in 1 Cor. ii. 9:—"What eye hath not ſeen, &c." For facility of compariſon I ſend in parallel columns the paſſage in the Liturgy

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and the paſſage in S. Hermas. I take the paſſage in the Shepherd, not from the old Latin tranſlation of the ſecond century, which was, till the year before laſt, the only entire verſion known to ſurvive of S. Hermas, but from a fragment preſerved in the *Doctrina ad Antiochum Ducem* of the pſeudo-Athanaſius :—

LITURGY OF S. JAMES.

Our LORD JESUS CHRIST, taking *bread* in His *holy, ſpotleſs, pure*, and immortal hands, and looking up to heaven and ſhowing it to Thee, His GOD and FATHER, He *gave thanks*, and hallowed, and brake, and gave it to His apoſtles and diſciples ſaying, Take, eat, ... Likewiſe alſo the cup after ſupper, having taken and mixed it with *wine and water*, and having looked up to heaven and diſplayed it to Thee His GOD and FATHER, He gave thanks, and hallowed, and bleſſed, and filled with the HOLY GHOST, &c. . . . . We therefore alſo ſinners, remembering His life-giving Paſſion, His ſalutary Croſs, His glorious and terrible coming again, when He ſhall come with glory to judge the quick and the dead, and to render to every man according to his works, offer to Thee, O LORD, this tremendous and unbloody *Sacrifice*, beſeeching Thee that Thou wouldſt not deal with us according to our iniquities, but according to Thy gentleneſs and ineffable love, paſſing by and blotting out *the handwriting* that is againſt us Thy ſuppliants, wouldſt grant us Thy heavenly and eternal gifts, which eye hath not ſeen nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive *the things which Thou, O GOD, haſt prepared for them that love Thee.*—(*S. James' Liturgy*, page 62, *Neale*.)

S. HERMAS.

Firſt of all, be careful to faſt from every evil word and ſound, and *cleanſe thy heart from every ſpot*, and from revenge and baſe gain.

And on the day whereon thou faſteſt be content with *bread* and herbs [this item "*herbs*" is not found in the Latin verſion], and *water*, giving thanks to GOD (εὐχαριστῶν τῷ Θεῷ) ; and, having calculated the expenſe of the meal which thou wouldeſt have eaten that day, *give to the widow or the orphan, or the deſtitute, with which, having fully ſatisfied his ſoul, he will pray for thee to the* LORD.

If, therefore, thou ſhalt accompliſh thy faſt as I have directed thee, thy SACRIFICE ſhall be acceptable before the LORD, and *written in the heavens* on the day of *rendering of the good things which have been prepared for the righteous.*—(*Shepherd of S. Hermas*, bk. iii. ſim. v. 3.)

Then follows in the Liturgy the Invocation of the Holy Ghoſt, and the Prayer for all Conditions of Men. In the latter occurs this petition :—

Remember, LORD, them that bear fruit and do good deeds in Thy holy Churches, and that remember *the poor, the widows, the orphans, the ſtranger, the needy; and all who have deſired us to remember them in our prayers.*

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Now with reſpect to many of the points of reſemblance we could not infer that the one of theſe being placed beſide the other would even ſuggeſt that there is any connection between the two paſſages. To ſay that the mention of the vine (immediately before the paſſage quoted from the Shepherd) and of the bread and water reminded S. Hermas of the bread, the wine, and the water of the Holy Euchariſt (which are, of courſe, uſed in an entirely different ſenſe) without further evidence would be ludicrouſly far-fetched. So alſo would it be to urge, from independent probability, any connection in idea between the purification of the Chriſtian inſiſted on by S. Hermas and the "holy, pure, and ſpotleſs hands of CHRIST" in the Liturgy; although the phraſe which accompanies it—"giving thanks to GOD"—(εὐχαριστῶν τῷ Θεῷ) is certainly more than ſuggeſtive. And although the "rendering to every man according to his works" (Liturgy) fits well into the teachings of S. Hermas in this Similitude, yet it does not convey upon its face any proof of cloſe connection between the two. When we come to the mention by S. Hermas of the "widow, the orphan, and the deſtitute," the ſupplication in the Liturgy may, perhaps, occur to us. It will certainly occur to us with very great force when we recollect that in it, as in S. Hermas, the petition for widows, &c. is connected with an inculcation of the efficacy of vicarious prayer.

Give to the widow, or the orphan, or the deſtitute, (ſays S. Hermas,) with which, having fully ſatisfied his ſoul, he will pray for thee to the LORD.

Remember, LORD, thoſe who remember the poor, (ſays the Liturgy,) the widows, the orphans, the ſtranger, the needy; and all who have deſired us to remember them in our prayers.

As, however, we approach the end of the paſſage in S. Hermas, the reſemblance between it and the Liturgy becomes much ſtronger and more pronounced. For in S. Hermas we find next the remarkable expreſſion, "Thy *ſacrifice* ſhall be acceptable," (δεκτὴ, the regular Liturgical phraſe.) What ſacrifice? He has ſpoken of none. Does he mean the ſacrifice of our good works? But this ſacrifice apart from the euchariſtic, which gives the reality, of which the other is but a counterpart, is as meaningleſs as in the ſame uſe would be the "reaſonable ſacrifice of ourſelves, our ſouls and bodies;" or as David's ſacrifice of "the broken ſpirit" would be without the real preſence of the "young bullocks upon the altar," to which he alludes in the ſame paſſage. Or does S. Hermas mean plain and direct the ſacrifice of the euchariſt? Either way the explanation points,

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as it ſeems to me, in the direction of the Liturgy. If the term be uſed metaphorically, the reality on which the metaphor is baſed muſt be the euchariſt. If, however, it be uſed directly of the euchariſt that is all we want. However this may be (I offer the ſuggeſtion with diffidence), here are the two phraſes. In the Liturgy, "The tremendous and unbloody ſacrifice;" in S. Hermas, "The ſacrifice acceptable to GOD."

In both occurs the metaphor of the "writing." In the Liturgy, "That GOD will blot out the *handwriting* that is againſt us:" in S. Hermas, "That our ſacrifice may be *written* in heaven."

Laſtly, let me pray you to notice the concluſion of each.

In the Liturgy, "the heavenly gifts;" in S. Hermas, "the ſacrifice written in heaven."

In the Liturgy, "The gifts (ἐπουράνιου καὶ αἰώνιά σου δωρήματα, S. James—τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν σου ἀγαθά, S. Mark, p. 21, Neale), which Thou haſt prepared, O GOD, for them that love Thee" —(ἃ ἡτοίμασας, ὁ Θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσι σε.) In S. Hermas, "On the day of rendering the good things which have been prepared for the righteous"—(ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἀνταποδόσεως τῶν ἡτοιμασμένων ἀγαθῶν τοῖς δικαίοις.)

This, then, is the firſt paſſage which arreſted my attention. I offer it for what it is worth. It would perhaps be eaſy enough to explain away each particular point of reſemblance: leſs eaſy, as it ſeems to me, to explain away the cumulative evidence of the whole ſeries. It ſhould be added, however, that the paſſage of S. Hermas, as rendered in the Greek, is much cloſer in reſemblance to the Liturgy than the ſame paſſage as rendered in the old Latin tranſlation. This fact will make one look out with no ſmall intereſt for the publication of "Tiſchendorf's newly-diſcovered MS. of S. Hermas," which is announced for this year. In the Latin verſion the Greek θυσία is rendered by *hoſtia*.

The next paſſage to which I will direct your attention is in the Second Epiſtle of S. Clement. I am not concerned now to diſpute as to the apoſtolic antiquity of this Epiſtle. Whether it be his epiſtle or the epiſtle of ſomebody elſe; whether it be an epiſtle at all, or only a ſermon, may be intereſting ſubject for diſpute to thoſe who will admit into their index no writings, however brief and unpretending, except thoſe for which poſitive external proof can be adduced. Suffice it to remember that there is no proof in the Epiſtle itſelf which may deprive it of its claim to primitive antiquity, and that fourth-century writers ſpeak of it as of unknown antiquity in their day. In the paſſage to which I allude, the author has been quoting a paſſage,

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from ſome loſt apocryphal book, about the vine, (the very ſame paſſage, by the way, which is quoted at length in the Firſt Epiſtle, chap. 23.) He ſays that, as in the vine there is firſt the leaf, then the ſour grape, and laſtly, the rich cluſter, ſo ſhall the Chriſtian go through many changes and developments, but ſhall finally attain to his reward (ἔπειτα ἀπολήψεται τὰ ἀγαθά). "Therefore, brethren," he continues, "let us not be faint-"hearted, but abide in hope, that we may win our reward." I place the reſt of the paſſage in parallel columns with the paſſages in the Liturgies of S. James and S. Mark :—

LITURGY OF S. JAMES. Page 63.	EPISTLE OF S. CLEMENT. II. 11.	LITURGY OF S. MARK. Page 21.
We, therefore, alſo ſinners, remembering His lifegiving Paſſion . . . His glorious and terrible coming again, when He ſhall come . . . *to render to every man according to his works*, offer to Thee, O LORD, this tremendous and unbloody ſacrifice, beſeeching Thee that Thou wouldſt not deal with us after our ſins, . . . but according to Thy gentleneſs and ineffable love . . . wouldſt grant us Thy heavenly and eternal gifts, *which eye hath not ſeen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man* the things which Thou, O GOD, haſt prepared for them that love Thee.	For he is faithful that promiſed *to render to every man the recompence of his works.* If, therefore, we ſhall do juſtice in GOD'S ſight we ſhall enter into His kingdom, and ſhall receive *the promiſes which ear hath not heard, nor eye ſeen, nor hath entered into the heart of man.* Let us therefore expect, in due time, *the kingdom of* GOD in love and righteouſneſs, *ſince we know not the day of* GOD'S *manifeſtation* (ἐπιφανίας).	(Diptychs of the Departed.) And to all the ſpirits of theſe give reſt, our Maſter, LORD and GOD, in the tabernacles of Thy ſaints, vouchſafing to them in Thy kingdom *the good things of Thy promiſe, which eye hath not ſeen, and ear hath not heard, and it hath not entered into the heart of man*, the things which Thou haſt prepared, O GOD, for them that love Thy holy Name. Grant reſt to their ſouls, and vouchſafe to them *the kingdom of Heaven*; and to us grant that the end of our lives may be Chriſtian, &c.

I will leave this paſſage to ſpeak for itſelf, merely calling your attention to the πιστὸς γάρ ἐστιν, &c. ſo common with S. Paul when introducing a Liturgical quotation or reference. One thing ſtruck me as remarkable. The order of the ſubſtantives is inverted. Whereas S. James and S. Mark ſay with S. Paul, "What eye hath not ſeen, nor ear heard," the author of this Epiſtle puts the *ear* before the *eye*, and ſays, "which ear hath not heard, nor eye ſeen." It ſeemed to me, on conſideration, that this was exactly the ſort of variation to be expected, in quoting a Liturgy which is learnt by heart for the moſt part. In ſuch a caſe it could ſcarcely be called a miſtake, which it would aſſuredly be if it profeſſed to be quoted from a written epiſtle. And this idea was confirmed by the diſcovery of the ſame paſſage in the Acts of the Martyrdom of S. Polycarp,—that moſt beautiful and touching of all the uninſpired writings of the Apoſtolic age. The quotation there is identical with this one from the Second Epiſtle of S. Clement. Here it is. The author, or rather authors, are ſpeaking of the ſufferings of the Martyrs, and the reaſon of their courage.

For they had before their eyes, the eſcape from that fire which is eternal and ſhall never be quenched, and with the eyes of their heart they looked to

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thoſe good things which are reſerved for the enduring, *which neither ear hath heard, nor eye ſeen, nor hath entered into the heart of man*, but which have been ſhown by the LORD to them, inaſmuch as they were not men any longer, but already angels.—*Martyrdom of S. Polycarp*, Act 2.

Here are the parallel paſſages in the Greek :—

LITURGY OF S. JAMES. Page 63.	MARTYRDOM OF S. POLYCARP.—Act 2.	2 S. CLEM. xi.
Τὰ ὑπερέκεινα καὶ αἰώνια σου δωρήματα, ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε, καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσε, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη. (Ἃ ἡτοίμασας, ὁ Θεὸς, τοῖς ἀγαπῶσί σε).	Τὰ παρεκείνοις τοῖς ὑπομείνασιν ἀγαθὰ, ἃ οὔτε οὖς ἤκουσεν, οὔτε ὀφθαλμὸς εἶδεν, οὔτε ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου ἀνέβη, (ἐκείνοις δὲ ἑτοίμασεν, κ. τ. λ.)	Ἀπολάμβανε τὰς ἐπαγγελίας ἃς οὐκ ἤκουσεν, οὐδὲ ὀφθαλμὸς εἶδεν, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου ἀνέβη. (ἀπολαμβάνομεν οὖν κατ' ὄψιν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, κ. τ. λ.)

It is worth noticing how all theſe paſſages identify the ſentiment "which eye hath not ſeen, &c." with the ſecond Advent of CHRIST; an idea very prominent in the prayer of the Liturgy, but not occurring in the paſſage in the Epiſtle of S. Paul. "Remembering," ſays the Liturgy, "His life-giving Paſſion, "His ſalutary Croſs, . . . and His glorious and terrible coming "again (τῆς δευτέρας ἐνδόξου καὶ φοβησᾶς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας), when He "ſhall come with glory to judge the quick and dead, and to "render to every man according to his works, &c." Grand and terrible words! fit preface to the ſweet promiſe of infinite reward and happineſs which, riſing from Chriſtian lips in the daily oblation, ſeemed to remind the giver of His promiſe, and even to furniſh the meet expreſſion to the yearnings of the faithful.

Conſtantly, in reading the early Fathers, one ſeems to catch ſight of it for a moment. One ſays to oneſelf, "The writer could "not have ſpoken thus had not the words of this promiſe been "floating before him;" but, on examining cloſely the paſſage, there is only a general reſemblance, ſuch as one cannot quote without incurring the charge of conjuring up an imaginary form upon a background which ſupplied features of reſemblance poſſibly fortuitous. Such paſſages I refrain from quoting. One of them, however, I cannot help pointing out, from the writings of a Father immediately after the Apoſtolic age :—

This expreſſion (ſays S. Juſtin Martyr), "Binding his foal unto the Vine, and his aſs's colt unto the Choice Vine," is a foreſhadowing of the works which He did *at His firſt coming* (ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης αὐτοῦ παρουσίας), and foreſhadows the Gentiles who ſhould believe in Him. . . . And they have borne the yoke of His inſtruction, and ſubmitted their backs *to endure all things, becauſe of the good things which they look for, and which He has promiſed* (πρὸς τὸ πάντα ὑπομένειν διὰ τὰ προσδοκώμενα καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καταγγελμένα ἀγαθά).—*Dial.* 54.

This reſemblance may be accidental, perhaps. If ſo, it is remarkable.

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The next paſſage to which I will invite your earneſt attention is one of moſt ſingular intereſt in the Firſt Epiſtle of S. Clement. I approached the writings of this Father with the greateſt hope. Where ſhall we find the ſame claſs of quotations as thoſe uſed by S. Paul, if not in the Epiſtle of "the beloved fellow-labourer whoſe name is written in the Book of Life;" an epiſtle addreſſed, too, to the ſame Corinthians, whom S. Paul addreſſed in words of ſuch earneſt and ſorrowing love? Beſides, his poliſhed and full ſtyle affords more ſcope for Liturgical quotation and reference than the terſe practical miſſives of S. Ignatius do, or, indeed, than the ſtyle of any other of the Apoſtolic Fathers would lead one to expect.

The firſt paſſage which I ſhall quote is the more valuable as containing not only the famous Pauline quotation, "What eye hath not, &c." but alſo other words and expreſſions direct from the Liturgy (in the ſame Liturgical prayer), to which there is no alluſion whatever in S. Paul. I need not point out the importance of this—more than importance, indeed; for if the fact can be eſtabliſhed there is an end of the queſtion—the Liturgiſts have the day.

S. Clement is ſaying that GOD made man after His own image. Man muſt therefore ſtrive after perfection. We have CHRIST for an example (ὑπογραμμὸς), therefore let us do good works. We then proceed with the paſſage which I tabulate together with the Liturgy of S. James and the paſſage in S. Paul. I may as well premiſe that in the Liturgy the Triumphal Hymn (Holy, holy, holy, &c.), ſhortly precedes the paſſage tranſcribed, I therefore have added it at the head of the column.

1 S. CLEMENT. XXXIV.	LITURGY OF S. JAMES. Page 62 (Greek).	S. PAUL. 1 Cor. ii. 1.
The good workman receives with confidence (παῤῥησίας) *the Bread* of his work, the lazy and negligent cannot look in the face of his maſter. It is neceſſary, therefore, that you ſhould be zealous in good works. For of Him are all things. For He ſays to us, "Behold the LORD, and His reward is before His face, *to render to every man according to his works*" (ἀποδοῦναι ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ). He urges us, therefore, with all our heart thereto, that we ſhould not be idle or remiſs to every good work. Let our heart and our confidence (παῤῥησία) be in HIM. Let us ſubmit ourſelves to His will. Let us conſider the whole multitude of His Angels, how ſtanding near Him they do ſervice to His will (λειτουργοῦσιν παρεστῶτες). For the Scripture ſays, "Ten thouſand times ten thouſand ſtood by Him, and thouſand thouſands	(Cherubim and Seraphim hymn Thee), ſinging with a loud voice, *crying* (βοῶντα), praiſing, *vociferating* (κεκραγότα), and ſaying (λέγοντα), "*Holy, holy, holy, Lord of Sabaoth; Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory.* Hoſanna in the higheſt: bleſſed is He that cometh in the Name of the LORD: Hoſanna in the higheſt." . . . . We therefore alſo ſinners remembering His life-giving Paſſion, His ſalutary Croſs, His death and Reſurrection from the dead on the third day, His aſcenſion into heaven, and ſeſſion on the right hand of Thee His GOD and FATHER, and His glorious and terrible coming again, when He ſhall come with glory to judge the quick and dead, and to *render to every man according to his works* (ἀποδιδόναι ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ), offer to Thee, O LORD, this tremendous and unbloody ſacrifice, beſeech-	And I, brethren, when I came to you, came not with excellency of ſpeech or of wiſdom, declaring unto you the teſtimony of GOD. For I determined not to know anything among you ſave JESUS CHRIST and Him crucified. And I was with you in weakneſs and in fear, and in much trembling; and my ſpeech and my preaching was not with enticing words of man's wiſdom, but in demonſtration of the ſpirit and of power: that your faith ſhould not ſtand in the wiſdom of men, but in the honour of GOD. Howbeit we ſpeak wiſdom among them that are perfect (σοφίαν λαλοῦμεν ἐν τοῖς τελείοις), yet not the wiſdom of this world, nor of the princes of this world, that come to naught: but we ſpeak the wiſdom of GOD in a myſtery, even the hidden wiſdom which GOD ordained before the world unto our glory, which none of the princes of this world

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1 S. CLEMENT.	LITURGY OF S. JAMES.	S. PAUL.
ministered to Him," and they *vociferated* (ἐκέκραγον), "*Holy, holy, holy, Lord of Sabaoth, the whole creation is full of His glory.*" And we therefore, having unanimously assembled together, by our conscience, let us *cry* (βοήσωμεν) to Him intensely (ἐκτενῶς), as from one mouth, that we may become partakers of His great and glorious promises. For He says, "*Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man, how many things He hath prepared for them that await Him.*"	ing Thee that Thou wouldst not deal with us after our sins, nor reward us according to our iniquities; but according to Thy gentleness and ineffable love, passing by and blotting out the handwriting that is against us, Thy suppliants, wouldst grant us Thy heavenly and eternal gifts, *which eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man, the things which Thou, O God, hast prepared for them that love Thee.*	knew: for had they known it they would not have crucified the LORD of Glory: but as it is written, "*eye* (ὰ ὀφθαλμὸς) *hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him.*"

It requires small critical knowledge to see which of the three passages has furnished quotations for the other two. Now let us examine the quotations, apparently from the Old Testament, in this chapter of S. Clement; and first with regard to that beginning, "Behold, the Lord." It looks at first sight like a plain quotation from the Prophets. But on referring to the margin I find that the commentators are not satisfied that they have found any single text which will fit. They have therefore given two references. I tabulate them here:—

S. CLEMENT.	OLD TESTAMENT.
Behold, the LORD, and His reward is before His face to render to every man according to his works.	Behold, the LORD GOD will come with a strong hand, and His arm shall rule for Him: behold, His reward is with Him, and His work before Him.—*Isa.* xl. 10. Behold, the LORD hath proclaimed unto the end of the world, Say ye to the daughter of Zion, Behold, thy salvation cometh; behold, His reward is with Him, and His work before Him.—*Isa.* lxii. 11.

There is nothing more here than a certain general resemblance. The first part of the sentence in S. Clement seems to be a reminiscence of these passages in Isaiah. The latter half is literally word for word identical with the expression in the Liturgy.

S. CLEMENT.	LITURGY.
Ἀποδοῦναι ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ. See Epistle 2. Ch. xi. (already quoted.) Πιστὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ ἐπαγγειλάμενος τὰς ἀντιμισθίας ἀποδιδόναι ἑκάστῳ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ. (Here we get the element of the μισθὸς.)	(Ὅταν μέλλῃ) ἀποδιδόναι ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ.

Now for the other quotation. This, too, has embarrassed the

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commentators. It is from no ſingle paſſage of Scripture. Two paſſages are quoted as furniſhing the original. I here tabulate them, as I have done with the firſt :—

S. Clement.	Old Testament.
Ten thouſand times ten thouſand ſtood by Him, and thouſand thouſands miniſtered to Him, and they vociferated, Holy, holy, holy, Lord of Sabaoth, the whole creation is full of His glory.	A fiery ſtream iſſued and came forth from before Him: thouſand thouſands miniſtered unto Him, and ten thouſand times ten thouſand ſtood before Him: the judgment was ſet, &c.—*Dan.* vii. 10. And one (ſeraph) cried unto another, and ſaid, Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hoſts: the whole earth is full of His glory. And the poſts of the door moved, &c.—*Iſai.* vi. 3.

The paſſage in S. Clement is, you ſee, a combination of theſe two texts :—an anthem compiled from them. A verſe is taken from Daniel and another from Iſaiah, and both are linked together by the expreſſion, *and they vociferated* (καὶ ἐκέκραγον). The materials are evidently from the Old Teſtament, but the compoſition of them is new and artificial. Is this anthem the original compoſition of S. Clement? Examine this paſſage from the Liturgy of S. Mark, and judge for yourſelf. (S. James's Liturgy contains it alſo, but at greater length; I therefore ſelect S. Mark in preference.)

Thou art above all power, and dominion, and might, and principality, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but in that which is to come. *Round Thee ſtand thouſand thouſands, and ten thouſand times ten thouſand armies of holy angels and archangels.* Round Thee Thy two moſt honourable creatures, the cherubim with many eyes, and the ſeraphim with ſix wings, with twain whereof they cover their feet, with twain their face, and with twain they do fly; *and vociferate* (κέκραγεν) one to the other, with inceſſant voices and perpetual praiſe, ſinging, vociferating, glorifying, crying (ᾄδοντα, βοῶντα, δεξολογοῦντα, κεκραγότα), and ſaying to the Majeſty of Thy glory the triumphal Triſagion :—*Holy, holy, holy, Lord of Sabaoth: heaven and earth are full of Thy holy glory.*—*S. Mark's Liturgy*, p. 21.

The quotation in S. Clement is ſimply the backbone of this paſſage. Clear away the redundancies and you have S. Clement's very words. I have written them in italics in the above paſſage from S. Mark's Liturgy. Notice, too, how the diction of the paſſage in S. Clement breathes of the Liturgy, eſpecially in this ſentence :—

Καὶ ἡμεῖς οὖν ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συναχθέντες, τῇ συνειδήσει, ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος βοήσωμεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκτενῶς, εἰς τὸ μετόχους ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι τῶν μεγάλων καὶ ἐνδόξων ἐπαγγελιῶν αὐτοῦ.

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Ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ—ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ—τῇ συνειδήσει—βοήσωμεν—ἐκτενῶς—μετόχους ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι, κ.τ.λ. All these are eminently Liturgical phrases. And it seems to me that any one denying the exclusively Liturgical application of the passage evacuates of its meaning the sentence about the angels; whose presence and assistance at the Holy Eucharist the Church recognizes and has ever striven to realize. S. Clement merely paraphrases, in a few words, the preface to the Trisagion, when he says:—

Κατανοήσωμεν τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ πῶς τῷ θελήματι αὐτοῦ λειτουργοῦσιν παριστῶτες.

The Liturgy (S. James) specifies "angels, archangels, thrones, "dominations, principalities, virtues; the many-eyed cherubim, "and the seraphim with six wings, with twain of which, &c. "&c." at great length: (see also in S. Mark's Liturgy)—τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος τῶν ἀγγέλων,"—"all the company of heaven,"—includes them all.

It may be worth a passing notice to observe that the slight difference in the phraseology of the Trisagion tells in favour of the proof that S. Clement quotes the Liturgic version.

πλήρης πᾶσα ἡ γῆ, says Isaiah.
πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ, say all the three Liturgies,—S. James, S. Mark, S. Clement. (And the Ambrosian hymn follows them.)
πλήρης πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις, says S. Clement here.

In the chapter before he had said:—

The Creator . . . by His Almighty power established *the heavens* and adorned them with His incomprehensible wisdom: and He separated *the earth* from the surrounding water, and settled it on the firm foundation of His own will.

So that we see the signification of S. Clement's κτίσις.

Neither is there any difficulty in the expression, "*For he says*," as if that necessarily identified the quotation with a text from the inspired Scriptures. S. Paul uses the same phrase for introducing quotations of unquestionably ecclesiastical character, *e. g.*:—

Wherefore he saith (Διὸ λέγει),
Awake thou that sleepest,
And arise from the dead,
And CHRIST shall give thee light.—*Eph.* v. 14.

In this latter instance the margin, with some embarrassment, suggests, "IT *saith*."

It is noticeable that, in the first of the three quotations in this

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thirty-fourth chapter, the words prefacing it are, προλέγει γὰρ ἡμῖν; the quotation being probably Liturgical. In the ſecond, which is undoubtedly compiled originally from holy Scripture, the words are, λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή. And in the caſe of the third ("eye hath not"), which is unqueſtionably Liturgical, the words are, λέγει γὰρ, "*it* ſays," to adopt the marginal reading as quoted above. Thus much for the paſſage itſelf. Now let us ſound the chapter before and the chapter after, and ſee if we can find any further coincidences. You will agree with me that, conſidering the nature of the proofs already adduced, any additional evidence will be of moſt powerful value.

Now, immediately following the Triſagion, in the Liturgy of S. James, and preceding the words of Inſtitution, there occurs a prayer, the key-note of which is *the Fall of man from the image of God in which he was created, and the reſtoration of that image by Chriſt, who "with His holy, and undefiled, and blameleſs, and immortal hands took Bread, &c."* I write out the prominent parts of the two paſſages in parallel columns:—

1 S. Clement. xxxiii.	Liturgy of S. James. Page 50 (Engliſh.)
For the Creator (δημιουργὸς) Himſelf and Maſter of all rejoices in His works. For by His Almighty power He eſtabliſhed the Heavens, and adorned them by His incomprehenſible wiſdom . . . . . Above all with *His holy and blameleſs hands* He formed man, the moſt excellent of His creatures, and the greateſt, as endowed with reaſon, *the impreſs of His own image. For thus ſays God, Let us make man after our own image and likeneſs.* And God made man, &c. (of whom Christ became the ὑπογραμμὸς: and ſo the chapter ends.)	Holy art Thou, O omnipotent, Almighty, good, tremendous, long-ſuffering and of great compaſſion towards Thy creatures: Thou Who *didſt make man from the earth after Thine image and likeneſs*, and didſt give him the delight of Paradiſe, and when he . . . fell, Thou didſt not . . . leave him, but didſt . . . ſend forth into the world Thine only-begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ, that He might come *and renew and reſtore in us Thine image*, Who . . . in the night wherein He was betrayed . . . taking bread in His *holy, and undefiled, and blameleſs, and immortal hands*, and looking up to Heaven . . . He gave thanks, &c.

The paſſages, you ſee, are identical in argument, and very ſimilar in expreſſion. Notice the phraſe, "*blameleſs hands.*" A man uſing, on his own invention, ſuch an expreſſion as the ἄμωμοι χεῖρες of his God would be, at leaſt, bold. But the Liturgy applies it diſtinctly to the action of the Man Christ at the Euchariſt. S. Clement, having the Liturgy before his mind, and thinking of Christ in the capacity of Creator of that mankind whom He was to recreate in the Euchariſt, applies to

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the firſt act a term borrowed from the ſecond. This ſeems to me unqueſtionable. Here are the parallel Greek texts :—

S. CLEMENT.	LITURGY OF S. JAMES.
Ἄνθρωπον ταῖς ἱεραῖς καὶ ἀμώμοις χερσὶν ἔπλασεν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ εἰκόνος χαρακτῆρα.	Περὶ τὸ πλάσμα τὸ σὸν· ὁ ποιήσας ἀπὸ γῆς ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα σὴν καὶ ὁμοίωσιν. Λαβὼν τὸν ἄρτον ἐπὶ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἀχράντων καὶ ἀμώμων καὶ ἀθανάτων αὐτοῦ χειρῶν . . . εἶδωκεν, κ. τ. λ.

This paſſage in S. Clement begins with the title δημιουργὸς as applied to GOD. He conſtantly uſes it all through his Epiſtle. The Liturgies, too, uſe it conſtantly. Would S. Clement, in face of the Gnoſtic hereſy, have ventured thus to uſe the term, unleſs thoroughly adopted and ſanctioned by Liturgical uſe? This by the way.

So much for the chapter preceding the thirty-fourth: now for the chapter which follows it. Here, too, are the footprints of the Liturgy, and imprinted in right and even order and ſequence (as, indeed, in the caſe of the other paſſages).

Now I cannot in the limited ſpace of a letter do juſtice to this chapter. The whole muſt be read to be appreciated. The ſoil of the original Greek is perfectly volcanic with Euchariſtic phraſes and turns of expreſſion. After concluding the laſt chapter with the quotation "eye hath not ſeen, &c." he continues thus :—

How bleſſed and wonderful are *the gifts* (δῶρα) of GOD, beloved? Life in immortality (ζωὴ ἐν ἀθανασίᾳ,—ſee S. Ignat. Eph. xx. end), ſplendour in juſtification, truth in confidence (παῤῥησίᾳ), faith in truſt, temperance in ſanctification, and all theſe things fall within our underſtanding (διάνοιαν). What then are "the things which are prepared for them that await Him?" The CREATOR and FATHER of ages, *the All-holy* One Himſelf, (ὁ παντάγιος αὐτὸς) knows their abundance and their beauty. Let us, therefore, ſtrive to be found in the number of thoſe who await Him, that we may ſhare in the promiſed gifts (ὅπως μεταλάβωμεν τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων δωρεῶν). But how ſhall this be, beloved? If the powers of our minds (ἡ διάνοια) be firmly ſet on faith towards GOD. If we ſearch out what is well-pleaſing and acceptable to Him, if we ſhall perform the rites which are due (ἐὰν ἐπιτελέσωμεν τὰ ἀνήκοντα τῇ ἀμώμῳ βουλήσει αὐτοῦ) to His blameleſs Will, and ſhall follow the path of truth, *having caſt away from ourſelves* every injuſtice and lawleſſneſs, *all avarice* (πᾶσαν πλεονεξίαν), ſtripes, evil manners, and *guile* (δέλεαρ), whiſpering and backbitings, impiety, pride and arrogance, *vain-glory*, (κενοδοξίαν) and churliſhneſs. They who do theſe things are hateful to GOD. —1 *Clem.* xxxv.

In the correſponding place in the Liturgy we find the following paſſage. Addreſſing GOD, the prieſt prays thus :—

Thou haſt received in Thy goodneſs the *gifts* (δῶρα), preſents, fruits, that have been offered before Thee for a ſweet-ſmelling ſavour, and haſt been pleaſed to ſanctify and perfect them (ἁγιάσαι καὶ τελειῶσαι) by the grace of Thy

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CHRIST and the viſitation of Thy *All-holy* SPIRIT (παναγίου σου πνεύματος). Sanctify (ἁγίασον) alſo, O LORD, our ſouls, bodies, and ſpirits: touch *the powers of our minds* (τὰς διανοίας), ſearch out our conſciences, *and caſt out from us* every evil thought, every impure imagination, every baſe luſt, . . . all falſehood and *guile* (δόλον), every worldly diſtraction, *all avarice* (πᾶσαν πλεονεξίαν), *all vain-glory* (πᾶσαν κενοδοξίαν), all idleneſs, . . . all motion of body and ſoul at variance with the Will of thy Holineſs.

There ſeem to me to be many points of reſemblance here; they can ſcarcely be accidental, I think, eſpecially conſidering the poſition of the two paſſages. I cannot produce in writing the conviction which influences one who comes upon theſe coincidences in ſearching for them. One reads a paſſage in S. Clement and detects a clauſe or a phraſe identical with ſome expreſſions in the Liturgy. One reads on, and gradually another phaſe of argument or exhortation unfolds itſelf from the pages of the Fathers. One turns anxiouſly and nervouſly to the Liturgy, to ſee whether ſimilar matter follows there, too, in due ſequence. And there, ſure enough, it is, juſt in the very place where one looks for it! It is true that in many of theſe paſſages the reſemblance may, at firſt ſight, ſeem fanciful. I am quite aware of that. But I argue that the combination of them in the order and ſequence in which one finds them cannot be accidental, but muſt be deſigned; and beſides, that in many inſtances the actual reſemblance is anything but fanciful. Of courſe, I do not mean to ſpeak thus of a direct quotation, ſuch as thoſe in Chapter xxxiv. In ſuch caſes, I think, the evidences ſupply poſitive proof. But in chapters ſuch as this thirty-fifth, the reſemblances may ſeem to ſome accidental, at firſt ſight. Not ſo however, I think, on further examination. Look at the terms uſed. Where did S. Clement get that word πανάγιος, which he uſes ſo confidently?—ὁ πανάγιος αὐτὸς, as though he wiſhed to ſtrengthen the idea by the uſe of a title familiar to all. But how familiar? It is not a Scriptural term; but the Liturgies all teem with it, long before it became a diſtinctive epithet of the Virgin. Hence, then, its uſe by S. Clement here.

Notice, too, the identical ſubſtantives uſed to expreſs the paſſions, introduced by the ſame idea of "caſting out." Laſtly, notice how S. Clement concludes his exhortation. No one can doubt of the thoroughly Euchariſtic ſenſe of the whole when he reads this concluſion. Immediately after the paſſage above rendered, he gives (from Ps. l.) a quotation ending, "The "ſacrifice of praiſe (θυσία αἰνέσεως) ſhall glorify me, and there is "the way, whereby I ſhall ſhow to him the ſalvation of GOD." He then ſums up. "This is the way, beloved, whereby we "find JESUS CHRIST our ſalvation, the High Prieſt of our

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"oblations, the Defender and Helper of our infirmity;" and so on in the same strain.

Before leaving this passage in the Epistle of S. Clement, I will venture to ask this question. If these passages, three in number, from the Apostolic Fathers do not quote the Liturgy in the text, "What eye hath not seen, &c." what do they quote? Do they quote Isaiah? I tabulate them side by side with the passage in Isaiah, which is the only original which has ever been suggested for the quotation in S. Paul.

Isaiah. lxiv. 4.	*S. Paul.* 1 Cor. ii. 9.	*1 S. Clement.* xxxiv.	*2 S. Clement.* Chap. xi.	*Acts of S. Polycarp.* Chap. ii.	*Liturgy of S. James.* Page 63 (Greek
Ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος οὐκ ἠκούσαμεν, οὐδὲ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἡμῶν εἶδον Θεὸν πλὴν σοῦ, καὶ τὰ ἔργα σου, ἃ ποιήσεις τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν ἔλεον.	Ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε, καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσε, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἃ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ Θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν.	Ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδεν, καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσεν, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ὅσα ἡτοίμασεν τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν αὐτόν·	Ὃς οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσεν, οὐδὲ ὀφθαλμὸς ἶδεν, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου ἀνέβη.	Ἃ οὔτε οὖς ἤκουσεν, οὔτε ὀφθαλμὸς ἶδεν, οὔτε ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου ἀνέβη.	Ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε, καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσε, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἃ ἡτοίμασας, ὁ Θεὸς, τοῖς ἀγαπῶσί σε.
From eternity have we not heard, nor have our eyes seen, a god beside Thee, and Thy works which Thou shalt do to them that wait for mercy.	Which eye hath not seen, and ear hath not heard, and upon the heart of man hath not ascended, what GOD hath prepared for them that love Him.	Eye hath not seen, and ear hath not heard, and upon the heart of man hath not ascended, how many things He hath prepared for them that wait for Him.	Which ear hath not heard, nor eye hath seen, nor upon the heart of man, hath ascended.	Which neither ear hath heard, nor eye hath seen, nor upon the heart of man hath ascended.	Which eye hath not seen, and ear hath not heard, and upon the heart of man hath not ascended, what Thou, O God, hast prepared for them that love Thee.

It is impossible to suppose that they quoted this passage in Isaiah. There is hardly a word or an idea the same. No criticism can be strained to admit it.

So they then quote S. Paul?

But S. Paul himself expressly asserts that the passage is not his own, but quoted; and, indeed, puts the construction of his sentence to some inconvenience, in order to introduce it abruptly and faithfully as a borrowed quotation.

It comes, then, to this.

These Fathers all quote what S. Paul quotes. They all use the same phraseology with one another. Yet nowhere in Scripture is the original text quoted to be found, nor any in any reasonable degree resembling it. There seems to me to be no alternative. All (including S. Paul) *must* quote the Liturgy, the one common, daily-used, possession of all.

It is even the case that of all the quotations that in S. Paul comes nearest in diction to the Liturgy. All the others have antecedents with which their relatives agree. His has none.

Καθὼς γέγραπται· ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε.—*S. Paul.*
Τὰς ἐπαγγελίας, ἃς οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσεν.—2 *S. Clement* xi.

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Τὰ . . ἀγαθὰ, ἃ ὄυτε οὖς ἤκουσεν.—*Acts of S. Polycarp.*
1 S. Clement xxxiv. quotes without relative.

And the Liturgies:—

Τὰ ῥηματα, ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε.—*S. James.*
Τὰ τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν σου ἀγαθὰ, ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε.—*S. Mark.*

All, you ſee, except S. Paul, weave the quotation into their ſentences. He is ſo anxious to acknowledge the quotation that, in order to keep the reference clear, he preſerves the article as it ſtands in the Liturgy: a conſtruction which makes the ſentence appear very harſh, and to any one unacquainted with its faithful allegiance to the Liturgy ſo inexplicable, that the tranſlators of the Bible have actually ventured to omit it altogether.

I think, then, that we may very fairly aſk thoſe who do not allow the quotation of the Liturgies by S. Paul:—How, then, do you explain this phenomenon from the Apoſtolic Fathers? Give us *any* other ſolution, probable or improbable. We ſee none, and we venture to think that none can be found.

The next paſſage which arreſted me is in the ſecond chapter of the ſame Epiſtle. There is no direct quotation in it; but, as it ſeems to me, a great many alluſions. Suppoſing the Liturgies to be already in exiſtence at the time when the Epiſtle was written, the alluſions are far too pointed to fail in reminding its readers of their Liturgy: ſuppoſing the Liturgies not to be in exiſtence, the coincidences ſeem to me remarkable enough to call for ſome other explanation, if any could be found. It appears to me to be exactly the ſort of paſſage which a man would write who is writing to general readers, both catechumens and faithful, yet who wiſhes to uſe the moſt ſolemn prieſtly perſuaſion to thoſe of them who were in a poſition to underſtand it; without encroaching on the forbidden ground fenced in by the *Diſciplina Arcani.*

The ſentence in queſtion opens with a bold and metaphorical ſubſtantive; ſo bold and metaphorical, indeed, as at once to fix the attention.

Being furniſhed with *the viaticum of God* (τοῖς ἐφοδίοις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀρκούμενοι), and hearkening diligently to His word, ye were enlarged in your bowels, and His Paſſion was before your eyes.

Such are the words with which S. Clement begins this exhortation in the ſecond chapter of his Firſt Epiſtle. Now, what are theſe ἐφόδια τοῦ Θεοῦ,—this *viaticum of God?* Wake, not ſeeing the Liturgical drift of the diction, does not venture upon a literal tranſlation. He renders it, "Being content with *the*

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portion which God had diſpenſed to you." And Profeſſor Chevalier follows him literally. But the primary and unqueſtionably proper meaning of ἐφόδια is not merely a portion, but a portion prepared for uſe on a journey,—a "*viaticum.*" Here I take it to mean the Euchariſt plain and ſimple: the real food which the Chriſtian traveller receives from his GOD, and which is here coupled with the hearing of the Word: the latter poſſibly uſed in the ſenſe of Juſtin Martyr for the prayer of conſecration; poſſibly, however, generally for the hearing of the Scriptures.

But how does S. Clement come to uſe this word ἐφόδια for the Euchariſtic food? It is no common word: it is not Scriptural; it does not occur in the New Teſtament anywhere; and the metaphor involved in it is no common ordinary metaphor. Yet it is introduced without comment or qualification by S. Clement, ſuch as he would almoſt certainly have uſed if the idea had been his own and newly coined.

The fact is, however, that the word is not his own. It occurs in the ſenſe of the *Viaticum of Life* both in the Liturgy of S. Mark and in that of S. James. Here are the two paſſages:—

We give Thee thanks, Maſter, LORD, and our GOD, for the reception of Thy holy, ſpotleſs, immortal, and heavenly myſteries, which Thou haſt given us for the well-being, and ſanctification, and ſalvation of our ſouls and bodies; and we pray and beſeech Thee, good LORD and lover of men, to grant that the participation of the holy Body and precious Blood of Thine only-begotten Son, may be to faith that ſhall not be aſhamed, to love unfeigned, to the fulfilment of piety, to the turning away of the enemy, to the keeping Thy commandments, *to a proviſion on our way to eternal life* (εἰς ἐφόδιον ζωῆς αἰωνίου), to an acceptable defence before the fearful tribunal of Thy CHRIST; by whom, and with whom, &c."—*Lit. of S. Mark*, p. 29. (Eng. edit. Neale.)

Again and again, and evermore in peace, let us make our ſupplications to the LORD. That the participation in His ſanctification may be to us for the turning away of every evil thing, *for a viaticum of eternal life* (εἰς ἐφόδιον ζωῆς αἰωνίου), for the participation and gift of the HOLY GHOST.—*Lit. of S. James*, p. 63.

Such, then, is the Liturgical meaning of "the ἐφόδια of God." Such alſo, without doubt, is its meaning here. For if it be not ſo, and we are to accept the ordinary tranſlation, you will notice how weak and vapid the ſentence becomes; with its mild beginning ſo utterly diſcordant with the bold ſignificance of the other clauſes.

I now proceed to give the whole paſſage in S. Clement, and will then point out what ſeem to me to be the points of contact between it and the Liturgies:—

Being furniſhed with *the viaticum of God*, and ſedulouſly paying attention

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to His words, ye were enlarged (ἐστερησμένοι) in your bowels, and *His Paſſion* (τὰ παθήματα αὐτοῦ) *was before your eyes.* Thus *peace* deep and ſoothing was given to all, and an inſatiable yearning towards *the performance of good deeds*, and *a full effuſion of the Holy Spirit* was upon all: and being full of holy counſel in good *confidence* (προθυμία), with pious *truſt* (πεποιθήσεως), *you ſtretched forth your hands to the Almighty God* (ἐξετείνατε τὰς χεῖρας ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸν παντοκράτορα Θεὸν), *ſupplicating Him to become propitious* (ἵλεως), *if at all you have ſinned in ignorance* (εἴτι ἄκοντες ἡμάρτετε). And there was a conteſt to you both by day and by night in behalf of all the brotherhood, that with mercy and conſcience (μετ' ἐλέους καὶ συνειδήσεως) *the number of His elect* may be ſaved. Ye were ſincere and without offence towards each other: not mindful of injuries. *All ſedition and all ſchiſm* was an abomination to you; you grieved over the *tranſgreſſions* (παραπτώμασιν) of your neighbours; you eſteemed their deficiencies your own; you were without repentance in *the performance of all good works, being ready for every deed.* Being adorned with all-virtuous and reverential converſation (σεβασμίῳ πολιτείᾳ) ye performed all your offices (πάντα ἐπετελεῖτε) in the fear of Him: the injunctions and commandments of the LORD were written on the breadth of your heart. All glory and enlargement was given to you, and ſo was fulfilled that which is written:—"My beloved did eat and drink, he was enlarged and waxed fat, and he kicked."—1 *S. Clem.* ii. iii.

Ye were enlarged in your bowels and His Paſſion was before your eyes—ἐστερησμένοι ἦτε τοῖς σπλάγχνοις, καὶ τὰ παθήματα αὐτοῦ ἦ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ὑμῶν.

How was the Paſſion of the LORD before the eyes of the Corinthian Chriſtians, unleſs in the Euchariſtic repreſentation of it? He does not ſay in a general way "the πάθη," but "the πάθηματα." He will have them remember τῶν ζωοποιῶν αὐτοῦ παθημάτων, τοῦ σωτηρίου σταυροῦ, καὶ τοῦ θανάτου, κ. τ. λ.—(*Lit. of S. James*, 62.) Keep them before their mind's eye here, that hereafter they may receive the reward which eye hath not ſeen. This gives an adequate reaſon for their being ἐστερησμένοι τοῖς σπλάγχνοις, which otherwiſe is not ſo apparent. Without an Euchariſtic application the phraſe ſeems too ſtrong for its place. Between the ἐφόδια and the παθήματα we can well underſtand its force in an Euchariſtic ſenſe.

Thus (he proceeds) peace deep and ſoothing was given to all—οὕτως εἰρήνη βαθεῖα καὶ λιπαρὰ ἐδίδοτο πᾶσιν.

"*Thus.*" How "thus?" Peace could not be *given* by the contemplation of the Paſſion, but by the participation in it. Notice the hiatus. The knowledge of the myſtery (which is ſupplied by the Liturgy) fills this hiatus with the communion of the faithful, to which S. Clement could not allude before the catechumens. From this communion flowed the peace "deep and ſoothing" which was given by GOD.

The adjectives βαθεῖα καὶ λιπαρὰ, as applied to peace, ſeemed to me very peculiar. What is a λιπαρὰ εἰρήνη? It appeared as though the terms were quoted from ſome paſſage in

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which they bore a peculiar alluſive meaning. The term λιπαρὰ eſpecially, of which, perhaps, the literal meaning is "*fat*," directed one's mind to a ſacrificial connection at once. So I turned with confident expectation to the Liturgies, thinking that I ſhould certainly find the original uſe of the word there. I was however diſappointed. I do not think that the word occurs at all in the Liturgies of S. James, S. Mark, S. Clement, or S. Baſil. Can you give me any clue to its uſe anywhere in this ſenſe? The words may be noted anyhow for future ſearch.

And now comes the really ſtrong part of the quotation. S. Clement, after mentioning the ardent longing (πόθος ἀκόρεστος) for good deeds,—an applicable phraſe to thoſe whoſe love had been kindled by the reception of the myſteries, but ſcarcely fitting the ſober routine of daily life,—proceeds to ſay that a "full effuſion (ἔκχυσις) of the HOLY SPIRIT was (ἐγίνετο) upon all." At once we turn to the Invocation of the HOLY GHOST in the Liturgies, and here, ſure enough, is a moſt remarkable circumſtance. For within the bounds of the Invocation and the Interceſſion, which are appended to it (about three pages), occur all the principal phraſes and more than all the leading ideas of this paſſage in S. Clement. I ſay more than all the leading ideas, for the ſubſtance and poſition of theſe ideas in the Epiſtle occur in ſuch a manner that they might almoſt do duty as an analyſis of the more expanded diction of the Liturgy of S. James. I am convinced that the one paſſage could not have been written without an acquaintance with the other. I will give the coincident paſſages in the Liturgy, firſt in their order:—

Prieſt (repeats thrice).—For Thy people and Thy Church *ſupplicate* (ἱκετεύουσι) Thee.

People.—Have mercy upon us, LORD GOD, *Father Almighty.*

Have mercy upon us, *God Almighty* (ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ).

Have mercy upon us, O GOD, according to Thy great *mercy* (ἔλεος), and *ſend forth upon us*, and upon theſe propoſed gifts Thy *all-holy Spirit*, the LORD and life-giving; ſharer of the throne and of the kingdom with Thee, GOD and Father, and Thine only-begotten Son, conſubſtantial and co-eternal, Who ſpake in the Law and the Prophets and Thy New Teſtament, Who deſcended in the form of a dove on our LORD JESUS CHRIST in the river Jordan, and reſted on Him, who deſcended upon Thy holy Apoſtles in the likeneſs of fiery tongues in the upper room of the holy and glorious Sion, at the day of Pentecoſt: *ſend down the ſame moſt Holy Ghoſt, Lord, upon us*, and upon theſe holy and propoſed gifts, that coming upon them with His holy, and good, and glorious preſence, He may hallow and make this bread the holy Body of Thy CHRIST.

People.—Amen.

Prieſt.—And this cup *the precious Blood* (αἷμα τίμιον) of Thy CHRIST.

People.—Amen.

Prieſt.—That they may be to thoſe who partake of them for remiſſion of ſins and for eternal life, for ſanctification of ſouls and bodies, *for bringing*

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forth good works; for the confirmation of Thy Holy Catholic Church, which Thou haſt founded upon the rock of faith, that the gates of hell may not prevail againſt it; freeing it from *all hereſy and ſcandals*, and from them that work wickedneſs, and preſerving it till the conſummation of all things. We offer them alſo to Thee, O LORD, for Thy holy places, which Thou haſt glorified by the divine apparition of Thy CHRIST, and by the advent of Thine all-holy Spirit: eſpecially for the glorious Sion the Mother of all Churches. And for Thy holy Catholic Apoſtolic Church throughout the world. Supply it, O LORD, even now, with the plentiful gifts of the HOLY GHOST. Remember alſo, O LORD, our holy fathers and brothers in it, and the biſhops. . . . Remember alſo, O LORD, every city and region. . . . Remember, O LORD, Chriſtians voyaging, . . . our fathers and brethren. Remember, O LORD, the ſick. . . . Remember, O LORD, every Chriſtian ſoul in trouble and diſtreſs. . . . Remember, O LORD, all for good; *have pity*, LORD, on all; *be reconciled to all of us* (πᾶσιν ἡμῖν διαλλάγηθι); give peace to the multitude of Thy people; diſſipate ſcandals; put an end to wars; *ſtay the riſing up of hereſies*; *give us Thy peace* and Thy love, O GOD our Saviour. . . . Remember, LORD, them that bear fruit, and *do good deeds* in Thy holy Churches. . . . Remember alſo, O LORD, . . . the deacons . . . grant them blameleſſneſs of life . . . that they may find mercy and grace with all Thy ſaints . . . our anceſtors and fathers, patriarchs, prophets, and *every juſt ſpirit made perfect in the faith of Thy Chriſt*. Remember, LORD, the GOD of the ſpirits and all fleſh, the orthodox whom we have commemorated, *from righteous Abel* unto this day. . . . *And direct, O Lord, in peace the ends of our lives*, ſo as to be Chriſtian and well-pleaſing to Thee and blameleſs; collecting us *under the feet of Thine elect*, when Thou wilt, and as Thou wilt, only without ſhame and offence. Through, &c.

Deacon.—And for the peace and ſtability of the whole world, . . . and *for the people that ſtand around, and for all, both men and women.*

People.—*For all, both men and women.*

Prieſt.—For which thing's ſake, to us, alſo, as being good and the lover of men.

People.—Remit, forgive, pardon, O GOD, *our offences, voluntary and involuntary* (τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν, τὰ ἑκούσια, τὰ ἀκούσια), in deed and in word, *by knowledge and ignorance*; *by night and by day*; in mind and intention; forgive us all, as being good and the lover of men.

Prieſt.—Through the grace, and pity, and love, &c.—*Lit. of S. James*, p. 52. (Engliſh.)

There are very many points of contact here. I mark the principal ones by italics. As I have tranſcribed both the paſſages at length, I leave the compariſon to yourſelf. I add here the Greek of part of the paſſage in S. Clement in parallel columns with the correſponding paſſage in the Liturgy:—

EPISTLE.

Οὕτως εἰρήνη βαθεῖα καὶ λιπαρὰ ἐδέδοτο πᾶσιν καὶ ἀπόριστος πόθος εἰς ἀγαθοποιΐαν, καὶ πλήρης πνεύματος ἁγίου ἔκχυσις ἐπὶ πάντας ἐγίνετο· μεστοί τε ὁσίας βουλῆς ἐν ἀγαθῇ προθυμίᾳ μετ' εὐσεβοῦς πεποιθήσεως ἐξετείνατε τὰς χεῖρας ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸν παντοκράτορα Θεὸν ἱκετεύοντες

LITURGY.

Ὁ γὰρ λαός σου καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία σου ἱκετεύουσί σε. . . Ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ. . Ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, ὁ Θεός, κατὰ τὸ μέγα ἔλεός σου . . τὴν σὴν εἰρήνην χάρισαι ἡμῖν. . . . ἐπισυνάγων ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν σου. . . . . Ἄνες, ἄφες, συγχώ-

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EPISTLE.

αὐτὸν ἵλεως γενέσθαι εἴτε ἄκοντες ἡμάρτετε. Ἀγὼν ἦν ὑμῖν ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς ὑπὲρ πάσης τῆς ἀδελφότητος, εἰς τὸ σώζεσθαι μετ' ἐλέους καὶ συνειδήσεως τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ (. . ἐπὶ τοῖς παραπτώμασιν, κ. τ. λ.)

LITURGY.

ὅσιε, ὁ Θεὸς, τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν, τὰ ἑκούσια τὰ ἀκούσια· τὰ ἐν ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ, τὰ ἐν γνώσει καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ· τὰ ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ, κ. τ. λ.

This ſhows many of the verbal coincidences. Notice the uſes of that term ἵλεως in the Epiſtle. Surely if any word is diſtinctly and emphatically Liturgical as uſed for an epithet of the ALMIGHTY, this is; ἱκετεύειν, too, and ὁ παντοκράτωρ Θεὸς literally transferred. The entreaty, too, for pardon for ſins of ignorance ſo earneſtly put forth in the Liturgy; here it is,—εἴτε ἄκοντες ἡμάρτετε. The idea of the independent efficacy of ſins of ignorance, the inherent ſinfulneſs of ſin, I mean, independently of the mind which conceives it, is not ſo ſtrongly and plainly taught in holy Scripture as here. Not ſo plainly, anyhow, as to prevent Pelagius from claiming the ſupport of Scripture for the oppoſite doctrine. But in the Liturgy forgiveneſs for ſuch ſins is excluſively implored in this prayer, and in the Epiſtle S. Clement alludes to ſuch alone and none other. This ſeems to me very ſtrong evidence. Then in both the ſame keynote is ſtruck about the good works. In both the ſame word, παραπτώματα, is uſed for ſins. In both hereſy and ſchiſm are earneſtly deprecated. In both εἰρήνη and ἔλεος. In both the brotherhood of the faithful is ſpecified as the object of interceſſory prayer.

There was a conteſt to you both by day and night in behalf of all the brotherhood.—*Ep. of S. Clem.*

And in behalf of the people who ſtand around, and in behalf of all, both men and women. (People reſpond.) In behalf of all, both men and women.—*Liturgy of S. James.*

Neither is it without ſignificance that the mention of Abel follows both paſſages. In the Liturgy memorial is made of him as one of the holy dead. In the Epiſtle his ſacrifice is alluded to. There is, therefore, no ſimilarity in the alluſion. Still the fact is noteworthy in combination with the other evidences, I think.

You will notice, however, that I have emphaſiſed ſome expreſſions in the Liturgy which have no correſponding reſemblances in the Epiſtle, *e. g.* :—

Be reconciled to all of us.

Direct, LORD, in peace the ends of our lives, ſo as to be Chriſtian and well-pleaſing to Thee, and blameleſs.

Every juſt ſpirit made perfect in the faith of Thy CHRIST.

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Now in explaining the reaſon for my underlining theſe expreſſions, I am happy to ſay that I have it in my power to call your attention to a fact in every way confirmatory of my belief, that theſe directions of S. Clement are not mere hap-hazard moral exhortations, but were deſignedly ſo worded by him as to recall the words of the Liturgy to the minds of the faithful without violating the *Diſciplina Arcani.* And the additional reaſon for my believing ſo is this. In another paſſage, much later in the Epiſtle, he repeats his words "ſupplicating Him to become propitious," and with them furniſhes theſe additional points of identity with the ſame paſſage in the Liturgy. Here is the ſentence:—

Let us then remove this (ſedition) ſpeedily; and let us fall down before the LORD and weep, *ſupplicating Him that becoming propitious He may be reconciled to us*, and may reinſtate us in the reverend (σεμνὴν) and holy courſe of brotherly love (ἱκετεύοντες αὐτὸν ὅπως ἵλεως γενόμενος ἐπικαταλλαγῇ ἡμῖν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν σεμνὴν τῆς φιλαδελφίας ἡμῶν ἀγωγὴν ἀποκαταστήσῃ ἡμᾶς) . . . . . Many gates then being opened, this gate in righteouſneſs is the gate in CHRIST, at which bleſſed are all they who enter, and *who direct their way* in holineſs and righteouſneſs *bringing all their work to its end without confuſion* (ἐν ᾗ μακάριοι οἱ εἰσελθόντες, καὶ κατευθύνοντες τὴν πορείαν αὐτῶν ἐν ὁσιότητι καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, ἀταράχως πάντα ἐπιτελοῦντες).

Here we have, beſides the "ſupplicating Him, &c." the "*Be reconciled to all of us.*" In the Liturgy, πᾶσιν ἡμῖν διαλλάγηθε: in the Epiſtle, ὅπως ἵλ. γεν. ἐπικαταλλαγῇ ἡμῖν. Surely this is a very remarkable reſemblance; the more remarkable, as it ſeems to me, becauſe they are both entirely at one in regarding the reconciliation of GOD and man in a different aſpect from that of S. Paul. I do not mean, of courſe, that the doctrine of the one is at variance with that of the other, but that the manner of approaching it is peculiar to the Liturgies and to this Epiſtle of S. Clement. Exception has even been taken to the Clementine Liturgy becauſe it alſo views the reconciliation from this point of view. Here are the words of the Clementine Liturgy:—

That all who ſhall partake of it (Thy blood) may . . . be filled with the HOLY GHOST, may be made worthy of Thy CHRIST, and may obtain everlaſting life: Thou, O LORD ALMIGHTY, being reconciled (καταλλαγέντος) to them.—*Lit. of S. Clement.*

And again, ſtill more ſtrongly:—

The Prieſt (was pleaſed) to be Himſelf the ſacrifice; the Shepherd a ſheep; to appeaſe Thee His GOD and FATHER, to reconcile Thee to the world (τῷ κόσμῳ καταλλαξαι) and deliver all men from the impending wrath.—*Lit. of S. Clement.*

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"Be ye reconciled to GOD," ſays S. Paul, (2 Cor. v. 20.)

"Be Thou reconciled to us," ſays the Liturgy of S. James, agreeing with the Clementine Liturgies.

"That being propitious, He may be reconciled to us," ſays the Epiſtle of S. Clement, following the Liturgies.

People might have attacked the claim of the Liturgies to Apoſtolic antiquity perhaps, alleging the peculiarity of this phraſe. No one, however, doubts the Apoſtolic antiquity of S. Clement's Epiſtle, which contains the identical phraſe. Its uſe, therefore, ſupplies a ſtrong argument to our ſide.

In the next place this paſſage in S. Clement's Epiſtle ſupplies us with the phraſe:—

Who direct their way (κατευθύνοντες, &c.) in holineſs and righteouſneſs, bringing all their work to its end without confuſion.—*Ep. of S. Clem.* xlviii.

Seeing this, I have underlined the ſentence in the above paſſage of the Liturgy of S. James running thus:—

And direct (κατεύθυνον), LORD, O LORD, in peace the ends of our lives, ſo as to be Chriſtian and well-pleaſing to Thee, &c.

I have alſo underlined the words, "*The precious Blood*," (αἷμα τίμιον.) I did ſo becauſe the word τίμιον is the regular acknowledged Liturgical word for the Blood of the SAVIOUR. I do not, of courſe, mean that it is not uſed in Scripture alſo; but that it has been ſo thoroughly adopted into the Liturgies that it is difficult to find a page (in the Anaphoras, anyhow) without it. So much ſo indeed, that, to any one converſant with the Liturgies, the bare mention of the word calls up a hoſt of Euchariſtic aſſociations. Now S. Clement does uſe the word, and, as it ſeems to me, throws the whole force of his exhortation into it alone. He tells the Corinthians to look not merely "to the Precious Blood," but "to the Blood *how precious it is*." This occurs three pages after the firſt paſſage which I quoted (chap. ii.) The paſſage which I now give is in Chapter vii.

Let us gaze earneſtly on the Blood of CHRIST, and behold *how precious* (τίμιον) to GOD is His Blood, which, being ſhed (ἐκχυθὲν) for our ſalvation, obtained the grace of repentance for all the world."—1 *S. Clem.* vii.

To me it ſeems as if S. Clement here took it for granted that the Corinthians were converſant with the term "precious Blood," and that he only had to remind them *how* precious it was. The paſſage ſeemed to me worth noting. My idea may be fanciful, perhaps. I do not inſiſt upon it, nor put the paſſage on a level

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with the other quotations. Yet the Euchariſtic origin of the paſſage receives ſtrange ſupport from a remarkable ſentence in the Firſt Epiſtle of S. Peter (i. 19). There, too, is mention made of the τίμιον αἷμα.

(Ye know that ye were redeemed) *with the precious Blood* (τιμίῳ αἵματι) of CHRIST, as of a lamb without blemiſh and without ſpot.—1 *Pet.* i. 19.

If there be Liturgical quotations in the Epiſtles of S. Peter, we ſhould naturally look for their originals in the Liturgy of S. Mark. Nor do we turn in vain, as it ſeems to me, for the origin of the paſſage in which this expreſſion occurs. It is in the Prayer of the Prieſt, immediately preceding the *Sancta Sanctis*, from which it evidently takes its whole tone. I will tranſcribe the two paſſages in parallel columns.

LITURGY OF S. MARK, p. 27.

GOD of light, Father of life, Author of grace, Framer of the worlds . . . who giveſt to the weakhearted (ὀλιγοψύχοις) who truſt in Thee *thoſe things into which the angels deſire to look*; who haſt raiſed us from the abyſs to light, haſt given us life from death . . . illuminate the eyes of our underſtanding by the viſitation of Thy HOLY SPIRIT, that we may without condemnation (ἀκατακρίτως) partake of this immortal and heavenly food: and ſanctify us wholly, ſoul, body, and ſpirit (quoted in 1 Theſs. v. 23, which paſſage alſo borrows the term ὀλιγοψύχοι, from above; ſee 1 Theſs. v. 14), that with Thy holy diſciples and apoſtles we may ſay to Thee this prayer, Our Father, &c., and make us worthy, O LORD, and Lover of men, with boldneſs, without condemnation (ἀκατακρίτως), *with a pure heart* (ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ), with an enlightened ſoul, with a countenance that needeth not to be aſhamed, with hallowed lips to dare *to call upon Thee* (ἐπικαλεῖσθαί σε), *our Holy God and Father*, &c. (Then follow the Emboliſmus and Prayer of Intenſe Adoration, in which is this petition):—Enlighten our ſoul with the rays of Thy HOLY SPIRIT, that we, being filled with knowledge of Thee, may worthily participate in the good things that are ſet before us, *the ſpotleſs Body and precious Blood*

1 PET. i. 12.

Unto whom it was revealed that not unto themſelves but unto us they did miniſter the things which are now reported (ἀνηγγέλη) unto you by them that have preached the Goſpel unto you (τῶν εὐαγγελισαμένων ὑμᾶς) with the HOLY GHOST ſent down from heaven (ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ἀποσταλέντι ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ; compare the Invocation in the Liturgy, ἐξαπόστειλον ἐξ ὑψοὺς τοῦ ἁγίου σου τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, κ.τ.λ.); *into which things the angels deſire to look.* Wherefore gird up the loins of your mind, be ſober (νήφοντες), and hope to the end (τελείως, however) for the grace which is borne to you in the revelation of JESUS CHRIST: as children of obedience not faſhioning yourſelves according to the former luſts in your ignorance, but as He who called you is holy (κατὰ τὸν καλέσαντα ὑμᾶς ἅγιον), ſo be ye holy in all your conduct: *becauſe it is written*, "*Be ye holy, for I am holy*" (ἅγιοι γένεσθε, ὅτι ἐγὼ ἅγιός εἰμι). And *if ye call on the Father* (πατέρα ἐπικαλεῖσθε), who without reſpect of perſons judgeth according to every man's work; paſs your time in fear; knowing that not with corruptible things, with ſilver or gold, ye were redeemed from your vain conduct received by tradition from your fathers, *but with precious blood as of the lamb without blemiſh and without ſpot, even Chriſt*; who was foreordained, indeed before

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LITURGY OF S. MARK.

of Thine Only-begotten Son, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. . . . . Holy, high, tremendous LORD, who resteth in the holies; sanctify us, LORD, by the word of Thy grace, and the visitation of Thy most HOLY SPIRIT. *For Thou, Lord, didst say,* "*Be ye holy, for I am holy*" (ἅγιοι ἔσεσθε, ὅτι ἐγὼ ἅγιος εἰμί). . . . Holy things for holy persons.—*Lit. of S. Mark*, 25.

1 PET. i. 12.

the foundation of the world, but was manifested in these last times for you, who by Him believe in GOD who raised Him from the dead and gave Him glory, so that your faith and hope might be in GOD, having purified (ἡγνικότες) your souls in the obedience of the truth through the Spirit unto unfeigned love of the brethren (εἰς φιλαδελφίαν ἀνυπόκριτον): [in the next page of the Liturgy there occurs the prayer, "Grant to us the communion of the holy Body and precious Blood, εἰς ἁγάπην ἀνυπόκριτον], *with a pure heart* (ἐκ καθαρᾶς καρδίας) love one another fervently (ἐκτενῶς).—1 *Pet.* i. 12—22.

This is the only passage in the New Testament in which the expression τίμιον αἷμα occurs, and it seems to me to be borrowed from the Liturgy above quoted. Any critical eye will see that if either quotes from the other, it is the Liturgy which is quoted, and not the Epistle of S. Peter. That quoted speech, "Be ye holy, &c." (ἔσεσθε, *Lit.*, γένεσθε, *S. Peter*), challenges attention. Is it possible that it is a saying of our LORD (in the words of Leviticus) which has been preserved in the Liturgies, but not in the New Testament? S. Peter introduces it with, Διότι γέγραπται. The Liturgy of S. Mark and that of S. James (p. 59) introduce it with, Σὺ γὰρ εἶπας, δέσποτα. You will observe many other interesting points about the two passages; especially, perhaps, the yearning of the angels after the διακονία of the mysteries, which seems to strike the very note of the ancient Gallican Missa:—"Nulla vox angelorum, nisi forte laudare nos possunt, qui *adesse nobis possent*, quùm Filii tui dilectissimi corpus sacramus et sanguinem."—(*Reichenau MS.* p. 12.)

For these reasons, I have thought the passage in S. Clement about the τίμιον αἷμα worth indicating, following, as it does, in the wake of the passage which seems to allude to the Invocation.

Another expression I have underlined in the long passage which I transcribed from the Liturgy of S. James. It is this:—

Every just spirit made perfect in the faith of Thy Christ.

There is a certain resemblance, slight indeed, but still a resemblance not to be altogether passed over perhaps, between this and a sentence in the chapter immediately following the second

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paſſage in S. Clement, which I quoted as containing the ἵλεως, &c. (chap. xlviii.) Here are the two. I give the Liturgy firſt:—

That they may find mercy and grace with all Thy ſaints *that have been well-pleaſing to Thee* (σοι εὐαρεστησάντων), from one generation to another ſince the beginning of the world,—our anceſtors, and fathers, patriarchs, prophets, . . . holy perſons, and *every juſt ſpirit made perfect in the faith of Thy Chriſt* (καὶ παντὸς πνεύματος δικαίου ἐν πίστει τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου τετελειωμένου).—*Lit. of S. James*, p. 54.

In love all the elect of God were made perfect (ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ ἐτελειώθησαν πάντες οἱ ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ). Apart from love *nothing is well-pleaſing to God* (οὐδὲν εὐάρεστόν ἐστιν τῷ Θεῷ). In love the Maſter took us to Himſelf: on account of the love which He had towards us JESUS CHRIST our LORD gave His Blood for us by GOD's will, and His Fleſh for our fleſh, and His ſoul (ψυχὴν) for our ſouls.—1 *Clem.* xxix.

In the firſt of the two paſſages which I quoted from S. Clement (ſee above, p. 443), there is a phraſe which I have underlined as appearing to court attention:—

You ſtretched forth your hands to the Almighty GOD.

Ἐξετείνατε τὰς χεῖρας ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸν παντοκράτορα Θεόν.—*Ep. of S. Clem.* ii.

Now, is this an alluſion to any definite action? Does it refer to any ritual deed of the faithful, any ſtretching forth of the hands of the worſhippers in the oblation to the "mercy-ſeat of the holy Temple?" And here I aſk a queſtion with the greateſt diffidence. In the Liturgy of S. Mark (p. 22, Eng.), in the middle of the Words of Inſtitution occurs the cry of the deacon, ἐκτείνατε. Here is the paſſage:—

He diſtributed to His holy and bleſſed diſciples and apoſtles, ſaying, Take, eat.

Deacon.—ἐκτείνατε.

Prieſt.—For this is My Body which is broken for you, and diſtributed for the remiſſion of ſins.

Choir.—Amen.

Prieſt.—Likewiſe alſo the cup after ſupper, having taken and mingled with wine and water, and looking up to heaven to Thee, His own Father, our GOD, and the GOD of all, He gave thanks, He bleſſed, He filled with the HOLY GHOST, He diſtributed it to His holy and bleſſed apoſtles and diſciples, ſaying, Drink ye all of this.

Deacon.—Ἔτι ἐκτείνατε.

Prieſt.—This is My Blood of the New Teſtament which is ſhed and diſtributed for you and for many, for the remiſſion of ſins.

People.—Amen.

Prieſt.—Do this in remembrance, &c.

The word occurs twice: in the firſt place for the Body, and in the ſecond place for the Blood. Now, the word ἐκτείνατε is uſually rendered, "*Pray earneſtly*," as though identical with ἐκτενῶς εἴπω-

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μεν. Is there ſufficient authority for this, ſo ſtrong as to exclude the hypotheſis that the original meaning of the word, as here uſed, was, "*Stretch forth your hands?*" Surely this would be very appoſite. No prayer (ſtrictly ſpeaking) is being offered to GOD. While the central act of the "tremendous ſacrifice" is being performed in the ſight of GOD and of the faithful, ſurely their participation in the act with the prieſt would be more aptly ſignified by the lifting of holy hands, than by private prayer, which in this one place of all others would perhaps be almoſt ſlighting to GOD'S Majeſty. Nor is this idea, I think, altogether without ſupport. S. Paul, in the Firſt Epiſtle to Timothy (ii. 8), alludes to the "lifting of holy hands" by the men as diſtinguiſhed from the women of the congregation. In verſe 1 he has been giving directions for the order of the Liturgy, baſing them on the Incarnation of CHRIST and His poſition as Mediator; and, in verſe 8, he concludes his addreſs by ſaying:—

I wiſh, *therefore*, that the men (τοὺς ἄνδρας) ſhould pray everywhere, *lifting up holy* (ὁσίους) *hands*, without wrath and doubting. In like manner alſo, that the women adorn themſelves, &c.—1 *Tim.* ii. 8.

So alſo S. Athanaſius, ſpeaking of the prayer for the Emperor in the Liturgy:—

Σὺ δὲ θεοφιλέστατε βασιλεῦ ποῦ τοὺς λαοὺς ἂν ἤθελες ἐκτεῖναι τὰς χεῖρας καὶ εὔξασθαι περὶ σου.—*Athanas. Apol. ad Imp. Conſtant.* chap. xvi.

Dionyſius, Biſhop of Alexandria, ſpeaks of a man—

Χεῖρας εἰς ὑποδοχὴν τῆς ἁγίας τροφῆς προτείναντα.—*Ad Xyſtrum Rom.* (*Euſeb.* vii. 9.)

Though this certainly refers more to the act of reception. In the Liturgy of S. James the phraſe is uſed of GOD in the act of bleſſing:—

Σοὶ τοὺς αὐχένας ἐκλίναμεν· ἔκτεινον τὴν χεῖρά σου τὴν κραταιὰν καὶ πλήρη εὐλογιῶν.—*Lit. of S. James*, p. 71. (Greek.)

So that certainly the Liturgies are familiar with the ordinary uſe of the verb ἐκτείνειν, and actually do uſe it with the identical ſubſtantive τὴν χεῖρα, in the ſenſe of actual phyſical extenſion. But, excluding this paſſage which I am conſidering from the argument, I do not think that they uſe the verb anywhere in the metaphorical ſenſe of mental prayer, do they? The adverb ἐκτενῶς they do in connection with εἴπωμεν, δεηθῶμεν, &c. So does S. Clement and other early Fathers often enough.

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But I do not think that they, any more than the Liturgies, (I ſpeak under correction,) uſe ἐκτείνειν to ſignify intenſe adoration. It may at a later (ſlightly later perhaps) period have acquired that meaning; your acquaintance with the early writings may ſupply you with proofs that this was the caſe, which have eſcaped my notice: but even if this be the caſe, does it utterly cancel the poſſibility that the firſt meaning of ἐκτείνατε, as introduced into the Liturgies, was, "Stretch forth your hands?" ſignifying in fact, to uſe theſe words of S. Clement, "Stretch forth your "hands to the Almighty GOD, ſupplicating Him to become "propitious, and" (as the Liturgies would phraſe it) "to forgive "your ſins and the ignorances of the people."

It is remarkable, too, that the idea of *holineſs* is almoſt invariably aſſociated with this lifting of the hands to GOD. Conſidering the earneſtneſs of the prayers for holineſs, purification, ſanctification, &c. in the Liturgies, and the ſincere belief that theſe were imparted by the Euchariſt, this circumſtance ſeems ſignificant. The phraſes indicating purification cluſter eſpecially thick around the ἐκτείνατε of the Liturgy. So alſo in the paſſage quoted from S. Paul, "lifting up *holy* hands." So, with peculiar emphaſis, in a paſſage in Chap. xxix. of S. Clement's Epiſtle, which I ſubjoin:—

Let us come to Him then in holineſs (ὁσιότητι) of ſoul, *lifting up pure and undefiled hands to Him* (ἁγνὰς καὶ ἀμιάντους χεῖρας αἴροντες πρὸς αὐτὸν); loving our gracious and merciful (ἐπιεικῆ καὶ εὔσπλαγχνον) FATHER, who has made us to partake of His election (ἐκλογῆς). . . . Being, therefore, a part (μερὶς) of the Holy One (ἁγίου), let us do all the things of the ſanctification (ποιήσωμεν τὰ τοῦ ἁγιασμοῦ πάντα), &c.—1 *Clem.* xxix.

I recollect a paſſage in Tertullian's "De Baptiſmo" which ſuggeſts the ſame idea. I have not the book at hand, and ſo can only quote from memory, truſting to you to correct me if I miſquote. I do not think that I ſhall, however, as the paſſage made a deep impreſſion upon me at the time. Speaking of thoſe who have juſt been baptized (and confirmed) he proceeds:—

Igitur benedicti quos gratia DEI expectat, quùm de illo ſanctiſſimo lavacro novi natalis aſcenditis, et *primas manus apud matrem* (ſc. *eccleſiam*) *cum fratribus aperitis;* petite de Patre, petite de Domino, peculia, gratias, diſtributiones chariſmatum (is this the χαρισμάτων πηγὴ of S. Mark's Liturgy?) ſubjiciente, Petite et accipietis, inquit.—*Tertull. De Bapt. ſub fine.*

This looks to me very like an indication of the firſt communion, by an alluſion to the viſible act of participation in the ſacrifice by the lay communicant.

The note in the Benedictine edition referred to an expreſſion

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in the "De Idololatriâ,"—"Attollere ad Deum Patrem manus." I ſhould like to ſee that paſſage.

There is alſo a paſſage in S. Cyprian which quotes Pſalm cxli. 2, as applying to the Euchariſt:—

Et iterum in Pſalmis, *Allevaio manuum mearum ſacrificium veſpertinum.* Nos autem reſurrectionem Domini manè celebramus.—*S. Cyprian ad Cæcilianum*, 16, end.

And, unleſs I am miſtaken, the poſture was actually preſcribed from immemorial antiquity by the *Sarum Uſe* among ourſelves.

Yet the idea of ſtretching forth the hands in prayer is too general to build upon. It is difficult to ſay that when the Fathers ſpeak of it they indicate this particular extenſion at the time of conſecration. But we may ſafely ſay, I think, that the act was ſufficiently familiar to all to allow of its being enjoined by the ſimple ἐκτείνατε; and, furthermore, that S. Clement's words ſeem diſtinctly to indicate an extenſion at ſuch a moment.

It may be alſo worth noting that in S. Mark's Liturgy nearly all the exclamations of the Deacon are poſtural, or merely give notice of a prayer, which follows immediately; and that if this ἐκτείνατε does refer to mental prayer, it is an exception to the meaning of all the reſt. The word "*pray*" (προσεύξασθε) ſeems at firſt ſight an exception. It is, however, ſeen (in page 31, Greek) to be equivalent to "ſtand up for prayer," (ἐπὶ προσευχὴν στάθητε,) when not ſimply introductory. It comes in thus:—

Deacon.—Stand up for prayer.
Prieſt.—Peace be to all.
Deacon.—Pray.

Here are the Deacon's exclamations in the Liturgy:—

Before the Anaphora.—Pray—Pray for the King—Pray for the Pope and Biſhop—Stand for Prayer—Stand up—For prayer—For Prayer—Stand, let us hear the Holy Goſpel—Begin—Look, leſt any of the Catechumens—Kiſs one another—Stand to make your offerings according to your order—Stand for prayer—Pray for them that offer (the prayer follows)—

Anaphora.—Sir, pray for a bleſſing—Ye that are ſitting, ſtand up—To the Eaſt—ἐκτείνατε—ἔτι ἐκτείνατε—Come down, ye Deacons—Pray—Bow your heads to JESUS—With the fear of GOD—Pray—Stand for Prayer—Pray—Depart in peace.

Now read the ſentence in S. Clement with this meaning attached to the ἐκτείνατε, and ſee what light is thrown upon it.

A full effuſion of the HOLY SPIRIT was upon all, and being full of holy counſel in good readineſs, with pious truſt you ſtretched forth your hands to the ALMIGHTY GOD, ſupplicating Him to become propitious if ye have ſinned in ignorance.

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This is one of thoſe paſſages in which the words of Mr. Palmer recur ſo forcibly to one's mind:—"It is impoſſible to "peruſe the notices ſupplied by the Fathers, without perceiving "that the baptized Chriſtians were ſuppoſed to be familiar with "every part of the ſervice; and continual alluſions are made to "various particulars as well known, which it would be impoſ- "ſible to explain, except by referring to the Liturgies ſtill ex- "tant."—*Orig. Lit.* p. 9.

I will now refer you to a paſſage in another Apoſtolic Father,—S. POLYCARP. After giving particular directions, towards the cloſe of his Epiſtle, reſpecting the conduct to be adopted by the Philippians towards the prieſt Valens, who had miſconducted himſelf, he proceeds, in Chapter xii, to pray for them, and then to direct them how to pray for others. Theſe are his words:—

But the GOD and FATHER of our LORD JESUS CHRIST and the Eternal High Prieſt Himſelf, JESUS CHRIST the SON of GOD, build you up in faith and in truth, and in all gentleneſs, and without anger, and in patience, and long-ſuffering, and endurance, and chaſtity; and *give you a lot and part among His ſaints* (det vobis ſortem et partem inter ſanctos ſuos), and to us together with you and all who are under Heaven, who ſhall believe in our LORD JESUS CHRIST and in His FATHER who raiſed Him from the dead. *Pray for all the ſaints. Pray alſo for kings, and powers, and princes; and for thoſe who perſecute you and hate you; and for the enemies of the croſs*; that your fruit may be manifeſt in all, that ye may be perfect in Him.—*Ep. of S. Polycarp*, ch. xii.

The original Greek of this chapter is loſt. It bears every appearance of Liturgical alluſion. That expreſſion, "give you a lot and part among His ſaints," is found in a prayer near the end of the Liturgy of S. James, immediately after the Communion of the Faithful.

GOD, Who through Thy great and ineffable love to man didſt condeſcend to the weakneſs of Thy ſervants, and haſt vouchſafed that we ſhould partake of this heavenly Table, condemn us not in the participation of Thy ſpotleſs myſteries, but guard us, good GOD, by the ſanctification of Thy HOLY GHOST; *that, being holy, we may find part and inheritance with all Thy ſaints* who have pleaſed Thee from the beginning of the world in the light of Thy countenance, through, &c.—*Lit. of S. James*, p. 63. (Eng.)

So alſo, in Syriac, S. James:—

We yield Thee thanks, O GOD, and laud Thee above all things for Thine ineffable love to men; O LORD, condemn not thoſe whom Thou haſt vouchſafed to admit to the participation of Thy heavenly Table for the reception of Thy holy and unſpotted myſteries; but, O good LORD, *preſerve us in righteouſneſs and holineſs*, that being made worthy of the communion of Thy Holy Ghoſt, *we may obtain a part, lot, and inheritance with all Thy Saints*, who have pleaſed Thee out of this world, through, &c.—*Neale's Introduction*, p. 710.

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And, again, in the *Diptychs of the departed* in S. Mark's Liturgy:—

Grant reſt to their ſouls, and vouchſafe to them the kingdom of heaven; and to us grant that the reſt of our lives may be Chriſtian and well-pleaſing to Thee, and without ſin, *and grant to us to have a portion and lot with all Thy Saints.—Lit. of S. Mark*, p. 18. (Engliſh.)

Now teſt the order of the prayers preſcribed in the paſſage in S. Polycarp. Is not that order the order of the Liturgies? Theſe are S. Polycarp's words:—

1. Pro omnibus ſanctis orate:
2. Orate etiam pro regibus, et poteſtatibus, et principibus,
3. Et perſequentibus et odientibus vos,
4. Et pro inimicis crucis—ut fructus veſter manifeſtus ſit in omnibus, ut ſitis in illo perfecti.

This is the order in which the Liturgies place the petitions in their interceſſions; the ſame order as that preſcribed (or alluded to) by S. Paul in the paſſage addreſſed to Timothy, which I have already referred to as preceding his mention of the "raiſing holy hands:"—

I exhort, therefore, that firſt of all ſupplications, prayers, interceſſions, and giving of thanks be made for all men, for kings, and for all that are in authority.

It is, however, in S. Clement's Liturgy that it comes out moſt ſtrongly,—that myſterious Liturgy which, like the high-prieſt whom it places in the van of its commemorations, has (ſo far at leaſt as regards our knowledge) neither beginning of days nor end of life. I quote the paſſage in this Liturgy, directing at the ſame time your attention to the fact that there is more than a ſimilarity in mere order.

Send down Thy HOLY SPIRIT, the witneſs of the ſufferings of the LORD JESUS, on this ſacrifice, that He may make this bread the Body of Thy CHRIST, and this cup the Blood of Thy CHRIST; that all who ſhall partake of it may be confirmed in godlineſs (*βεβαιωθῶσιν πρὸς εὐσεβείαν*—not unlike the "ædificat vos in fide et veritate," &c. of S. Polycarp). . . . We further pray Thee for Thy holy Church, ſpread from one end of the world to the other, which Thou haſt purchaſed with the precious Blood of Thy CHRIST, that Thou wilt keep it, &c. Further we call upon Thee for my own unworthineſs who am now offering, and for the whole preſbytery: for the deacons and all the clergy, that Thou wouldſt endue them with wiſdom and fill them with the HOLY GHOST. Further we call upon Thee, O LORD, for the king and all that are in authority, for the ſucceſs of the army, that they may be kindly diſpoſed towards us: that leading our whole life in peace and quietneſs we may glorify Thee through JESUS CHRIST our hope. Further we offer to Thee for all the ſaints who have pleaſed

Pray for all the ſaints.

Pray, alſo, for kings, and powers, and princes.

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Thee from the beginning of the world; the patriarchs, prophets, righteous men, apoſtles, . . . We further offer to Thee for this people . . . for the virgins . . . for the widows of the Church . . . for the married . . . for the young . . . for the city . . . for the ſick . . . the priſoners . . . the travellers by land or by water; that Thou wilt be to all of them an helper, ſtrengthener, and ſupporter. We further beſeech Thee *for thoſe who hate us and perſecute us* for Thy Name's ſake: for thoſe that are without and remain in error: that Thou wouldſt convert them to that which is good, and appeaſe their wrath againſt us. Further we pray unto Thee for the catechumens of the Church: for thoſe that are under poſſeſſion (lit. "*tempeſt-toſt by the alien*"), and for thoſe our brethren who are in a ſtate of penance: that ſome Thou wilt perfect in the faith, and ſome Thou wilt cleanſe from the power of the wicked one—(is this the "enemy of the Croſs?")—and of ſome Thou wilt accept the repentance, and grant to them and to us the remiſſion of our ſins. Further we offer to Thee for ſeaſonable weather, and that we may have plenty of the fruits of the earth, &c.

And for thoſe who perſecute you, and hate you.

And for the enemies of the Croſs; that your fruit may be manifeſt (!).

Here the prayer for all ſaints in reality does, I think, precede the prayer for the king. There is a petition immediately following the petition for the king, which certainly alſo appears to be a prayer for all ſaints, indeed, the very expreſſion "all the ſaints" is uſed. Yet it ſeems only to pray particularly for the ſame bleſſing which has been implored generally for the whole Church and the clergy at the commencement of the Interceſſion.

Notice that the prayer of the deacon which follows theſe interceſſions goes over exactly the ſame ground again, giving the ſame petitions much abridged, but in the ſame order: being, in fact, an epitome of the interceſſions. Each petition here begins with, "Let us pray for," except one, and that one is the petition correſponding to the petition in the interceſſions which follows the prayer for the king. This one has the heading, "Let us *commemorate*." It is not a prayer at all, but a memorial (and would not therefore come under the head of "Orate pro").

Notice, alſo, that the prayer preceding that for the king in the deacon's proclamation brings out, more fully than in the longer form, the interceſſion for the people:—

Let us pray for this Church and people.

Let us pray for every epiſcopate; for the whole preſbytery; for all the deacons and miniſters in CHRIST; for the whole congregation; that the LORD will preſerve and keep them all.

Let us pray for kings and all that are in authority, that they may be peaceable towards us, &c.

Commemorate we (μνημονύσωμεν) the holy martyrs, that we may be deemed worthy to be partakers of their trial; (and ſo on, p. 88.)

This may be accidental or it may not.

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I have ſeen it alleged againſt the antiquity of the Liturgies that they pray for the whole Catholic Church throughout the world (a frivolous objection, I allow, for a reader of Juſtin Martyr, and the Epiſtle to Diognetus). Yet the objection is made. Now theſe Liturgical petitions are not the only paſſages which ſhould be brought to bear on the Epiſtle of S. Polycarp. Thoſe other ſolemn ſayings of this ſaint recorded in his Acts are well worth attention, not merely becauſe of the exquiſite beauty and undoubted authenticity of the narrative in which they are recorded, but becauſe they tally in a remarkable manner with the chapter of the Epiſtle which I have quoted.

Now in the Acts there are two prayers of S. Polycarp recorded; the firſt on his arreſt, the ſecond when he had been bound to the ſtake before the pile was lit. With regard to the firſt, it is recorded that having aſked leave for an hour's liberty in order to pray, "he *ſtood* praying, being full of the grace of GOD." Of the ſubſtance of this prayer all that is recorded is this:—

> He remembered all men, whether little or great, honourable or obſcure, that had at any time been acquainted with him, and with them the *whole Catholic Church* throughout the world.

Could we in one ſingle ſentence better deſcribe the interceſſions in the Liturgies? Look, for inſtance, at thoſe in the Liturgy of S. James:—

> *Prieſt* (riſing up, in a low voice).— . . . We offer them alſo to Thee, O LORD, for Thy holy Catholic and Apoſtolic Church throughout the world. Supply it, O LORD, even now with the plentiful gifts of Thy HOLY GHOST. Remember alſo, O LORD, our holy fathers and brothers . . . Remember every city. Remember thoſe voyaging, journeying; (and ſo on for three pages.)—*Lit. of S. James*, p. 53.

But we are not left to conjecture as to the ſubſtance of S. Polycarp's prayers. The prayer before the ſacrifice of his life,—the ſecond of the two prayers mentioned by me above,—is given at full length, and an exceedingly remarkable prayer it is. It is evidently either an original, but loſt, Anaphora, or, ſo religious was the care to preſerve the main features of theſe apoſtolic compoſitions, a compilement from the exiſting Anaphoras in the Liturgies of S. James and S. Mark. You will notice that ſome of its expreſſions are evidently the originals of thoſe in the paſſage in the Epiſtle. I will underline them here. The narrative of the martyrdom, following S. Polycarp's own application of the oblation to himſelf, deſcribes him as bound like the ſacrificial lamb awaiting the knife of the ſlayer. This, then, is the paſſage:—

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He, having put his hands behind him, and being bound as a comely ram choſen out of a great flock for the oblation, and an acceptable victim prepared for GOD, looking up to heaven, ſaid :—

"O LORD GOD Almighty, the Father of Thy well-beloved and bleſſed Son, JESUS CHRIST, by whom we have received the knowledge of Thee, the GOD of angels and powers, and of all creation, and of the whole race of juſt men who live in Thy preſence; I bleſs Thee that Thou haſt made me worthy of this day and hour, that I ſhould *have a part in the number of Thy martyrs, in the cup of Thy Chriſt, to the reſurrection of eternal life*, both of ſoul and body, in the incorruption of the HOLY GHOST: amongſt whom may I be received in Thy preſence to-day in a fat and acceptable ſacrifice, as Thou haſt fore-ordained, and manifeſted beforehand, and fulfilled, the infallible and true GOD. Wherefore, and for all (διὰ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ πάντων), I praiſe Thee, I bleſs Thee, I glorify Thee (αἰνῶ σε, εὐλογῶ σε, δοξάζω σε), *with the eternal and heavenly Jeſus Chriſt, Thy beloved Son*, with Whom to Thee and the HOLY SPIRIT be glory, both now and to exceeding ages. Amen."

The narrator here continues, laying ſtreſs upon the "Amen."

And when he had ſent up the Amen (ἀναπέμψαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ Ἀμὴν), and had finiſhed the prayer (καὶ πληρώσαντος τὴν εὐχήν) the firemen lighted the fire.

"*The* Amen," you ſee: the Amen which formed the recognized reſponſe of the people at the end of the oblation.

When thou ſhalt bleſs with the Spirit (ſays S. Paul), how ſhall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned ſay *the* Amen at thy giving of thanks (τὸ Ἀμὴν ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ)?—1 *Cor.* xiv. 16.

And Juſtin Martyr, yet within the ſhadow of Apoſtles, in his celebrated deſcription of the Church ſervice, ſpeaks of the Amen in the ſame manner:—

When he (the celebrant) has concluded the prayers and thankſgiving, all the people who are preſent expreſs their aſſent by ſaying Amen.—*Apol.* i. 65.

And again, two chapters later:—

Bread is brought, and wine, and water; and the celebrant offers up prayers (ἀναπέμπει εὐχὰς, by the way) and thankſgivings with all his ſtrength, and the people give their aſſent by ſaying the Amen.—*Apol.* i. 67.

So, alſo, Dionyſius of Alexandria, deſcribing the principal acts which mark out the faithful, ſpeaks of one of theſe (claiming to be one of them, anyhow) as,—

Liſtening to the prayer of thankſgiving, and joining in ſaying the Amen, and ſtanding at (παραστάντα) the table, and ſtretching forth his hands to receive the holy food.—*Ad Xyſt. Rom.* (*Euſeb.* vii. 9.)

Thus the mention here of "the Amen" ſeems to have peculiar ſignificance, as indicating the nature of S. Polycarp's prayer.

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With regard to the prayer itſelf, I would rather not venture to ſuggeſt more, ſo remarkable is it in its reſemblance to and yet difference from the Anaphoræ of the two great Liturgies. It ſuggeſts a cloſe inveſtigation into the remains of the Gallican and Moſarabic rites as poſſibly indicated by the Smyrnæan Biſhop at their Epheſine fountain-head. Look at that clauſe, ſo evidently from the beginning of an Anaphora:—

Wherefore and for all I praiſe Thee, I bleſs Thee, I glorify Thee, &c. (See parallel paſſage in *S. Mark* 14, *S. James* 49.)

The doxology given here occurs alſo in the *Gloria in Excelſis*. It is not, of courſe, Scriptural; but if not from Scripture, whence is it? It muſt be from the Liturgies, unleſs the paralleliſm be accidental, which nobody will ſuppoſe for a moment. The very words are uſed in the Liturgy of S. James.

The writings of S. Juſtin Martyr court the moſt careful inveſtigation. Born within the lifetime of the laſt Apoſtle, and himſelf the pupil of thoſe who drew their teaching from apoſtolic lips, this great Confeſſor may well be allowed to rank with the Apoſtolic Fathers as an authoritative witneſs to Church doctrine. And I ſuſpect that if his writings be ſifted (more thoroughly than I have yet been able to ſift them) he will be found to be, beyond all diſpute and queſtion, a witneſs equally to Church fact,—the fact of the Liturgies. Yet one would not at firſt ſight expect this. His great writings are not in the firſt inſtance deſigned for Chriſtians. His Apologies are addreſſed to the heathen: his Dialogue with Trypho to the Jews. To both of theſe the Liturgies were a ſealed book. Not to ſuch was it granted to catch with yearning ear the firſt accents of the voice of adoration within the veil, which were the ſignal of departure to thoſe who unbaptized, yet obedient, awaited the hour of their illumination. In ſpite of this, however, ſuch evidence is not wanting. S. Juſtin knew that the faith of the Church could not be adequately explained without an expoſition, however elementary, of her ritual which is at once its caſket and its conductor. This ritual he deſcribes openly and avowedly in the famous paſſage in his Firſt Apology (chaps. 66, 67), wherein he gives the account, with which we are all ſo familiar, of the Euchariſtic celebration. He alſo alludes, in an unmiſtakable manner, as I think, to the ſubſtance of the Prayers themſelves in ſeveral places. And, unleſs I am much deceived, he quotes ſolely and pointedly one particular Liturgy, that Liturgy being the Liturgy of the Apoſtolic Conſtitutions,—the Liturgy of S. Clement. This adherence to one particular Liturgy is exactly what we ſhould expect to find as marking the difference between S. Juſtin's

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quotations and thoſe of the Apoſtolic Fathers. The ſtreams have now left the common channel. The dwellers on the banks of each draw from their own ſtream; being out of view of the kindred waters which, each now in his own courſe, are fertilizing the Delta of the Church. It is for us to viſit all in turn and, drawing from each what it caſts up in common with its fellows, to pronounce without doubt that this is a product of the parent ſtream.

Now look at this paſſage in the thirteenth chapter of the Firſt Apology (page 32, Otto), S. Juſtin is contraſting the heathen ſacrifices with the Chriſtian. He ſays that we do not burn our ſacrifice as they do, but conſume it ourſelves.

"We praiſe Him," ſays he, "*to the beſt of our power* (ὅση δύναμις αἰνοῦντες), with the word of prayer and of thankſgiving (εὐχαριστίας) in all our oblations."

And then proceeds actually to give the very ſubſtance of the Prayer of Oblation in theſe words:—

In ſpeech we offer Him ſolemn acts of worſhip and hymns (πόμπας καὶ ὕμνους) for our creation, for all our means of health, for the qualities (ποιοτήτων) of things, and for the changes of ſeaſons, and we put up petitions that we may again be in incorruptibility (τοῦ πάλιν ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ γενέσθαι) through our faith in Him. And the Teacher of theſe things, born even for that purpoſe, JESUS CHRIST, crucified under Pontius Pilate, the Procurator of Judæa in the time of Tiberius Cæſar, we having learnt to be the Son of the Very GOD, and holding Him in the ſecond place, and the Prophetic Spirit in the third rank, evidently worſhip with reaſon (μετὰ λόγου).

Notice the order of the Petitions:—

1. For our creation.
2. For all our means of health.
3. For the qualities of things.
4. For the changes of ſeaſons.
5. For our reſtoration to incorruptibility, through faith in CHRIST.

Then follows the commemoration of the birth and life of CHRIST, and His death under Pilate.

Now compare them with the Anaphora of the Liturgy of S. Clement. I write out the latter, putting S. Juſtin's own words in the margin. Wherever I omit, I do ſo for the ſake of brevity, marking the *lacuna* by dots: but I only omit *amplifications* upon the preceding clauſe, not foreign matter.

ANAPHORA OF S. CLEMENT.

P. 77, Engliſh.

Biſhop.—Lift up your mind.
People.—We lift it up unto the LORD.
Biſhop.—Let us give thanks to the LORD.
People.—It is meet and right.

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Biſhop.—It is indeed meet and right before all things to hymn Thee, the Very GOD from everlaſting, of Whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named, Who alone art unbegotten, without beginning, the ſupreme LORD, Almighty King, and Self-ſufficient: Author and Giver of all good things, without cauſe, without generation, ſelf-exiſting, the ſame yeſterday, to-day, and for ever. At Thy word, as from a neceſſary original, all things ſtarted into being. For Thou art everlaſting knowledge, ſight before all objects, hearing before all ſounds, wiſdom without inſtruction: the firſt in nature, the law of being, exceeding all number. Thou createdſt all things out of nothing by Thine Only-begotten Son, begotten before all ages by no other means than Thy will, Thy power, and Thy goodneſs: GOD the Word, the Only-begotten Son, the living Wiſdom, the Firſt-born of every creature, the Angel of Thy great counſel, Thy High Prieſt, but LORD and King of all ſenſible and intellectual creatures, Who was before all things, and by whom all things were made. Thou, O Eternal GOD, didſt make all things by Him, and by Him, too, diſpenſeſt Thy providence over them: for by the ſame that Thou didſt graciouſly bring all things into being, by Him Thou continueſt all things in well-being. . . . For it is Thou who haſt fixed the heaven like an arch, and ſtretched it out like the covering of a tent; and didſt eſtabliſh the earth upon nothing by Thy will alone. . . . Thou haſt made water for drink, and for cleanſing, the vital air for reſpiration. Thou madeſt fire for our conſolation in darkneſs, and for the relief of our neceſſities, that we might be both warmed and enlightened by it. Thou didſt divide the great ſea from the land. . . . The former Thou haſt repleniſhed with ſmall and great beaſts, the latter, too, both with tame and wild: and haſt, moreover, furniſhed it with various plants, crowned it with herbs, beautified it with flowers, and enriched it with ſeeds. Thou didſt conſtitute the great deep . . . ſometimes Thou doſt ſwell it by the wind ſo as to equal the high mountains, and ſometimes ſmooth it into a plain; now making it rage with a tempeſt, then ſtilling it with a calm for the eaſe of mariners in their voyages. The earth, which was made by Thee, through CHRIST, Thou haſt compaſſed with rivers, watered with currents, and moiſtened with ſprings which never fail. . . . Thou haſt repleniſhed and adorned it with fragrant and medicinal herbs, with many and various kinds of living creatures, ſtrong and weak, for food and for labour, tame and wild; with the dull harſh noiſes of thoſe creatures which move upon the earth, and the ſoft ſprightly notes of the gaudy many-coloured birds which wing the air: with the revolution of years, the number of months and days, the regular ſucceſſion of the ſeaſons; with the courſes of the clouds big with rain, for the production of fruits, the ſupport of living creatures; where, alſo, the winds take their ſtand which blow at Thy command, and for the refreſhment of trees and plants. And Thou haſt not only created the world, but man, likewiſe, the citizen of it: manifeſting in him the beauty and excellency of that beautiful and excellent creation. For Thou ſaidſt to Thine Own wiſdom, Let us make man in our own image and after our likeneſs . . . Therefore Thou madeſt him of an immortal ſoul and periſhable body; the ſoul out of nothing, the body of the four elements. . . . Thou didſt plant a garden eaſtward in Eden. . . . Thou gaveſt him the privilege of enjoying all its delights, with this only exception, that he ſhould not out of vain curioſity, in hopes of bettering his condition, taſte of one tree, and immortality was to be the reward of his obedience to this command; but when he had broken through it and eaten of the forbidden fruit, over-

In ſpeech we offer Him ſolemn acts of worſhip and hymns;

for our creation,

for all our means of health,

for the qualities of things,

for the changes of ſeaſons,

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reached by the guile of the ſerpent and the counſel of the woman, Thou didſt juſtly drive him out of Paradiſe; but in Thy goodneſs didſt not deſpiſe him, nor ſuffer him wholly to periſh, for he was the work of Thine own hands: but Thou gaveſt him dominion over all things. . . . And having ſubjected him for awhile to a temporary death, Thou didſt bind Thyſelf by an oath to reſtore him to life again, looſing the bands of that death by the promiſe of a reſurrection to the life which is eternal.

for our reſtoration to incorruptibility through faith in CHRIST.

Then follows a commemoration of the ſaints of the Old Teſtament: Abel, Enoch, Joſeph, Moſes, &c. &c., ending with a beautiful commemoration of the birth and life of CHRIST, and His death under Pilate.

Holy is Thine Only-begotten Son JESUS CHRIST, our LORD and GOD, Who always miniſtering to Thee His GOD and FATHER, not only in the various works of the creation, but in the providential care of it did not overlook loſt mankind. . . . He Who was man's Creator was pleaſed with Thy conſent to become man: the Lawgiver to be under the law: the Prieſt to be Himſelf the ſacrifice: the Shepherd a ſheep. . . . He was incarnate of a virgin, GOD the Word, the beloved SON, the Firſtborn of every creature. . . . He that was without fleſh, became fleſh: He that was begotten from eternity was born in time. . . . He manifeſted Thy Name to them that knew it not: He diſpelled the cloud of ignorance, reſtored piety; fulfilled Thy will, and finiſhed Thy work which Thou gaveſt Him to do. And when He had regulated all theſe things . . . He was by Thy permiſſion delivered to Pilate the governor: the Judge of the world was judged.

And ſo on in words which look very like an old original creed preſerved within the ſtructure of the Liturgy. Then follows this ſentence:—

Calling to remembrance, therefore, thoſe things which He endured for our ſakes, *we give thanks* unto Thee, O GOD ALMIGHTY, not to the extent of our duty, but *to the beſt of our power* (οὐχ ὅσον ὀφείλομεν ἀλλ' ὅσον δυνάμεθα).

This laſt ſentence is clearly the original of S. Juſtin's aſſertion above quoted:—

We praiſe Him *to the beſt of our power* with the word of prayer *and of thankſgiving* in all our oblations.

A compariſon of theſe paſſages quite ſatisfies me that the Liturgy ſupplies in itſelf the true rendering and ſignificance of this ſame phraſe when it occurs again in the great ſixty-ſeventh chapter.

"The celebrant ſends forth," ſays S. Juſtin there, "*both prayers and thankſgivings to the beſt of his power* (ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ)."

It ſeems to me to mean neither extempore prayers, nor prayers from memory, nor prayers uttered with a loud voice, but prayers

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which he offers in the ſpirit of ὅση δύναμις: in this ſpirit in fact, "Though we be unworthy through our manifold ſins to offer "unto Thee any ſacrifice, yet we beſeech Thee to accept this "our bounden duty and ſervice," &c.

And now, in turning to the famous ſixty-fifth chapter of this Firſt Apology, notice the order and arrangement, as well as the ſubſtance of the ſeveral parts of the Liturgy as there deſcribed. There can be no better deſcription of the Liturgy of S. Clement. Everything is there which the Liturgy of S. Clement contains: nothing is given which is not to be found in that Liturgy. I need not remind you that S. Juſtin gives a recapitulation in chap. 67 of the deſcription of the celebration in chap. 65: the intervening chapter (66) being devoted to a parenthetical definition of the Euchariſt itſelf. I will give the order in the words of S. Juſtin, written out in a tabular form, for facility of reference and compariſon:—

S. JUSTIN MARTYR, *Apol.* i. chap. 65.
(Page 154, Otto; page 50, Oxford tranſlation.)

Prayers for ourſelves,
—— for the newly baptized,
—— for all others everywhere,
that we may be good citizens,
———— keep the commandments,
———— obtain everlaſting ſalvation.

Kiſs of Peace.

Elements brought—(bread, wine, and water).

Prayer of praiſe and glory to the FATHER through the SON and HOLY GHOST.

Thanks for being vouchſafed theſe things by Him.

Amen, by all the people in aſſent.

Communion.

Reſervation by Deacons, for the ſick.

Chap. 67. (Page 158, Otto; page 51, Oxford tranſlation.)

Apoſtles and Prophets read.

Exhortation.

Riſe and pray.

Elements brought—(bread, wine, and water).

Celebrant offers (ἀναπέμπει) prayers and thankſgivings—(ὅση δύναμις).

Amen, by all the people in aſſent.

Communion.

Reſervation by Deacons, for the ſick.

This chapter ſupplements the ſixty-fifth in a very remarkable manner. It gives the reading of the leſſons and the ſermon which *preface* the Liturgy, and which are not noticed in the former chapter. I will now write out the order of the Liturgy of S. Clement, and you will ſee how exactly it tallies with this

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deſcription. For facility of reference I give the pages in the little Engliſh edition (Hayes, 1859).

LITURGY OF S. CLEMENT.

Apoſtles and Prophets read, p. 66.
Exhortation, p. 66.
Prayer for ourſelves (Catechumens, Energumens, &c.), p. 67.
—— for the newly baptized, p. 70.
—— for all others everywhere, p. 72—75.
Riſe up: Biſhop prays, p. 75.
Kiſs of Peace, p. 76.
Elements brought—(bread, wine and water), Anaphora, p. 77.
Prayer of praiſe and glory.
1. To the FATHER (as Creator), p. 77—84.
2. By the SON (words of Inſtitution), p. 85.
3. Through the HOLY GHOST (Invocation), p. 86.
Amen, by all the people, p. 89.
Communion (each ſaying Amen), p. 89.
Reſervation by the Deacons, in the προσφόρια, p. 90.
Thankſgiving for being "vouchſafed to receive His holy myſteries," p. 90.

I ought to mention that in chap. 67, S. Juſtin uſes theſe words of the oblation:—

In all our oblations we bleſs *the Creator of all things*, through His Son JESUS CHRIST, and through the HOLY GHOST.

The evidence of theſe chapters may ſpeak for itſelf. As it ſeems to me, nothing that I can ſay can ſtrengthen it. It is fact,—not theory.

I will ſelect one more paſſage from the writings of S. Juſtin Martyr, as a ſpecimen of the evidence to be found by thoſe who deſire to glean behind your footſteps. This time the paſſage is in the "Dialogue with Trypho." S. Juſtin there quotes to Trypho the ſubſtance of one of thoſe remarkable prayers at the commencement of S. Clement's Liturgy. There is a phraſe in the ſentence by which I very ſtrongly ſuſpect that the Liturgy is deſignated. I will firſt give the paſſage in S. Juſtin at length. It occurs in chapter 30 of the "Dialogue:"—

It is manifeſt to all that the word of the prophecy ſpeaking in ſet form (σχηματοποιήσας) ſays, *as from the perſon* (ὡς ἀπὸ προσώπου) of one of the faithful, that we who believe on Him pray Him to *preſerve us from the alien* (ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων),—*that is to ſay, from the evil and wandering—ſpirits*. And we conſtantly implore (παρακαλοῦμεν) GOD through JESUS CHRIST that we may be preſerved from *thoſe evil ſpirits which are aliens from the piety* (θεοσεβείας) of GOD, and whom we formerly uſed to adore: in order that after our *turning to God through Him we may be blameleſs. For Him we call our Helper and Redeemer* (λυτρωτὴν), at the power of Whoſe Name even *the evil ſpirits* (τὰ δαιμόνια) *tremble*; and *being exorciſed by us at this day* in the

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Name of JESUS CHRIST, Who was crucified under Pontius Pilate the governor of Judæa, they *are subjected to us*; from which it is plain to all that the FATHER gave Him so great power that even the evil spirits submit to His Name, and *to the dispensation* (*or stewardship*) *of His Passion* (τῷ τοῦ γενομένου πάθους αὐτοῦ οἰκονομίᾳ).

In this passage S. Justin describes a prayer. He speaks of it as of a thing actually existing, to which reference may be made, in support of his argument with the Jew. He uses certain unusual expressions, which he qualifies or explains with a view to their better comprehension by Trypho. Passing over the σχηματοποίησας, which may be worth investigation, one may notice the ὡς ἀπὸ προσώπου, in which S. Justin evidently uses the ἀπὸ προσώπου in a technical sense, making its application here by the ὡς (which has puzzled his commentators not a little). It seems to me to fix to the celebrant the act whose nature and efficacy is derived from its identity with the sacrifice upon Calvary, and the continual presentation upon the heavenly altar.

We may look, then, for the occurrence of this expression in the Liturgy, as applied to CHRIST Himself.

Again, there is that very remarkable expression "*the alien*,—the ἀλλότριος," as applied to the devil and his angels. It is evidently a peculiar title: for S. Justin goes out of his way to explain it,—a thing which he would scarcely have done in the case of a word of his own invention or of ordinary use. This, then, we may expect to find in the Liturgy, if S. Justin be quoting it; and may also look for the terms "*evil and wandering spirits*" by which he explains it.

With regard to the expression "*the stewardship of the Passion*" I will say more presently.

S. Justin also says that we call CHRIST "*our Helper and Redeemer*," probably describing (in the words of Psalm xix. 14) some Liturgical appeal to our LORD in that character. He also says that the evil spirits are *exorcised by us at this day*. And here at once I put my finger upon the passage. This is the key,—the door opens at once, on the exorcism of the possessed in the Liturgy of S. Clement. Here it is:—

PRAYER FOR ENERGUMENS, LITURGY OF S. CLEMENT, Page 68 (English).

Deacon.—Pray ye that are troubled by unclean spirits.

Let us all pray earnestly for them, that GOD, the lover of men, may through CHRIST rebuke the unclean and *evil spirits*, and *may deliver His suppliants from the over-mastery of the alien*. He that rebuked the legion of fiends and the primæval source of evil, the devil, let Him rebuke also now the *apostates from piety* (τοῖς ἀποστάταις τῆς εὐσεβείας, compare S. Justin above, ἀλλότρια τῆς

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θεοστυγίας), and preſerve his own handiwork from the energy of Satan, and purify them whom with much wiſdom He made. Furthermore, let us intently pray for them: ſave and raiſe them up, O GOD, in Thy power. Bend your heads, ye energumens, and receive the bleſſing.

Biſhop prays over them.—Thou that didſt bind the ſtrong man, and ſpoil his goods; Thou that *didſt give us power* to tread upon ſerpents and ſcorpions, and all the power of the enemy . . . whom all things ſhudder and *tremble at from the perſon* of Thy power (ἀπὸ προσώπου δυνάμεώς σου) . . . . Only-begotten GOD, SON of the mighty FATHER, rebuke the *evil ſpirits*, and deliver the works of Thy hands from the energy *of the alien ſpirit*: for to Thee is glory, honour, and worſhip, and by Thee to Thy FATHER and the HOLY GHOST. Amen.

Notice that the Biſhop's prayer here is not, as are the other prayers, addreſſed to the FATHER through CHRIST, but directly to CHRIST Himſelf. S. Juſtin's account, therefore, is ſtrictly correct. The ſpirits were "exorciſed in the Name of CHRIST," and the Prayer of exorciſm is addreſſed immediately to Him. After theſe particular prayers for different claſſes of people, and immediately before the Kiſs of Peace and the Anaphora, there occurs this general prayer for ourſelves, and each other. In this will be found the remaining alluſions of S. Juſtin. I was greatly pleaſed to find when I had got thus far in the proofs (and only then) that both Jebb and Otto have been before me in noticing the connection between *this latter* prayer and the paſſage in S. Juſtin. (See Otto, page 99; Oxford tranſlation, page 106.) It ſeems to me very ſtrange that with this clue in their hands they went no further: ſtrange, too, that even here in quoting the paſſage they omit what appear to be the ſtrongeſt points of ſimilarity. Here is the paſſage:—

LITURGY OF S. CLEMENT.
(Page 74, Engliſh).

Deacon.—Let us pray for each other that the LORD may guard and preſerve us by His grace unto the end, and may *deliver us from the evil one*, and from all the offences of them that work iniquity, and may ſave us to His heavenly kingdom—(very like the *débris* of the loſt *emboliſmus* this).

Let us riſe up.

Having earneſtly made our ſupplication, let us commit ourſelves and each other to the living GOD through His CHRIST.

Biſhop prays over them.—LORD ALMIGHTY, moſt higheſt, Thou that dwelleſt in the higheſt, . . . Thou who through CHRIST didſt give us the preaching of knowledge, . . . do Thou Thyſelf now look down through Him upon this Thy flock, and *redeem* (λύτρωσαι) it from all ignorance and evil practices, and grant that it may entirely fear Thee, and perfectly love Thee, and may be bedewed *from the perſon* (ἀπὸ προσώπου) of Thy glory. Be Thou kind to them and propitious (ἵλεως) and affable in their prayers, and *keep them without turning*, *without blame*, without accuſation, that they may be holy in body and in ſoul, not having ſpot nor wrinkle, nor any ſuch thing; but that they may be perfect, and none among them may be incomplete. *O Helper, Mighty, regarding not the perſons of men, be Thou the*

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Assistance of Thy people, whom Thou didst purchase with the precious blood of Thy CHRIST; *Defender, Guardian, Steward, most secure Wall, Fence, Security*, for none can pluck them out of Thine hands, nor is there any other god like Thee, for in Thee is our trust. Sanctify them in Thy truth, for Thy word is truth. Thou that art not to be flattered, Thou that art not to be deceived, deliver them from all sickness and all infirmity, from every fall, from all injury and deceit, from the fear of the enemy, from the arrow that flieth by day, from the thing that walketh in darkness: and vouchsafe to them the eternal life, which is in CHRIST, Thine Only-begotten Son, our GOD and SAVIOUR, through Whom, &c.

These are the passages. You will notice how S. Justin alludes to them. The manner in which he explains the meaning of the word ἀλλοτρίων is very singular. He says:—

Ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων (τουτέστιν ἀπὸ τῶν πονηρῶν καὶ πλάνου) πνευμάτων.

"Alien" spirits mean, says he, "evil and wandering" spirits. The word "*evil*," as applied to the spirits, occurs in the passage from the Liturgy given above. The word "*wandering*" (a rare word) is also applied by this same Liturgy to the devil in page 86, English; page 104, Greek:—

That they may be delivered from the devil, and from his wandering (τῆς πλάνης αὐτοῦ).

There is another thing worth notice. S. Justin says:—

At the power of Whose Name even the evil spirits trembled (τὰ δαιμόνια τρέμει).

The Liturgy says:—

Whom all things shudder and tremble at from the person of Thy power.

Ὃν πάντα φρίσσει καὶ τρέμει ἀπὸ προσώπου δυνάμεώς σου.

The φρίσσει here is additional, you see. It is, however, restored in a sentence, evidently bearing on this part of the Liturgy, in the forty-ninth chapter of the Dialogue:—

The hidden *power of God* was in the crucified CHRIST, whom both the *evil spirits and all the powers and principalities of the earth shudder at.*

Κρυφία δύναμις τοῦ Θεοῦ γέγονε τῷ σταυρωθέντι Χριστῷ, ὃν καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια φρίσσει καὶ πᾶσαι ἁπλῶς αἱ ἀρχαὶ καὶ ἐξουσίαι τῆς γῆς.—*Dial. Trypho*, 49 (end).

There are other common allusions which you will notice; *e.g.* that of the evil spirits being "*subject to us*" (S. Justin); "*under our power*" (Liturgy).

Lastly, what is the "*dispensation of the Passion*" (οἰκονομία τοῦ πάθους). I cannot help thinking it possible that this may refer

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to the Liturgy itſelf through the Euchariſt. I do not deny that the term οἰκονομία is uſed generally by the early Fathers ſometimes to expreſs the counſel of GOD in the Incarnation. Particularly, however, I think that it is diſtinctly applied to the Euchariſt.

Thus S. Paul ſays:—

A diſpenſation (ſtewardſhip, οἰκονομία) is committed *to me*.—1 *Cor.* ix. 17.

And again, more definitely:—

Let a man ſo account of us as of the miniſters of CHRIST, and *ſtewards* (οἰκονόμους) *of the myſteries* of GOD.—1 *Cor.* iv 1.

Juſt as S. Peter ſpeaks of—

Stewards of the manifold grace of GOD.—1 *Pet.* iv. 10.

And S. Paul, in addreſſing Titus, ſays:—

A biſhop muſt be blameleſs as the *ſteward of God*.—*Tit.* i. 7.

The epithet οἰκόνομος is applied to prieſts in the Liturgy. So in Lit. S. James, page 58 (Greek):—

That we . . . being counted worthy to miniſter without guile at Thy altar may receive the reward of faithful and prudent *ſtewards*.

But perhaps the moſt applicable of all the paſſages in which the word is uſed occurs in page 61 (Greek) of the Liturgy of S. James, immediately before the conſecration: thus—

Who deſcended from heaven, and being incarnate of the HOLY GHOST and Mary the Virgin and Mother of GOD, and having had His converſation with men, *accompliſhed all the diſpenſation* (πάντα οἰκονόμησε) for the ſalvation of our race (and being about to die took bread, &c.).—Page 50, Engliſh.

There are doubtleſs plenty more paſſages to the ſame effect.

Now, S. Juſtin is here ſpeaking about particular exorciſms on particular occaſions. He does not ſay (what he might have ſaid, of courſe, with perfect truth) that the power of the devil was broken once and for all upon Calvary; but he ſays that when we, by exorciſm, take up the power of victory then won for the Church by our LORD, the devils are expelled by "the ſtewardſhip of the Paſſion." How do we expel them by the ſtewardſhip of the Paſſion unleſs by that application of the Paſſion whereof we are ſtewards?

There are many paſſages which ſeem confirmatory of this. See, for inſtance, Apol. ii. 6, where S. Juſtin ſpeaks again about the exorciſms; and compare the firſt part of the chapter, wherein S. Juſtin ſpeaks of the work of the Father and of the Only-

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begotten Son, with the Liturgy of S. Clement (pages 97, 98, Greek).

But the ſtrongeſt ſupport of all is to be found in the words of S. Juſtin immediately after the paſſage itſelf. Having ſaid, "even the evil ſpirits ſubmit to His Name, and to the ſtewardſhip of His Paſſion," S. Juſtin continues:—

And if ſo great power is ſhown to have attended, and STILL TO ATTEND, *the ſtewardſhip of His Paſſion*, how great ſhall that power be in *His glorious coming again*?

Εἰ δὲ τῇ τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ οἰκονομίᾳ τοσαύτη δύναμις δείκνυται παρακολουθήσασα καὶ παρακολουθοῦσα, πόση ἡ ἐν τῇ ἐνδόξῳ γινομένῃ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ;—*Trypho*, 31.

This is the ἔνδοξος παρουσία of the Liturgies (*paſſim*), which ever forms the point towards which they look in their commemorations of the Paſſion, whoſe merits they apply. (After the words of Inſtitution, follow, "Remembering, therefore, His life-giving Paſſion, His Croſs . . . His glorious coming again . . . we offer this ſacrifice," &c.)

S. Juſtin argues thus, as it ſeems to me:—

If the Preſence here on earth of His inviſible Manhood, together with the Holy Angels in the ſtewardſhip of the Paſſion has ſo great power over the devil and his angels, how glorious will be that final triumph over the ſpirits of evil when He ſhall come again, no longer veiled from human ſight, but viſible as the Son of Man with the Angels in the clouds of heaven.

For S. Juſtin actually does continue thus; theſe are his words:—

For as the Son of Man He ſhall come upon the clouds of heaven, and the angels with Him.

There is one claſs of quotations to which I have made no alluſion. Was there any definite creed uſed in the Liturgies in Apoſtolic times (as later,)? and are there any traces of this in the Epiſtles of the Apoſtolic Fathers? I think that there are, and thoſe not faint nor indiſtinct. There are paſſages in the Epiſtles of S. Ignatius upon which I ſhould much like to have your opinion. In ſearching for the indications of a genuine "form of ſound words," I knew, of courſe, that I ſhould not find the article on *the Deſcent into Hell*, and did not expect to find *the Communion of Saints*, nor *the Life everlaſting*. I looked ſharp, however, for the laſt two with great intereſt. Now look at theſe paſſages. The firſt is from the Epiſtle to the Smyrmæans.

S. Ignatius ſays that he knows that the Smyrnæans are "ſettled in an immoveable faith" (κατηρτισμένους ἐν ἀκινήτῳ πίστει),

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and "fully believe in our LORD" (πεπληροφορημένους εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν) :—

Being truly from the race of David according to the flesh:
SON of GOD according to the will and power of GOD:
Truly born of a Virgin;
Baptized by John, that all righteousness might be fulfilled by Him:
Truly crucified by Pontius Pilate:
By the fruits of which we are, even by His Blessed Passion;
That He might raise a token for ever by His Resurrection,
To all His Saints and faithful, whether among Jews or Gentiles,
In the One Body of His Church.—*Ep. Smyrn.* i.

This bears, as it seems to me, every mark of a creed. Such a creed as would be inserted in a letter by a man who had learnt by heart a regular form. Nor does the passage stand alone. Here is another from the Epistle of S. Polycarp to the Philippians :—

Believing in Him who raised our LORD JESUS CHRIST from the dead;
And gave Him a throne and glory on His right hand;
To whom all things in heaven and earth were subjected;
Whom every living creature serves:
Who is coming as JUDGE of quick and dead:
Whose Blood GOD will require of those who disobey Him:
But He who raised Him from the dead will also raise us, (if we do His will,) &c.—*Ep. of S. Polyc. ad Phil.* ii.

And here is a very strong case from the Epistle of S. Ignatius to the Trallians. "Stop," says he, "your ears, therefore, when any one speaks without (χωρὶς) JESUS CHRIST:"—

Who was from the race of David:
Who was from Mary;
Who was truly born, ate and drank;
Was truly persecuted by Pontius Pilate:
Was truly crucified, and died; while things in heaven and on earth and under the earth looked on:
Who was also truly raised from the dead by the FATHER who raised Him;
After the same manner as He will also raise up us who believe in Him by JESUS CHRIST,
Without Whom we have not the true Life.—*Ep. Trall.* xi.

Compare this with the creed given above from the Smyrnæans. With the exception of the clause of *the Baptism*, which is wanting in the Trallians, the two are very like, and supplement one another in a singular manner. The last clause in the Trallians has something very like *the Life everlasting*. The last clause but one of the Smyrnæans looks very like a rough draft of *the Communion of Saints*. Altogether they are very much what one would write oneself if one were to throw the Apostles' Creed

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into an epiſtolary form with a view to exhortation of the faithful.

Look alſo at this paſſage in the Epiſtle of S. Ignatius to the Epheſians (chap. xviii.) :—

Our GOD, JESUS CHRIST,
Was conceived in the womb (ἐκυοφορήθη) by Mary, according to GOD's diſpenſation,
Of the ſeed of David and of the HOLY GHOST,
Who was born, and was baptized,
That by the Paſſion He might cleanſe the water.—*Eph.* xviii.

Suppoſing this to be a relic of a creed exiſting in ante-Nicene times in a Liturgy or in a Baptiſmal Office (the paſſage in the Smyrnæans gives the baptiſm clauſe too), it is poſſible that this laſt clauſe may have furniſhed the original of Tertullians' expreſſion. (I quote from memory) :—

Utpote nondum adimpletâ gloriâ Domini, nec inſtitutâ efficaciâ lavacri per Paſſionem et Reſurrectionem ipſius."—*De Baptiſmo.*

S. Ignatius ſeems to allude to the ſame formula in Chapter xx. of the ſame Epiſtle :—

Come together
In one Faith, and in one JESUS CHRIST,
Who was of the race of David according to the fleſh,
SON of MAN, and SON of GOD, &c.—*Eph.* xx.

Here is another paſſage from the Epiſtle to the Magneſians. Warning them againſt falſe doctrine, he tells them that "in the "Church (ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ) there is one form of prayer, one ſupplica- "tion," (μία προσευχὴ, μία δέησις,—an uſeful hint reſpecting the Liturgies, by the way,) and that therefore they are "to approach, as to one altar (θυσιαστήριον), to one JESUS CHRIST." He directs them, therefore, not to go aſtray to falſe doctrine (ταῖς ἑτεροδοξίαις). For holy men have undergone perſecution in order that miſbelievers ſhould be fully convinced (πληροφορηθῆναι) that—

There is One GOD who manifeſted Himſelf by JESUS CHRIST His SON.

Compare this with the famous paſſage in S. Hermas, which was fought for both by Catholics and Arians; and which ſo ſtartles thoſe who are accuſtomed to believe in the abſence of clear dogma before the Nicene period.

Firſt of all believe that—

There is One GOD:
Who created and formed all things of
Nothing into Being:
He comprehends all things,

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And alone is incomprehenſible:
Who can neither be defined by word
Nor conceived by the mind,
Therefore, believe in Him.—*S. Herm. Mand.* i.

S. Irenæus (*Adv. Hær.* iv. 20) ſays:—

Well, therefore, has *the Scripture* pronounced which ſays, "Firſt of all, believe that there is One GOD."

This, of courſe, is generally taken as a ſtrong proof of the early veneration for S. Hermas. But if S. Hermas had any early form of a creed in his memory, there may be another reaſon for the uſe of the word. In the Firſt Viſion of S. Hermas are ſome expreſſions which may be referred to the ſame thing:—"GOD, Who dwells in Heaven, and framed all things "of nothing into being, and multiplied them for the ſake of "His Holy Church."

To return to S. Ignatius. He goes on to ſpeak to the Magneſians about the Life in CHRIST (chap. ix.):—

How (ſays he) ſhall we be able to live without (χωρὶς) Him whoſe diſciples the Prophets being, did by the SPIRIT expect Him as a Maſter? And for this reaſon He whom they juſtly awaited being come (παρὼν), *raiſed them from the dead.*

He therefore exhorts them not to Judaize, and continues with theſe words:—

As one of the leaſt among you I am deſirous to forewarn you that ye fall not into the ſnares of vain doctrine, but that ye *be fully inſtructed in the Birth, and in the Paſſion, and in the Reſurrection*, which took place *in the time of the government of Pontius Pilate*; being truly and certainly accompliſhed by JESUS CHRIST our Hope, from which may GOD forbid that any of you be turned aſide. . . Study, *therefore*, to be confirmed (βεβαιωθῆναι) in *the doctrines of our* LORD *and of the Apoſtles* (ἐν τοῖς δόγμασιν τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων).—*Ep. Magnes.* xii.

This paſſage, though not explicit, ſeemed to me to court attention, and to compare well with 1 Cor. xv. 3. This laſt text, indeed, is a good ſubject for teſting the critical value of the opinion advanced here reſpecting the indications of a creed in the Apoſtolic Fathers. For I think that the paſſages here quoted from S. Ignatius and S. Polycarp are all far cloſer in diction and in completeneſs to the creed which we poſſeſs than is that paſſage in the Corinthians. Yet it is unheſitatingly aſſumed by our beſt Liturgiſts that this laſt contains at leaſt the elements of a creed. Mr. Freeman ſays:—

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The creed in the earlieſt times would, of courſe, be comparatively brief: but the rudiments at leaſt of ſuch a formula were certainly delivered by S. Paul to the Churches, (*vide* 1 Cor. xv. 1, &c.), and, doubtleſs, by the other Apoſtles. And it is almoſt inconceivable that the Churches of the Eaſt can have ſecured a correct, uniform, and univerſal acquaintance with the articles of the Chriſtian faith on the part of their members in any other way than by uſing the creed, from the time its very rudiments exiſted, in their public Offices.—*Principles of Divine Service*, vol. i. p. 98.

I heartily agree with him, and believe that theſe Fathers were quoting the creed uſed in their Liturgy, which creed was, of courſe, ſuperſeded after the Nicene period by the authoritative creeds of the Councils.

Theſe, then, are the paſſages on which I wiſh to have your opinion. They are not the only ones towards which the ſtudy of the Apoſtolic Fathers ſhould be concentrated, with a view to Liturgical knowledge. I am conſcious of having only ſcraped the ſurface of a very rich ſoil. There are many other paſſages which I paſſed with a longing eye, and a poſitive conviction that a wider knowledge than mine, and a keener eye, may yet draw from them treaſures which I can indicate, but not extract without further ſtudy. However, I ſend you what I have got, and ſhall await your verdict.

Yours truly,

GERARD MOULTRIE.

Reading,
Eve of the Aſcenſion,
1862.

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XVI.

STUDIES OF THE WESTERN CHURCH,

1815—1861.

CONTEMPORARY Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory—where ſhall we look for it? Inquire for any annals of the Engliſh Church from the riſe of Weſleyaniſm to the preſent time—the work does not exiſt. In France, the Abbé Guettée's hiſtory only comes down to 1801. In Spain and Portugal the ſeries of newſpapers would alone form the eccleſiaſtical annals of the laſt ſeventy years. Auſtria's Church hiſtory finds a tolerably intereſting writer in Gams; but that of the other German States muſt be picked out of concordats and gazettes, local hiſtories and deſcriptions. Italy, as diſtinct from the papacy, is quite ſilent. Pruſſia—as our liſt ſhows—is rather more fortunate. Of the Univerſal Church, during that moſt eventful period ſince the Congreſs of Vienna, there is no detailed hiſtory; the beſt *réſumé* is undoubtedly contained in the laſt 150 pages of Dr. Alzog's book.

Whoever is to be the Baronius of the preſent century will have difficulties to contend with of which that great father of Church hiſtory, of which Pagi, of which Cabaſſutius, of which Fleury, of which Natalis Alexander, knew nothing. The enormous maſs of works which he muſt procure and ſtudy, however formidable a hindrance, is nothing to that which ariſes from the diſuſe of Latin as the European language for Church hiſtory. Even granting that a ſcholar, devoted to the taſk, might maſter, in a few years, all the Romance languages of Europe ſufficiently to ſerve his purpoſe, and, in a few more, under the ſame limits, the Teutonic tongues; then comes the more terrible difficulty of Slavonic, culminating from its eaſieſt family, the old Church language, to its hardeſt, that moſt fearful ſtudy of Poliſh. And

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after that, Magyar lies behind him. And all this for the modern Church hiſtory of Europe alone.

We propoſe, in the following paper, to give a brief ſketch of the Church hiſtory of Europe from the Congreſs of Vienna to the preſent time. We muſt beſpeak the reader's kind conſideration, and will previouſly apologiſe for the miſtakes into which we are almoſt certain we ſhall fall. All we can pledge ourſelves to do, is that we will not ſpare our labour. It is curious to think how very little is known of events which have happened in our own days, of perſonages who have lived within the laſt twenty years, when compared with ſimilar events and people in the early and mediæval Church. How many, for inſtance, who are intimately acquainted with the life of Athanaſius, of our own Thomas of Canterbury, of Gregory VII, never heard the name of the ever-memorable Clement Auguſt von der Droſte? Aſk for the teaching of Neſtorianiſm, and you ſhall get a fluent anſwer; put a queſtion about S. Simonianiſm—and a blank ſilence. A man ſhall tell you what was condemned at Conſtance in 1415, who is perfectly ignorant what great doctor narrowly eſcaped cenſure at Bordeaux in 1853. And ſuch names as thoſe of Frayſſinons, Balmez, Sailer, Hinterberger, Brentano, Klee, Gitzler, Powondra, Reinhe, and the like, how unknown are they to moſt Engliſh ears.

We commence at the period when the fountains of the great deep, broken up by the Firſt Revolution, ſeemed to have ſubſided. It is marvellous to think that, from the very firſt to the very laſt, that tempeſtuous period only laſted twenty-ſix years; in other words, that our Queen's preſent length of reign is not ſo far ſhort of meaſuring it. And what portentous changes it had brought on the Church! Monaſticiſm ſwept out of France, a third part of her biſhoprics ſuppreſſed, the union of the ſecular and eccleſiaſtical rule, in ſuch ſees as Salzburg, Cologne, Mayence, Liège, at an end for ever; the Holy Roman Empire, that ſecular correlative of the Papacy, ſhattered in pieces; the Church treaſures of Spain and Portugal utterly gone; religious houſes in Belgium eſcaping but by the ſkin of their teeth; Auſtria and Bavaria ſeculariſing nearly half their convents; in fact, Naples and Sicily the only lands that retained unaltered the old *régime*. The temporal power of the Papacy ſeemed trembling in the ſcale; another large Proteſtant kingdom had ariſen, partly on the ruins of Auſtria. The times ſeemed very dark for the Latin Church when the Congreſs of Vienna met.

Gregory Barnabas Chiaromonte, Cardinal Biſhop of Imola, was then in the ſixteenth year of his pontificate as Pius VII. Conſidering the compoſition of the Congreſs at Vienna, that no

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man of eminent talent eſpouſed the intereſts of the Church, that Dalberg, Primate of Germany, would not interfere, the general deciſion of the aſſembled ſtateſmen was remarkably favourable to the Holy See, eſpecially in the precedence which they accorded to its legates. True, Conſalvi, Vicar-General of Conſtance, Papal Nuncio at Vienna, felt himſelf bound to iſſue a proteſt againſt certain acts which trenched on Roman prerogative; but, on the whole, the calm holy old man who then ſteered S. Peter's bark muſt have felt that he had achieved a victory. On the diſſolution of the Congreſs, the altered territorial diſpoſition of Germany firſt claimed the attention of Rome. The new kingdom of Wurtemberg had aggregated to itſelf parts of the once independent biſhoprics of Conſtance, Wurzburg, Worms, Spires; Baden, too, Naſſau, and Electoral Heſſe had ſo changed their hands as to neceſſitate an altered eccleſiaſtical *régime*. Accordingly, by the bull *Provida ſolerſque ſollicitudo* (Aug. 16, 1821), Freiburg in Breiſgau (not many years before given up by Auſtria) was conſtituted the archbiſhopric for the Grand Duchy of Baden; with the ſuffragan ſees of Rottenburg for Wurtemberg (the Lutheran eccleſiaſtics evincing a great objection to the creation of a biſhopric in Stuttgart), Limburg for Naſſau, Mainz for Heſſe Darmſtadt, and Fulda for Electoral Heſſe. The bull *De ſalute animarum* (July 16, 1821) ſettled the eccleſiaſtical affairs of Pruſſia; and, in 1824, a concordat for Hanover reeſtabliſhed the two ſees of Oſnabrück and Hildeſheim. The reintroduction of the Jeſuits into ſome of the Italian States, the reform and aggrandiſement of the Propaganda, principally carried on by Cardinal Pedicini, and a perpetual ſtruggle with the Carbonari, occupied the Pope's laſt years. A concordat with Victor Emmanuel, of Sardinia, gave that kingdom nineteen biſhoprics under the archiepiſcopal Sees of Turin, Vercelli, and Genoa. Another, with Ferdinand, of Naples, united ſome few ſmall ſees in Calabria, increaſing their number in Sicily. Dignities in abbeys, and collegiate and cathedral churches, were reſerved in the firſt ſix months to the Pope, in the laſt to the biſhop. Church property remained with an *uti poſſedetis*. Full of years and honour, Pius VII. departed this life Auguſt 21, 1823, having lived eighty-two years, and held the Pontificate twenty-three; a year ſhorter than his predeceſſor, longer than any other pontiff but one. Thoſe who ſat more than twenty-one years are only—

	Years.	Months.	Days.
Pius VI.	24	6	14
Hadrian I.	23	10	17
Pius VII.	23	5	6
Alexander III. . . .	21	11	23
S. Silveſter I. . . .	21	0	4

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It is well known that an ancient tradition forbids the hope to any of S. Peter's ſucceſſors *pervenire ad annos Petri: i. e.* to reign twenty-five years.

While we are on this ſubject, we may mention the very ſingular rule, or rather coincidence, which has been imagined to determine, in the earlier half of a century, the length of the reigning pontiff's life. Add his number to the number of his predeceſſor, and that to ten, and the reſult is the fatal year. Pius VII. ſucceeded Pius VI.—ſix and ſeven are thirteen; add ten, which makes twenty-three; Pius VII. died in 1823. Leo XII. ſucceeded Pius VII.—twelve and ſeven are nineteen; add ten, and you have twenty-nine; Leo XII. died in 1829. Pius VIII. ſucceeded Leo XII.—eight and twelve are twenty; add ten, thirty; Pius VIII. died in 1830.

Pius VII. was ſucceeded by the Cardinal Hannibal de la Genga, who took the name of Leo XII. The holineſs of this pontiff's life was never denied; but his ſtrong political views, concurring as they did with the height of the reactioniſm againſt the French Revolution, left, no doubt, an influence on the Holy See, which, in after days, brought forth ſad trouble. He became an eſpecial mark for Proteſtant indignation, on account of the bull *Ut primum ad ſummi*, in which he eſpecially condemned Bible Societies. His chief work was the reorganization of the Biſhoprics of Brazil—in connection with the ſeparation of that vaſt empire from Portugal. He died Feb. 10, 1829.

After an interregnum of forty-nine days, Cardinal Caſtiglioni ſucceeded as Pius VIII. Times were now changing. Reform was advancing with haſty ſteps in England—the Legitimiſt dynaſty was almoſt at an end in France. The new pontiff had but little time allowed to ſhow how completely he trod in the footſteps of his predeceſſor. He nobly exerted himſelf in the cauſe of the poor ſlaves in Brazil—put forth the whole power of Rome in the matter of mixed marriages in the Rheno-Pruſſian provinces;—entertained a cloſer correſpondence with the "Uniat" Armenians; and conſidered freemaſonry of ſo deiſtical a tendency as to direct a bull againſt it. It was at the commencement of his pontificate that that moſt righteous act of "Catholic Emancipation" was carried in England. The July revolution broke out—Charles X. became an exile;—and the difficulties and dangers of the time are imagined, by his biographer, to have ſhortened the good but rather narrow-minded pontiff's life. He went, as we may piouſly believe, to a better world, on S. Andrew's day, 1830.

The conclave which followed—in its fifty days' length—fixed

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the eye of Europe on its deliberations, on account of the gloomy ſtate of both the political and eccleſiaſtical atmoſphere;—till at length, on Candlemas Day, 1831, the words, *Evangelizo vobis gaudium magnum—habemus Papam*, were heard from that eagerly watched window; and Cardinal Mauro Capellari was choſen, and took the name of Gregory XVI. The commencement of his Pontificate was marked by the rebellion of Bologna, and the uneaſy feeling of ſympathy which manifeſted itſelf in Rome itſelf—both cruſhed out, for that time, by the Auſtrian ſoldiery. The glory of his reign, however, conſiſted in the unuſual number of brilliant ſcholars who then flouriſhed at Rome. In dogmatic theology, Perrone and Delſignore; in Scripture exegeſis, Patritius; in philoſophy, Ventura, Orſi, Bonelli. Angelo Mai, the learned librarian of the Vatican, and that marvel of languages, Mezzofanti, were both advanced by Gregory to a place in the Sacred College. The great blow which under this Pope the Roman Church received in the re-amalgamation with the Eaſtern Church of the Uniats of White Ruſſia, has been too often referred to in theſe pages to need more than one ſentence here; while the troubles connected with Lemennais, and the ſtruggle between Cologne and Berlin, will better be told in another place. Gregory XVI. departed this life, June 1, 1846. As dark times ſeemed at hand, an inſtant choice was neceſſary. The conclave only ſat three days, and on June 16 Cardinal Maſtai Ferretti, Biſhop of Imola, then only fifty-four years of age, became Pius IX.

The early alliance of this pontiff with liberal notions—its unſatisfactory reſult—the revolution at Rome—his flight to Gaeta—the French intervention—all theſe matters are freſh in the remembrance of our readers. Pius IX's eccleſiaſtical actions have certainly afforded matter for hiſtory. His encyclic to the Oriental Chriſtians (Jan. 6, 1848), which we noticed at the time, raiſed a perfect ſtorm of indignation in the Eaſt. Not unnatural, indeed, was the feeling; it is only to be regretted that the temper of the document in which the Patriarch replied was not equal to the ſoundneſs of its reaſoning. The moſt celebrated and by far the ſaddeſt event of his pontificate was the proclamation of the Immaculate Conception as a dogma of the faith (Dec. 8, 1854), a day hereafter to be remembered with bitter tears by the Latin Church; and his confirmation of that declaration in the bull *Ineffabilis*—thenceforward a wider gulf than ever between us and Rome—while the great ſchiſm of Eaſt and Weſt is fearfully exaſperated, and grievous injury done to thoſe great ſaints like Bernard, who ſtrongly oppoſed as even a permiſſive belief what is now aſſerted as a certainty. The bulls

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of Sept. 24, 1850, and March 7, 1853, which conſtituted a Roman hierarchy reſpectively in England and in Holland, muſt not be forgotten. Happier works were, the Concordat with Spain (March 16, 1851), with Auſtria (Aug. 18, 1855), Wurtemberg (April 8, 1857), and Coſta Rica (June 9, 1858). The principal Cardinals raiſed by him to the ſcarlet hat are, Von Geiſſel, Archbiſhop of Cologne; Von Scitoffski, Archbiſhop of Gran; Wiſeman, ſo-called of Weſtminſter; and Von Rauſcher, of Vienna. The ſaints he has canonized are, of Jeſuits—John de Britto and Peter Claver; John Grande, of the order of S. John of GOD; and Paul of the Croſs, who founded the order of that name; alſo Maria Anna de Paredes.

It is worth while, before we turn from the See of Rome, to look at the characters given to the Popes whoſe reigns we have been conſidering, in the famous prophecy of S. Malachi; becauſe, whether his or not, we cannot but believe it to be more than a coincidence that the prediction and fact ſhould ſo tally. It was firſt printed in 1595, by Arnold Wyon, in his "Lignum Vitæ;" but the reader may moſt eaſily ſee it in Moreri's Dictionary, or M. Henrion's *Hiſtoire des Papes* (Paris, 1832).

Pius VII.	*Aquila rapax.*	Is not this a wonderful motto, when we remember how the French eagle ſwooped on the aged Pontiff, and ravened him out of his poſſeſſions?
Leo XII.	*Canis et Coluber.*	
Pius VIII.	*Vir religioſus.*	
Gregory XVI.	*De Balneis Etruriæ.*	He was of the order of the Camaldulites; and the baths of Camaldole in Tuſcany, their mother-houſe, are famous.
Pius IX.	*Crux de Cruce.*	The arms of Sardinia are a croſs argent; a heavy croſs indeed to the reigning pontiff. (We believe that this is the firſt time this explanation has been given—the prophecy not having been re-publiſhed ſince the crowning aggreſſion of Sardinia.)

The remaining eleven Pontiffs—for according to this prophecy, there will be only eleven more—are thus characterized:

1. *Lumen in cœlo.*
2. *Ignis ardens.*
3. *Religio depopulata.*
4. *Fides intrepida.*
5. *Paſtor angelicus.*
6. *Paſtor et nauta.*
7. *Flos florum.*
8. *De medietate lunæ.*
9. *De labore ſolis.*
10. *Gloria olivæ.*
11. In perſecutione extremâ ſacræ Romanæ Eccleſiæ ſedebit PETRUS Romanus, qui paſcet oves in multis tribulationibus: quibus tranſactis, civitas ſepticollis diruetur, et Judex tremendus judicabit populum.

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In connection with this laſt prediction, we may remark that Imperial Rome began and ended in Auguſtus—the ten tribes in Oſhea or Hoſhea.

We will next give a glance at the hiſtory of the Church in each principal European nation; and will commence with France.

On the acceſſion of Louis XVIII. the Catholic faith was in the conſtitutional charter eſtabliſhed as the national religion, with toleration for Lutherans and Calviniſts; but not—ſo far as regards public teaching—for any ſectarian who declined to claſs himſelf in one or the other of the two recognized hereſies. The King himſelf was a man of real piety: but his encouragement of and attendance on religious proceſſions in a city which, only twenty-one years before, had raiſed on its Cathedral high altar, and there worſhipped, a naked proſtitute, was doubtleſs in the higheſt degree injudicious. Taking the hint from our own Chriſtian Knowledge Society, "The Catholic Aſſociation for the Diſperſion of Chriſtian Books" was formed under the preſidence of the Duke de Montmorency, and ſoon obtained conſiderable ſucceſs. A new concordat with Rome was arranged under the management of Count Blacas and De Perſigny, (July 11, 1817), ſuperſeding that of Leo X. with Francis I. and the organic Articles of 1801. By the latter arrangement, the French ſees had been fixed at the number of ſixty; ten archbiſhoprics, fifty biſhoprics. But one whole metropolitical province, Mechlin, with its ſeven biſhops, had ſince been loſt to France; ſo had the See of Nice, in the province of Aix. The ſuppreſſed *régime* had contained 23 archbiſhops and 133 biſhops. The new concordat propoſed to ſtrike a mean between the two; and immediately met with great oppoſition in the Chambers, and could not be carried out till 1822; the number was then fixed at ſixty-ſix biſhoprics and fourteen archbiſhoprics. The French traveller will obſerve the evil conſequences ariſing from the ſuppreſſion or union of ſo many ſees. Laon was joined to Soiſſons; the old dioceſe of Laon is one of the moſt dead in France. Beauvais and Noyon were added to Senlis; Noyon at leaſt (for of Beauvais the writer knows leſs) is very ſluggiſh. So with regard to Toul, which went to the comparatively modern ſee of Nancy. We give inſtances with which we are familiarly acquainted.

Another difficulty had to be contended againſt; the depreſſed and impoveriſhed condition of the Church rendered it hard to find labourers for her vineyard. The younger ſons of the nobility who could have been commendatory abbés, or deans, or who might have accumulated a few prebendal ſtalls in various

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collegiate churches, would now ſcorn to accept a biſhopric. It was actually hailed as a ſymptom of reviving religion in 1823, that two hundred prieſts in that year had been ordained more than had died. The King exerted himſelf to remedy the financial difficulties of the Church; and, in a ſhort time, her revenues were increaſed by the yearly increaſe of nearly 4,000,000 francs. What was that, however, compared to her enormous wealth previous to '89? And, in good truth, however laudable in Louis XVIII. was the effort, this outward mine of wealth could do nothing without the inward advances of earneſtneſs. Nor were tokens of the latter wanting. Even then the influx of German and Flemiſh workmen had begun, which has ſince, in Alſace, raiſed Colmar and Thann, and Soulz and Uebweller, to be what they are. In like manner, Flanders has made Lille and Roubaix rivals of our own manufacturing towns. The Brothers of Chriſtian Doctrine, the ſpiritual offſpring of the venerable De la Salle, then firſt began to aſſume their preſent importance; and the Urſulines were honourably diſtinguiſhed above the other orders for their zeal in education, for the propagation of the faith proſpered greatly. Nor was the Church deficient in writers; Frayſſinons, Biſhop of Hermopolis *in partibus*—he died in 1841; De Maiſtre (1821); and Cardinal Bonald (1840), are, with whatever drawbacks in the caſe of the ſecond, names that deſerve to live in honour.

The acceſſion of Charles X. (Sept. 19, 1824) was followed by intenſer ſtrife between the Royaliſt and Liberal parties. The King himſelf, like his brother, was a man of ſtrong religious feelings. The attempt to carry a law of ſacrilege (1825) through the Chambers, followed by the addreſs of ſixty archbiſhops and biſhops, gave riſe to a reaction. Very unwillingly, the monarch was compelled to ſuppreſs the Jeſuits' ſchools, by an ordinance of July 16, 1828:—the biſhops proteſted in no meaſured language; Leo XII. aſſumed the part of apologiſt for the King. Two ſhort years, and the Three Days made Charles X. an exile for life; and the Gallican Church entered, under Louis Philippe, the Valley of the Shadow of Death.

The new charter no longer recognized the Catholic as the religion of the State; only as that of the majority of the French people. The Papacy had learnt wiſdom from experience, and, in reply to a formal queſtion of the Archbiſhop of Paris, ordered the clergy to acquieſce in, and to pray for, the new dynaſty. Everywhere, however, the maſſes ſeemed to be ſeparating from the Church; and, in conſequence of an imprudent ſervice performed in S. Germain l'Auxerrois for the ſoul of the Duke of Berri, on the anniverſary of his murder, the mob not only gutted the church, but alſo the Archbiſhop's palace.

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It was under theſe circumſtances that Lamennais, Gerbet, Lacordaire, the Count de Montalembert, and others, united in a journal called *L'Avenir:* its motto, "God and freedom," ſhowed its aim. The Church was not an arbitrary, not a Legitimiſt body: the Church, the champion of freedom in the middle ages, ought to be and ſhould be ſo now. Intellectual freedom was her doctrine, and ſo forth;—and by degrees this kind of teaching degenerated here and there into a near approach to free-thinking. Still, the attempt was well meant; and, though ſome check was neceſſary, one cannot but feel that the authors were harſhly treated. There was ſomewhat really dangerous, no doubt, in the work: ſomewhat alſo that only appeared dangerous to the narrow-minded adviſers of the Court of Rome. *L'Avenir* was condemned by an encyclic of Gregory XVI. Auguſt 15, 1832, and immediately ceaſed to appear. The other writers ſubmitted themſelves unreſervedly to the cenſure; Lamennais only grew hardened, and preſently produced the "Paroles d'un Croyant," and the ſtill more frightful "Livre du Peuple," the "Eſſays and Reviews" of that day. He had now thrown off the profeſſion of the Catholic faith; and the ableſt pens on the ſide of the Church were put into requiſition againſt him. None wrote better or more touchingly than his former friend Gerbet:*—

On ſent tout ce que ces paroles me coutent. Celui qui déclare une guerre ouverte à l'Egliſe, qui prophétiſe ſa ruine, qui, dans les dernières pages de l'écrit qu'il vient de publier, n'a pas craint d'outrager, par le plus brutal ſarcaſme, l'auguſte vieillard que la Chrétienté ſalue du nom de Père, a eu en moi un ancien ami, qui l'aimait d'une amitié née au pied des autels, et qui avait pour lui autant de dévotion, je crois, qu'aucun de ces amis nouveaux qui ſont venus courtiſer ſa révolte. A ce ſouvenir je tombe aux genoux, offrant pour lui à Dieu des prières, dans leſquelles il n'a plus foi: et je ne me relève que pour combattre dans l'ami de ma jeuneſſe l'ennemi de tout ce que j'aime d'un éternel amour.

Thus fell one of the ableſt of French eccleſiaſtics, Lamennais. May GOD have had mercy on his ſoul!

During the whole of Louis Philippe's troubled reign the Church ſeemed to be loſing ground. No faſhionable man, in the capital, but would have been aſhamed to confeſs to the world that he was a regular attendant at maſs. Readers of the French journals of that time muſt remember how, in the Chambers, if reference were wiſhed to be made to any fact which could only be patent to a worſhipper in the church, the ſtereotyped formula was,—"Happening to be in—ſuch a church—the other day, *on occaſion of a marriage*, I there ſaw," &c.

* We quote, not from the original, which at this moment is not before us, but from Alzog.

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And the oppoſition offered to this tide of irreligion was chiefly by the ultra-development of the worſhip of S. Mary,—or by that ſickly, ſenſuous, ſentimental devotion to the Heart of JESUS. At the ſame time, powerful pens were enliſted on the Catholic ſide; De Montalembert, whom, in ſpite of his wrong-headedneſs to the Engliſh Church, the writer is proud to reckon as a friend; Lacordaire, Rio:—and now, too, Rohrbacher began his learned, though confuſed and Ultramontane "Hiſtoire de l'Egliſe." The Abbé Migne's "Patrologia"—poor, hurried, and meagre as is the text—let no one ever truſt to it—yet opened out a path which may hereafter be followed with great ſucceſs. And later came the ſingular controverſy, in which the Abbé Gaume took ſo great a ſhare—that of the *Ver Rongeur*:—whether ſtudies of the claſſical authors, uſually ſo called, can be the fitting education of a Chriſtian prieſt. The wiſdom with which Rome mediated in the diſpute is moſt remarkable.

Towards 1840, the Church began to recover her ground. The very curious diſcuſſions inſtituted in the churches of Paris—where one prieſt took the part of the infidel, the other of the Catholic—both, within certain limits, doing their beſt, drew intereſted multitudes. The preſent writer is not afraid to expreſs his opinion, that, horribly profane as our Engliſh habits would make them here, in the city where they had their birth they were right, and they did good. The increaſing influence of the Church is ſeen in the miniſterial circular of May 22, 1841, which gave the Siſters of Charity ſuch increaſed facilities of doing good.

During the interval which ſeparated the fall of Louis Philippe from the Preſidentſhip of Louis Bonaparte, the future of the French Church, to human eyes, ſeemed very doubtful. The wretched impoſture of La Salette, the more wretched, becauſe ſo devoutly believed in by many and many a faithful ſoul, undoubtedly, on the whole, ſtrengthened the Church's cauſe for a time. But was there ever ſuch a ſucceſs won without a reaction? The noble death of the Archbiſhop of Paris at the barricades, alſo, doubtleſs, was one living fact of the Church's influence.

The preſent Emperor, as we know, has found it politically convenient, on the whole, to "patronize" the Church. *Non tali auxilio.* But in her own energy and hard work the French Church may, eſpecially in particular provinces, take juſt pride. To our mind, Belgium is the moſt earneſt of all Roman Catholic countries. But next to that, Brittany (ſpeaking generally), the whole weſtern coaſt of France, ancient Burgundy and Auvergne

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—then Normandy and Picardy—and then Dauphiné and Franche-Comté, are noble examples of real Chriſtian work. Lorraine, Alſace, and great part of Champagne, ſeem to us about the deadeſt portion of the Church.

The remarkable efforts which Gallicaniſm has made during the laſt ten years deſerve at leaſt ſome notice. The *Obſervateur Catholique* is, we hope, known to many of our readers:—it ought at leaſt to be. Still more remarkable is *L'Union*, avowedly written by members of different branches of the Church. The great literary work of this revival is the Abbé Guettée's "Hiſtoire de l'Egliſe de France," which will immortaliſe his name, while it has ruined his earthly proſpects.

It was probably to override this naſcent ſpirit of Gallicaniſm that the provincial Councils of 1853 were held. That of Bordeaux, held at La Rochelle, was by far the moſt remarkable. It was ſeriouſly propoſed to condemn Boſſuet, and the Gallican Articles of 1682: Guettée's hiſtory was condemned. As a ſpecimen of the compoſition of all, let us give the names of the component Biſhops of this:—

Donnet, Cardinal Archbiſhop of Bordeaux.
Villecourt, Biſhop of La Rochelle.
George, Biſhop of Perigueux.
De Levezou de Veſins, Biſhop of Agen.
Bailles, Biſhop of Luçon.
Pie, Biſhop of Poitiers.
Couſſeau, Biſhop of Angoulême.
Leherpeur, Biſhop of S. Pierre and Fort-de-France (Martinique).
Deſprez, Biſhop of S. Denis de la Reunion (Isles de la R.).
Forcade, Biſhop of Baſſe-Terre (Guadaloupe).

Theſe three Colonial Biſhops lead, by compariſon with ourſelves, to the conſideration:—1. How utterly impoſſible it would be to conduct a colonial ſyſtem like our own on ſuch principles. 2. Have moſt of our prelates zeal enough to croſs the Atlantic, or the Southern Ocean, to attend a provincial council?

We may now turn our attention to Spain.

Here, immediately after the return of Ferdinand VII. in 1814, we find the Church in the ſame unhappy league with Abſolutiſm, and in the ſame oppoſition to ſo-called Liberaliſm, as in other European States. Ferdinand's tottering throne was upheld by the French advance of 1823: but he gradually loſt the confidence of the "prieſt party," to uſe the wretched modern ſlang—in plain Engliſh, of the National Church—and even in his lifetime a plot was carried on for raiſing his brother, Don Carlos, to the throne. On the death of his firſt wife, the King married

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his niece, Maria Chriſtina, of Naples. And, be it obſerved, to the infamous diſpenſation which permitted him ſo to do, the Church of Spain owes her bittereſt enemies. Ferdinand, finding his health declining, and the hope of a ſon at an end, aboliſhed the then Salic Law of Spain, declared his daughter heir, in excluſion of his brother, and died on Michaelmas Day, 1833. The Baſque Provinces and Arragon broke out in rebellion againſt Iſabella II, a child of three years old. The clergy generally favoured Don Carlos. It was our own ſtruggle of 1715 and 1745 over again; only fought out with the ſemi-Arabian blood of Spaniards. The cholera attacked Madrid (1834). The monks—ultra-monarchical beyond the ſecular clergy—were declared to have poiſoned the wells. The moſt horrible calumnies were propagated againſt them: but, alas! there was alſo much horrible truth—not ſo much againſt the monaſteries as againſt the cathedral and collegiate churches. It is wretched to ſpeak of ſuch things. But, acquainted as the writer is with the Peninſula, it would be diſhoneſt in him not to confeſs them. The Chapter of Seville had about ſeventy greater and fifty leſſer dignitaries. Of the former, at the diſſolution, ſcarcely one but had his acknowledged miſtreſs—his *barragana*—for the clergy had the diſgrace of an eſpecial word for ſuch a connection. What a ſtate of things that muſt have been when the proverb was current—

> En la calle de los Abades
> Todos han *Tios*, y ningunos *Padres*.

Or this;—the "Commandments of the Canons:"—

> El primero—
> Es amar a Don Dinero;
> El ſegundo—
> Es amolar a todo el mundo;
> El tercero—
> Buen vaca y carnero;
> El cuarto—
> Ajunar deſpues de harto;
> El quinto—
> Buen blanco y tinto:
> Y eſtos cinco ſe encierran en dos,
> Todo para mi, y nada para vos.

> The firſt—Sir Money to love with zeal;
> The ſecond—to grind the world to meal;
> The third—of mutton and beef good ſtore;
> The fourth—*he* may faſt who can eat no more;
> The fifth—good wine both white and red:
> —And yet one thing remains to be ſaid;
> The whole of the five may be ſumm'd in two,
> —All for me, and nothing for you!

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Nevertheleſs, though theſe horrid ſcandals no doubt prevailed in ſome of the larger monaſteries and collegiate eſtabliſhments, the countleſs country foundations were the poſitive bleſſings of the land. Centres of religious teaching, charity, civilization—excellent landlords, ſkilful agriculturiſts—they formed the material for the enormous maſs of Spaniſh eccleſiaſtical memoirs, and by ſubſcribing to them they rendered publication poſſible. No ſooner did a Church hiſtory come out, than ſome 1000 or 1200 copies were taken by the monaſtic libraries. Hence ſuch glorious works as Florez's "Eſpaña Sagrada;" which though nominally continued ſince the diſſolution, is ſo only by Government aid, is little read,—and *comparatively*, from the wholeſale deſtruction of records, little worth reading.

The law of June 21, 1835, ſuppreſſed NINE HUNDRED monaſteries. The reſt fell under the Jewiſh apoſtate, Mendizabal, on the 11th of the following October. In 1837 the Cortes declared tithes and all other poſſeſſions of the Church national property. A ſmall penſion was allotted to each monk, but never, or ſeldom, paid. The preſent writer firſt viſited Spain in June, 1843. It was the moſt touching thing to ſee theſe poor aged men, ghoſts of their former ſelves, aſhamed yet forced to beg, creeping about the chapels of that great cathedral of Seville, or emerging from behind one of the enormous piers, and aſking "in the moſt ſweet name of JESUS," if it were but for a ſingle *cuarto*. And all this ſacrilege, did it enrich the land? Not by one farthing. The vaſt ſums went, none knew where: no man made his fortune by them; the national exchequer was poorer than ever; land of courſe, having loſt its beſt agriculturiſts, fell out of cultivation: and the cry of the poor went up to heaven. If any one wiſhes to ſee the *waſte*, the brutal waſte, of the ſuppreſſion, let him go to Valladolid. There, in a hall of the muſeum, are ſome eighteen or twenty ſet of magnificent cinquecento ſtalls, ſome inlaid with marqueterie, ſome after the Grinling Gibbons ſtyle of foliage, collected from the ſuppreſſed monaſteries, and there brought together to no poſſible purpoſe; not ſtudies of art, not valuable as examples, never uſed, and never to be uſed. There alſo are *colgaduras*, *traſparentes*, *ſagrarios*, and *faciſtoles*, that once would have delighted the very heart of an eccleſiologiſt, but which now are buried in a ſaloon, where they are hurried over by the viſitor, and then conſigned to the ſilence and ſolitude of weeks. But to return to our ſubject. A plan of Church reform was brought forward in 1837, which involved the ſuppreſſion of ſeventeen and the erection of five ſees. Numbers of prieſts and ſeveral biſhops joined Don Carlos. Rome refuſed bulls for their ſucceſſors; ſee after ſee fell vacant; and ſerious thoughts were

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entertained of breaking off all connection with the Papal authority, and declaring Spain an independent national Church. At length, when twenty-two biſhoprics at home and in the colonies were widowed, Don Julian Villalba was ſent as agent to Rome. The Church found, however, her defenders; and the journals called *The Catholic*, *The Prophet*, and *Religion* were not without their influence. Then came the Septembriſt battle of 1840, which had for its aim the baniſhment of Chriſtina. Inſurrectionary juntas were formed all over the country: venerable paſtors and biſhops were everywhere driven away; and miſerable prieſts, ſuſpended for infamous lives, or overwhelmed with debt, had but to call themſelves *liberal*, and to ſtep into what place they might fancy. The majority of the aſſeſſors of the *Rota de la nunciatura Apoſtolica* were ſuſpended by the Madrid Junta. The Papal Nuncio, Ramirez de Arellano, proteſted. The Government of Eſpartero inſtantly gave him his paſſport, and ordered the police to ſee him over the frontier. Gregory XVI. in an allocution of March 1, 1841, ſet forth the manifold wrongs which that Government had done to the Church of Spain. It was anſwered by a manifeſto of Eſpartero. The mob was everywhere hounded on againſt the prieſts—the Miniſter of Grace and Juſtice eſpecially diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the brutality of his language, and the inſolence of his acts. The Pope, as a laſt reſource, demanded, in an energetic epiſtle, the prayers of all the faithful for the perſecuted Church of Spain.

Then it was ſeen that, notwithſtanding all the droſs that had gathered round it, there was yet fine gold that went into this furnace of affliction. Many a heroic action was then performed by prieſts, that yet lives in the hearth-talk of a winter night amidſt the wild glens of the Alpujarras, or the upland farms of Oviedo, or the dreary *paramos* of Caſtile. Biſhops there were, too, who ſet their faces like a flint againſt the incoming of blaſphemy and infidelity, under the title of Liberaliſm. All honour to ſuch men as Rafael de Velez, Archbiſhop of Santiago; as Fernando de Echanove y Zaldivar, Biſhop of Tarragona; as Simon de Guardiola, of Urgel; as Fort y Puig, of Barbaſtro; as Felix Herrero y Valverde, of Orihuela; and as Domingo de Silos Moreno, of Cadiz. Balmez, perhaps the greateſt theologian of his time, exerted himself in keeping up the courage of the younger prieſts. "Learn wiſdom," he cried, "at the foot of "the croſs, and this century is yours! Feel the privilege of "the light affliction, which is but for a moment, and unborn "Spaniards ſhall honour you as the LORD'S confeſſors! On "you hang the golden hopes of this country. Give way, and "ſhe will ſink lower and lower in the ſcale of nations: ſtand

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"firm, and the preſent troubles are but her agony into a glorious "future." Another noble name, too, Donoſo Cortes, ſhows that even then, in her loweſt degradation, Spain poſſeſſed at leaſt one Catholic and honourable ſtateſman. Againſt him it was that the *Times* uſed to ſpit its bittereſt venom.

With the aſſumption of the reins of government by Iſabella II. affairs mended a little. Gradually Rome and the Court of Madrid drew together; and in one day, Aug. 16, 1847, the following ſees were filled:—Toledo, Cordova, Cuença, Siguenza, Jaen, Carthagena, Oſma, Avila, Granada, Santander, Gerona, Teruel, Majorca; thirteen in all. Almoſt as many were filled in the next month, and ſeveral in October. On March 16, 1851, the Concordat was ſigned, but the Church received another blow by the return of Eſpartero in 1854; and for a time the Nuncio Franchi left Madrid. Since then a miſerable fraction of her property has been reſtored; but abbeys, convents, in a maſs, and many a fair collegiate church are gone for ever.

It muſt be confeſſed that there is very little Church-life in Spain at the preſent moment; and no country, not even England, gives leſs outward appearance of being Catholic. The Church at preſent conſiſts of the following provinces; the number of ſuffragans is affixed to each.

Patriarchate of the Indies, titular.

Toledo, 7.	Granada, 2.	Valencia, 4.
Valladolid,* }	Burgos, 5.	Santiago de Cuba, 2.
Santiago, 12. }	Tarragona, 8.	Manila, 3.
Seville, 5.	Saragoſſa, 6.	

Beſides which, there are the exempt biſhoprics of Leon and Oviedo; the Abad-Mayor (always a biſhop) of Alcala la Real; and the Prior-Biſhops of Ucles and San Marcos de Leon. There certainly now needs ſome reform in territorial arrangements. There are ſo many exempt pariſhes, which once depended on ſome great abbey, but which of courſe have now no head; ſo many collegiate churches with epiſcopal juriſdiction, but which are now ſcarcely in exiſtence. Some of theſe juriſdictions *vere nullius*, as the Spaniards call them, are hooked and dovetailed into the middle of a dioceſe in the ſtrangeſt imaginable way. There are alſo arrangements of this nature. In the odd years certain pariſhes are under the dioceſan; in the even years they are *vere nullius*;—others, in the odd months, belong to the former, in the even months to the latter. Theſe ſingu-

* Valladolid has only lately been raiſed to an Archbiſhopric, and the writer is not yet acquainted with the number of its ſuffragans.

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larities might have been harmleſs while the monaſtic ſyſtem was flouriſhing: at preſent, in many inſtances, the pariſh prieſt is half his time under his biſhop, and half his time without any ſuperior.

Let us now look to Switzerland (and here we may mention, with eſpecial approbation, Dr. Gelpke's Hiſtory, at leaſt ſo much of it as has already appeared). In earlier times that country was partly under the juriſdiction of Beſançon, partly of Milan, partly of Conſtance, partly of Mainz: an arrangement than which it is not eaſy to conceive anything more inconvenient in itſelf;—beſides its complication with the divided religions of the cantons. As every one knows, Freiburg, Solothurn, Luzerne, Zug, Unterwalden, Schwyz, Uri, Teſſin, Wallis, are Catholic: Schaffhauſen, Bale, Glarus, Zurich, Bern, Vaud, Neuchatel, are Proteſtant; the remainder being mixed. It was no wonder, therefore, that a general deſire was felt for the eſtabliſhment of a national biſhopric. Pius VII. was very unwilling to concede the boon; and for ſome time, the biſhopric of Conſtance being declared to have no longer any juriſdiction in Switzerland, the cantons were governed by Göldlin von Tiefenau, an eccleſiaſtic of great influence and piety, as Apoſtolic Vicar. The arrangement anſwered as long as he lived; but at his death, in 1819, the Prince-Biſhop of Chur, Charles Rudolph von Buol-Schauenſtein, who ſucceeded to the Vicariate Apoſtolic, could not command the ſame eſteem. Aargau, eſpecially, was anxious to be reannexed to Conſtance. A long ſeries of alterations took place, which it would not intereſt the reader to particularize: they gave occaſion to the bull *Inter multiplices* of Pius VII, and *Inter præcipua noſtri Apoſtolatus* of Leo XII. The preſent arrangement, which, having been partially adopted in 1841, was finally carried out by the Concordat of Nov. 7, 1845, is as follows:—The biſhoprics are: 1. *Baſle*, with juriſdiction over the cantons, Luzerne, Zug, Solothurn, Aargau, Thurgau, Baſle City, Baſle Country, Zurich, and Bern north of the Aar—the ſee is at Solothurn. 2. *Geneva* and *Lauſanne*, for Freiburg, Geneva, Vaud, Neuchatel, Bern ſouth of the Aar—the ſee is at Freiburg. 3. *Sion*, for Wallis. 4. *Chur*, for the Griſons, Uri, and Unterwalden. 5. *S. Gall* (this biſhopric was founded in the celebrated abbey of that name in 1823, but held with Chur till 1845), for Schwyz, S. Gall, Appenzell, Schaffhauſen, Glarus. The Italian-ſpeaking population of Teſſin are partly under the Biſhop of Como, partly under the Archbiſhop of Milan. To make the arrangement complete, there wants a national archbiſhop in the capital of the firſt Catholic canton, Luzerne. An Apoſtolic Nuncio, however, reſides there, who performs the functions of a Metropolitan.

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After the Revolution of 1830, the Liberal preſs became more and more bitter in its attacks againſt the Church. To oppoſe theſe, an able periodical, the *Schweizer Kirchenzeitung*, was ſet on foot in 1832. But a greater danger ſprang up within the Church herſelf. A ſtrongly Eraſtian party aroſe, who advocated her ſeparation from the Roman See. A theologian of ſome eminence for learning, but no great reputation for piety, Fiſcher, was at the head: its organ was the *Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung für Deutſchland und die Schweiz*. The cantons which ſympathiſed in the movement met at Baden, in 1834, and drew up certain Conference Articles, in which they made the Church the mere ſlave of the State. Theſe Articles were condemned by Gregory XVI. in an encyclic of 1836. This led to the refoundation of the celebrated Jeſuit College at Freiburg, originally founded by Caniſius. Great ſucceſs attended the work; the ſemi-infidel ſchools at Solothurn and Luzerne were well nigh cruſhed, and a great influx of parents took place into Freiburg. The educational eſtabliſhment at Montet, for girls, conducted by Siſters of the Heart of Jeſus, obtained alſo great influence.

At the commencement of 1841 the Council of Aargau, in formal contravention of a ground law of the Swiſs Confederation, diſſolved all the monaſteries in that State, the revenues of which amounted to more than 30,000*l*. It was in vain that the Nuncio, Gozzi, and the Auſtrian ambaſſador proteſted. But the ſtorm of indignation that followed compelled the National Council to declare all the ſales of the convent property illegal. In January, 1844, the nuns returned to their convents. Biſhop von Muri was acquitted of all fault, and the State condemned in coſts. The continuous perſecution of their enemies induced the Catholic cantons, perhaps imprudently, to form the Sonderbund. Joſeph Leu, one of their moſt prominent leaders, was baſely murdered for his religion by Jacob Müller, who was guillotined for the action. Then followed the war of the Sonderbund. The Catholics, beſides their inferiority in numbers, were inferior to their opponents in military ſkill; and Freiburg firſt, then Luzerne, then the other cantons, were compelled, in November of 1847, to yield. The *væ victis* followed. Forty convents were ſuppreſſed; the biſhop of Lauſanne was impriſoned, and afterwards exiled. Then the reaction began. Good Biſhop Marilley did more by his patience and labours in baniſhment than he could have effected by labouring at home. Catholic newſpapers ſprang up everywhere. A journal of Catholic art was ſet on foot. Catholic tracts were publiſhed for the poor Romaunce-ſpeaking mountaineers of the Engadine. Catholic hymns and poems were compoſed for them. The reader may not be diſpleaſed to ſee a

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portion of one of the latter, as a ſpecimen both of the feeling and of the language :—

"*L'amur da mamma.*

* * * * * *

Un ſecerdot ad ella s'avizina :
" Tien figl partit sün volonted divina :
Guard' Abraham
Chi sün il clam
Diſch : Dieu, ſun pront et der il figl ch' eau am."

" Sench hom," replica la adoloreda,
" Reſpet tieu dir, ma non reſt conſoleda :
Mien figl hè pers,
E l'Univers
Non pò, me pü, am der que ch' eau he pers!

" Dieu 'l cour da mamma memma bain cognuoſcha,
E me veſs El miſs quel in taunt anguoſcha :
Ad Abraham
Fet el il clam :
Sarah veſs dit : ' Mieu Dieu, eau memma l'am.' "

Finally, in Geneva, where, up to 1793, it was *death* to ſay maſs, on Sept. 8, 1859, Biſhop Marilley, returned from exile, and aſſiſted by four biſhops and 150 ſecular and regular prieſts, conſecrated the Liebfrauen-Kirche.

The population of Switzerland is given as 882,859 Catholics, as againſt 1,292,871 Proteſtants.

We turn to Portugal.

And here we muſt remember, in the firſt place, that Portugal differed moſt widely from Spain in having been deeply imbued with Gallican, and we fear we muſt alſo add with Eraſtian, views, ſince the Roman revolution of 1640. At that time Rome, out of complaiſance to the Court of Spain, refuſed bulls for many years to the Biſhops named by Dom João IV. (the *ci-devant* Duke of Braganza), and only gave way when a congregation of theologians declared that, in the caſe of ſo obſtinate a refuſal, biſhops might be canonically conſecrated without their bulls. Then the influence of the great Pereira in the eighteenth century, and (next to his tranſlation of the Bible) his two moſt celebrated works, the " Tentativa Theologica" (tranſlated into Engliſh by Mr. Landon), and the " Demonſtração Theologica," led public opinion in the ſame way. Even to this day, ſuch works as the Catechiſm of Montpelier (which Rome calls heretical) are text-books in Portugueſe ſchools.

In the civil war of 1829—1833, there can be no doubt that all that was good in the kingdom was on the ſide of Dom

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Miguel. The very name, of courſe, was to Engliſhmen—*Times*-taught and conſtitution-adoring Engliſhmen — a ſynonym for tyrant. That he was rather a grave, ſtern man, adored by thoſe that knew him, ſtrictly juſt, a real lover of the poor, to whom that vile ſycophant, Dom Pedro, pandered, by indulging their moſt brutal propenſities, will probably here never be believed. It pleaſed GOD that the unrighteous cauſe ſhould triumph. Now it was not in Portugal as in Spain. In Portugal, the monks had held aloof from all political agitation. Pedro wanted money, and ſo he took it from the monaſteries; but he could not ſay, as Donna Iſabella's adviſers might with truth, that the religious houſes had been againſt him. However, the decree of May 28, 1834, ſuppreſſed all at one ſtroke. Was Portugal enriched? Not by one *ceitil*.

No country had, in proportion to its ſize, ſo many monaſteries as Portugal; nowhere was the progreſs of the nation more bound up with the proſperity of its religious houſes. The Benedictine monaſtery of Lorvão was the firſt. The valley in which it was ſituated was then a waſte howling wilderneſs; the monks made it the ſmiling garden it now is. Well ſays Diniz:—

Eſtas aſperezas namoravam os monges, que ſe com fadigas folgavam: elles meſmos não querião viver ſenão do trabalho da ſuas mãos, imitando os Apoſtolos. O paiz eſcabroſo e deſerto, por meio do trabalho dos frades, ſe tornara ameno e riſonho: com o ſuor do ſeu roſto foi que elles fecundaram o ſolo, que hoje é tão fertil.

Yes; they all fell at one blow: Benedictines, Conegos da Vida Commum, Bernardos, with that hiſtorical monaſtery of Sa. Cruz at Coimbra, Premonſtratenſians, the Congregation de Rocha Amador, Franciſcans with their many diviſions, Borras (the Portugueſe title for the third order), Obſervantines, with their four families, S. Franciſco da Cidade (black with white girdle), Xabreganos (black with grey girdle), Recollets (grey with grey girdle), Apoſtolic miſſionaries do Varatojo (the ſame with crucifix on breaſt)—how we might extend the liſt! We will only mention the very ſingular little order called *Pegos Verdes*, which was confined to Algarve. They were laymen, under no vow except of chaſtity for as long as they remained in their *conventiculo*: they lived by the labour of their hands, and ſometimes the whole order conſiſted only of three perſons. They were free to leave their convent when they would, and ſometimes did ſo. They were great favourites with the excellent Biſhop of Silves, D. Franciſco Gomes de Avellas. They, too, are gone. Batalha, the Weſtminſter of Portugal, with its glorious memories of Aljubarrota; Alcobaça, the fineſt Ciſterican houſe ſouth of the

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Pyrenees—it is marvellous how one wicked man's will could, in the teeth of a nation's wiſhes, prevail to their deſtruction. Hear what Lorvão is now. The deſcription is from the pen of the celebrated hiſtorian Herculano, the firſt literary man in the Portugal of to-day:—

Imagine, meu amigo, uma noite, de inverno, no fundo deſta eſpecie do poço perdido no meio da turba de montes que o rodeiam: imagine dezoito ou vinte mulheres idoſas mettidas entre quatro paredes humidas e regelladas, ſem agaſalho, ſem lume para ſe aquecerem, ſem pão para ſe alimentarem, ſem energia na alma, e ſem forças no corpo, comparando o paſſado, ſentindo o preſente, antevendo o futuro. Imagine o vento que ruge, a chuva ou a neve fuſtigando as poucas vidraças, que anida reſtam no edificio: imagine eſſas orgias tempeſtuoſas da natureza que paſſam por cima das lagrimas ſilencioſas das pobres ciſtercienſes: e as horas eternas que batem na torre. Imagine tudo eſſe, e ſentirá accender-ſe-lhe no animo uma indignação reconcentrada e inflexivel.

It was only in 1841 that negotiations were again entered into with the Holy See, and the Nuncio Capaccini came to Liſbon to ſettle a future concordat. In 1843 the Pope gave new bulls to the eccleſiaſtics nominated to the Patriarchate of Liſbon, the Archbiſhopric of Braga, and the See of Leiria; but the concordat was not actually ſigned till after the acceſſion of Dom Pedro V. In 1856 the cholera, in 1857 the yellow fever, ravaged Liſbon, and the exertions of the French Siſters of Charity were ceaſeleſs and marvelloufly bleſſed. For this the "Liberal" party has never ceaſed to perſecute them, and has now at laſt forced them to leave the country. Our own Siſters of Sion Houſe, ſettled at Liſbon for ſo many years, have now once more returned to England, where it will be the only conventual eſtabliſhment which has maintained itſelf from a period antecedent to the Reformation, with the one exception of that which till lately was at Spettiſbury, but now is in Devonſhire: the repreſentatives of S. Margaret at Dartford.

In connection with the ſubject of Portugal, we muſt ſay a few words on the ſo-called *Schiſm of Goa*, and the famous *direito do padroado*.

In 1534, Paul III. by the bull *Æquum reputamus* erected Goa into a ſee, ſuffragan to Funchal in Madeira. The Portugueſe, as we all know, were at that time the only European power in India, and to the King of Portugal was given the right of patronage in nominating to the See. Paul IV. in 1557 raiſed it to a metropolitical rank; he erected the Sees of Cochin and Malacca to be its ſuffragans, and as before veſted the right of patronage in the Crown of Portugal. In 1575, Gregory XIII. founded the See of Macao, alſo ſuffragan to Goa, and gave the

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patronage as before, *but now for the firſt time with an additional ſtipulation*; namely, that the king ſhould provide all the funds neceſſary for the well-being of theſe ſees, and ſhould not permit them to be vacant an unneceſſary time. By degrees there were added as ſuffragans, Funai, ſeparated from Mecao (1588), Angomala (1600), Meliapor (1686), ſeparated from Cochin; Pekin and Nankin (1690), ſeparated from Macao. All theſe were in the patronage of the Crown of Portugal, *ſub conditione dotationis et fundationis*, and with the cautela of Gregory XIII. That Crown preſently ſtretched its pretenſions further, and conſidered its conſent neceſſary before any miſſionary at all could enter the Eaſt. Clement VIII. ſo far gave in to this aſſumption as to forbid that any miſſionary ſhould enter Aſia except by way of Liſbon and Goa; but Paul V, finding the great inconveniences of the reſtriction, annulled it. An almoſt open war broke out between the clergy of Goa and thoſe who entered India by other routes. They ſtigmatiſed them as *propagandiſts*, threw every obſtacle in their way, and treated them as open enemies. That clergy, very rich and luxurious, was now ſcandalouſly inattentive to its duties. There were at one time three millions of Roman Catholics in India, there is now only one million; whole villages, once Chriſtian, have relapſed into heatheniſm, and the reſult is profeſſedly owing to the ſupineneſs of the Goan prieſts.

Innocent XII. found himſelf in a difficulty with regard to the increaſing Church in China. The erection of Pekin and Nankin into biſhoprics had not been at all pleaſing to the Portugueſe monarch, who, if he wiſhed for the *direito do padroado*, had the expenſe of the inſtitution and maintenance of theſe ſees, and he now abſolutely refuſed to erect any more. The Pope met the difficulty by ſending out Vicars-Apoſtolic, and peremptorily forbade the Dioceſan Biſhops to exerciſe any authority within the new vicariates; a violent aggreſſion on epiſcopal rights, and an evaſion of the original ſtipulation with the Portugueſe monarch. The clergy of Goa, however, whatever were their rights, were conducting themſelves in a way which made them the ſcandal of India. The Biſhop of Berytus *in partibus*, being ſent by the Supreme Pontiff to inveſtigate the cauſes of the decline of the Church there, was declared by the Inquiſition a rebel againſt the authority of the Primate, and the faithful were forbidden to hold any ſpiritual intercourſe with him. This kind of ſtruggle went on for ſome years. The Primate, ſupported by all the authority of the Viceregal Court, was more than a match for the diſtant power of Rome. Some of the Papal miſſionaries ſubmitted to the dioceſan authority; ſome of the

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Vicars-Apoſtolic accepted a ſecond nomination from the Primate as his own Vicars-General. Clement X. in 1673 prohibited ſuch acceptance in future; and the brief was forthwith declared, by the Archbiſhop of Goa and his chapter, ſurreptitious and apocryphal.

Meanwhile, the power of Portugal fell to pieces, but her kings clung only the more fondly to the right of patronage, though the ſees to which they preſented were no longer in their poſſeſſion. The ſuppreſſion of the Jeſuits, in 1773, was the death-blow to the ſyſtem of Vicariates-Apoſtolic, and from that period all the power remained with the primate and his clergy. Moſt of the latter were Indo-Portugueſe, a claſs for whom the natives entertained the greateſt horror. They united the evil qualities of both races, ſpoke an unintelligible patois, ſcandalouſly ſold the offices of the Church, even baptiſm, and contentedly ſaw Chriſtianity die out in one village after another, and whole tracts of country that once abounded with converts returning to the worſhip of Viſhnu and Siva. In 1778 the Indo-Portugueſe clergy were expelled from Bombay on account of their ſcandalous lives, and the Engliſh Government requeſted the neareſt Vicar-Apoſtolic to take on himſelf the charge of its Roman Catholic ſubjects. He obtained authorization from Rome to do ſo, but the Primate of Goa never ceaſed to claim juriſdiction at Bombay. In 1791, the Eaſt India Company gave notice to the Archbiſhop that they recognized no authority in him; and he actually wrote to demand from the Pope the expulſion of the Vicar-Apoſtolic. In the meantime, the biſhoprics of Cranganor, Cochin, and Meliapor remained vacant for half a century.

Gregory XVI. had been, previouſly to his elevation, Prefect of the Propaganda, and in that capacity was intimately acquainted with the condition of India. In 1832, Cardinal Pedicini notified to the Portugueſe ambaſſador that his maſter muſt either perform his duty by filling the vacant ſees, or definitely renounce the right of patronage. Dom Miguel promiſed attention to the requeſt as ſoon as the civil war ſhould be at an end. The revolution prevailed, and the Pope, finding that the new Government was in almoſt open revolt againſt Rome, at length reſolved to act. With the conſent of the Engliſh Government, he erected a Vicariate-Apoſtolic in Calcutta (April 18) and in Madras (April 25). The Goan clergy were furious at what they termed the intruſion of the "Turkiſh Biſhops" (they happened to have their titles from places in Turkey). The Chapter menaced with excommunication all who ſhould entertain any relation with them. Attempts were made to render the Engliſh Government ſuſpicious of them. But Gregory was

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not to be turned from his purpoſe. He inſtituted the Vicariate of Ceylon, Dec. 23, 1836, and that of Madras, June 3, 1837, and at the ſame time deſpatched a few Jeſuit miſſionaries to India. The Goaneſe at this time charged for confeſſions of one year, two vintens; of two years, à rupee; of three years, two rupees; baptiſms coſt three vintens. At length, India being torn aſunder by an open ſchiſm, Gregory XVI. by the brief *Multa præclare* (April 24, 1838) abrogated the decrees of his predeceſſors, aboliſhed the Sees of Cranganor, Cochin, and Meliapor, marked out the limits of the Vicariates, making them dependent on the ſee of Rome only, and aboliſhing the metropolitical rights of Goa. It might have been a neceſſary ſtep; but ſtill one cannot help ſeeing in it another inſtance of the diſregard evinced by Rome to dioceſan rights.

After the interrupted relations between Rome and Portugal were reſtored, Joſé Maria da Silva Torres was nominated to the Archbiſhopric of Goa. In the Conſiſtory of June 16, 1843, it was reſolved that the Bull of Inſtitution ſhould be accompanied by letters apoſtolic, limiting the juriſdiction of the new Archbiſhop to Portugueſe territory only, and that he ſhould ſwear to obſerve them, as well as the brief *Multa præclare*. He did ſo, and ſailed to India; but on his arrival at Goa, he ratified all the preceding acts of the Chapter; declared publicly that the Pope had no power to annul the conſtitutions of his predeceſſors without the formal conſent of the Crown of Portugal; and to ſtrengthen his cauſe, he ordained no fewer than 800 eccleſiaſtics of different degrees, men who had been hurriedly educated in the epiſcopal ſeminary, and who had little acquaintance with any theological ſubject except the *jus patronatus*. Theſe men were ſent out into the vicariates, and gave conſiderable ſcandal.

The Archbiſhop allied himſelf cloſely with Antonio Teixeira, an Auguſtinian friar, who had been nominated by the Portugueſe Government to the ſee of Meliapor, but had not been able to procure his bulls. He now viſited his dioceſe, and the oppoſing parties in ſome caſes came to blows. Gregory XVI. addreſſed an admonition to the Archbiſhop, but without effect, and at the time of the death of that pontiff the adherents of Goa were reckoned at 240,000.

Pius IX. endeavoured to procure the recall of the Primate. It was agreed that he ſhould be transferred to an archiepiſcopate *in partibus*, be made coadjutor of Braga (which boaſts itſelf, in oppoſition to Toledo, the primatial See of All the Spains), with the promiſe of ſucceſſion: the actual prelate was nearly eighty; beſides which, he was to have the lucrative poſt

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of Commiſſioner of the *Bulla do Cruzado*. The Primate certainly could not complain of the terms, and accordingly he became Archbiſhop of Palmyra, and returned to Portugal. In his allocution to the Cardinals, of Feb. 17, 1851, before naming Da Silva future ſucceſſor at Braga, the Pope commented in ſevere terms on the "ſchiſm of Goa;" and a reply to that allocution was printed at Liſbon, and reprinted in Goa.

On receiving official intelligence of the vacancy of the See, the Chapter of Goa elected as Vicar-General the Biſhop-deſignate of Cochin, and named one Antonio Mariano Soares Archdeacon. This eccleſiaſtic called himſelf Vicar-General of Goa, in Bombay: five pariſhes in the city, and ſix in the iſland of Salſette, recognized his authority. In Calcutta, Madras, and Meliapor, the party was alſo ſtrong. But the abſence of an Archbiſhop, and the neceſſity of applying for confirmation to the Vicars-Apoſtolic, weakened the national party, and the Chapter ſummoned the Portugueſe Biſhop of Macao, Jeronymo Joſe da Matta, to their aid. He landed at Bombay in the February of 1853. He celebrated pontifically, ordained ſome deacons and ſubdeacons, and confirmed 150 perſons, firſt preaching at ſome length on the ſchiſm. Thence he went to Cochin and other places, performing epiſcopal acts everywhere. Doctor Hartmann, Biſhop of Derbe *in partibus*, was Vicar-Apoſtolic of Bombay. He publiſhed a proteſt againſt the intruſion of the Biſhop of Macao, ſent a circular to the other vicars requeſting their advice in this emergency, and deſpatched his private ſecretary with all ſpeed to Rome. The *Bee*, the organ of Goa, continued to chronicle the Biſhop of Macao's proceedings in a ſucceſſion of ovations. He proceeded from Bombay to Goa, where he ordained thirty-one prieſts and eleven deacons. At length an open rupture occurred in Mahim, a village near Bombay. Doctor Hartmann was about to perform ſome office in the church, when its curate, of the oppoſite party, refuſed to allow him. The civil power was called in, and endeavoured to eject the Vicar-Apoſtolic. The latter actually remained a priſoner in the church for a whole month rather than yield poſſeſſion; a moſt unedifying ſpectacle, and one which gave occaſion to many a leading article in the local preſs on the unity of the Roman Church. It was not a little curious, however, to ſee the *Telegraph* and *Courier*, and the *Bombay Times*, taking part with Biſhop Hartmann on the moſt purely Eraſtian grounds; that the Roman Church in Engliſh territory owed obedience to the Queen and her eccleſiaſtical authorities; and to hear ſimilar arguments adduced by the Ultramontane party.

In the meantime Biſhop Hartmann's circular was receiving

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anſwers. Beſides the three vicariates—Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay—of which we have ſpoken, thirteen others had been founded: in the whole ſixteen were 303 prieſts and 670,000 faithful. (The number of Anglican prieſts, we may obſerve, at that time was only 131.) The following ſigned an addreſs, prepared by Biſhop Hartmann, requeſting the condemnation of the Biſhop of Macao, and the excommunication of thoſe prieſts who refuſed obedience to the vicariates:—the Vicars-Apoſtolic of Calcutta, Carew; of Combatore, Breſſellac: of Colombo and his coadjutor; of Dacca, Oliffe; of Jaffna; of Madura, Canoz (a Jeſuit); of Mangalore, Charronaux; of Pondicheri, Bonnaud; of Imla and Verapoly; of Vizagapatam, Neyret. The Vicar of Agra was not aſked, *it is ſaid*, becauſe there were no 'ſchiſmatics' in his dioceſe; he of Ava Pegu could not, on account of war, be reached; he of Hyderabad declined ſigning; he of Madras was ſilent; he of Patna abſent.

In the meantime, Doctor Hartmann's ſecretary had reached Rome. It was eaſy to foreſee the conſequence. A brief was addreſſed to India, condemning in the ſtrongeſt terms the Biſhop of Macao, and threatening him, Antonio Mariano Soares, and three other prieſts with excommunication, if they did not ſubmit in two months after the publication of the inſtrument. On receiving notice of it, the Biſhop-deſignate of Cochin, Vicar-General of Goa, denounced the brief as deteſtable and apocryphal; forbade the clergy of the dioceſe to pay any obedience to it; the Portugueſe "Governor-General" rejected it "with contempt," as an invaſion of the rights of the Crown; and the *Bee* publiſhed a ſeries of articles to ſhow that blind obedience to Rome was no part of the duty of a Catholic. The Chambers at Liſbon proteſted againſt the brief, which produced a counter proteſt from a large body of the clergy, the Biſhop of Guarda taking the lead. In India, the poſſeſſion of the churches was ſettled by a civil action in the court of Bombay—Biſhop Canoz, of Trichinopoly, on the one ſide; a prieſt, with national ſentiments, named Arokkianader, on the other—and the judgment was in favour of the Goaneſe clergy; a heavy blow to the Vicars-Apoſtolic.

We have already dwelt too long on this epiſode, and will only add that the ſchiſm ran on for ſix years longer, and has only recently been ended by a Concordat with Don Pedro. The terms, while leaving the Vicars-Apoſtolic in poſſeſſion of the powers for which Rome contended throughout, are not unfavourable to the Crown of Portugal.

Let us now direct our attention to the Church in Bavaria. At the cloſe of the laſt century, free-thinking and Eraſtianiſm were

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rampant in that land. Maximilian Joſeph, who ſucceeded in 1799, himſelf a man of no religion, found in the miniſter Montgelas an unſcrupulous agent in impoveriſhing the Church. Seventy monaſteries, ſome of them on the moſt magnificent ſcale, were ſuppreſſed at one ſtroke. Great havoc was made in the cathedral and pariſh ſacriſties, which up to that time had been peculiarly rich in works of Chriſtian art. Cardinal della Genga, afterwards Leo XII, had with great trouble almoſt concluded an arrangement in 1807, when Napoleon interpoſed, and the Church dragged on a ſtormy exiſtence till 1817, when at length the Concordat was ſigned. The oath enforced by the new Conſtitution cauſed many ſcruples among the clergy, which, however, were allayed by the royal proclamation of Sept. 15, 1821; in point of fact, explaining it away. With the acceſſion of Louis, in 1825, happier times began, and Bavaria became the ſeat of Church art; pity only that, ſo far as the monarch was concerned, the ſeparation of cultivated taſte and pure morality was ſo complete! A *Society for the Propagation of Good Books* was vigorouſly ſupported and extenſively uſeful; and Gorres, Möhler, Döllinger, Reithmayr, and Klee are names which will live in the memory of the Church.

Trèves has during the preſent century achieved a high reputation for the earneſtneſs and ſucceſs of its Church-work. Three ſuch ſucceeding biſhops as Sailer, Wittmann, Schwäff are ſeldom vouchſafed to one ſee. Partly through their efforts, aided by the, in that reſpect, excellent diſpoſition of the King, ſeveral religious houſes have been founded or refounded, eſpecially of Capuchins, Franciſcans, and Carmelites; the Redemptoriſt Fathers and the Brothers of Mercy have been introduced; Siſters of Charity and Siſters of Compaſſion have numerous convents; while nowhere have the efforts of the Order of the Good Shepherd, for the aid of fallen women, been more bleſſed. The *Ludwigs-Verein*, a ſociety for miſſions to North America and Aſia, has an increaſing income and an extending work. Its ſtatutes were publiſhed in 1839. Under her preſent King, Maximilian, Bavaria preſents to the eye one of the bright ſpots of the Weſtern Church.

We naturally turn next to Pruſſia. Till the year 1821, though profeſſedly tolerated, and regarded with a kind of contemptuous compaſſion by ſucceſſive monarchs, the Church was at a very low ebb. In that year the bull *De ſalute animarum*, which concluded an agreement with the State, enabled the almoſt quenched ſpirit of Catholic enterpriſe to break forth anew. The epiſcopate was ſet on a different footing. Thoſe curſes of mediæval Europe, the prince-biſhoprics and elector-primates of

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Rhine-land, had been ſwept away for ever, and now in their ſtead roſe the modern Archbiſhopric of Cologne, with his ſuffragans of Trèves, Münſter, and Paderborn; the Archbiſhopric of Gneſen-Poſen, and the Biſhopric of Ermeland. Münſter, whoſe prince-biſhop, only 200 years before—the reader may remember Dryden's line,

Let Munſter's prelate ever be accurſed —

had employed himſelf in battering down the houſes of his flock about their ears, now became the home of a hard-working apoſtolic biſhop, counting his revenue by kreutzers where his predeceſſor numbered them by florins. In the meantime, the reſearches of Niebuhr and Bunſen, by calling out the intellectual energies of the Church, gave her real aſſiſtance; in the ſame way that the Tercentenary of the Reformation in 1817 called out Möhler's immortal "Symbolik." The eſpecial ſtudies of the prieſthood were directed and furthered by the theological faculty of the Univerſity of Bonn, and the *Lyceum Hoſianum* for the Dioceſe of Ermeland and the Catholic Academy of Münſter.

But the moſt remarkable figure in the German eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of the preſent century is undoubtedly Clement Auguſtus von Droſte, Archbiſhop of Cologne. He had been Vicar-General of Münſter, and while in that poſition maintained a gallant conflict with the Pruſſian Government on the ſubject of theological ſtudies. His predeceſſor, Ferdinand Spiegel, had been a ſupporter of Hermeſianiſm, that ſemi-Pelagian, ſemi-rationaliſtic ſyſtem, which had been condemned by Gregory XVI, in 1835. It had ſtill, however, ſpread amongſt the younger clergy, and Von Droſte, in every poſſible way, endeavoured to ſtop its further progreſs. Among other means to this end, he drew up eighteen theſes, principally directed againſt the new hereſy, which he required to be ſigned by candidates for holy orders. The Pruſſian Government immediately exclaimed that its rights were injured, and peremptorily demanded the recall of the theſes. Countleſs pamphlets appeared on both ſides of the queſtion: at the ſame time alſo the queſtion of mixed marriages opened another conflict. A convention had been drawn up between the afterwards notorious Bunſen on the part of the King, and Archbiſhop von Spiegel on that of the Church; by which the latter agreed that the former diſcipline on the ſubject of marriages ſhould be relaxed, ſo as not to be inconſiſtent with the educational State-minute of 1825. But Bunſen only ſigned *ſubject to higher approval;* Von Spiegel abſolutely. Pius VIII, in his ſhort pontificate, condemned the conceſſion; and Von

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Droſte declared himſelf unable to follow in his predeceſſor's ſteps. He would not, he ſaid, by ſerving two maſters, bring himſelf to the ſame deathbed as that of one of his ſuffragans—it was the Biſhop of Trèves—who then bitterly repented, and, as far as he could, undid his unhappy compliance. On this the Government had recourſe to the *ultima ratio regum;* and on Nov. 20, 1837, the brave-hearted prelate was ſeized, exiled, and impriſoned at Nieuburg. Bunſen, the perpetual reviler of perſecutors in all ſhapes, preferred revenge to conſiſtency.

There aroſe a burſt of indignation from the Roman Catholic world. In an allocution of Dec. 10, 1837, the Pope condemned in the ſtrongeſt manner the act of the Government, exhorted his beloved brother to ſtand firm, and praiſed him in the higheſt terms. Next Martin von Dunin, Archbiſhop of Poſen and Gneſen, who had already, independently of Cologne, been engaged in the ſame battle againſt the miniſtry, iſſued a very ſtrongly worded paſtoral brief; on which the *Oberlandeſgerichte*, at Poſen, pronounced him ſuſpended from office, and condemned him to ſix months' confinement in a fortreſs. He was accordingly impriſoned in that of Colberg. From that moment a Catholic reaction took place all over Germany. Addreſſes without number poured in to the two Archbiſhops; the clergy of the archdioceſe of Gneſen-Poſen, as was fitting, led the way. It happened that a council was aſſembled at Baltimore when the news of theſe proceedings reached America, and the archbiſhop, with twelve of his ſuffragans, addreſſed a fraternal letter of ſympathy and encouragement to the two confeſſors. All the Biſhops of Pruſſia were ranged on the ſame ſide, with the ſingle exception of Sedlnitzky, Prince-Biſhop of Breſlau, and he ſoon afterwards reſigned his ſee.

While matters ſtood thus, the King died, and was ſucceeded by Frederick William IV. (June, 1841). This monarch was known to be, theoretically at leaſt, an admirer of the Church; and his firſt actions did not diſappoint his Catholic ſubjects. The Archbiſhop of Gneſen was, in leſs than two months, notwithſtanding the general outcry of the Liberal papers, reſtored to his flock. In two paſtoral letters he ſtrongly forbade mixed marriages for the future, but recommended that thoſe who had contracted them ſhould, in the confeſſional and on the ſickbed, be treated with all tenderneſs. The difficulties for the future were thus ſolved, the State deprecating them as earneſtly as the Biſhop; for the paſt, it muſt be confeſſed that the victory lay with the Government. Archbiſhop von Dunin, to the deep ſorrow of all his flock, was taken from the world on S. Stephen's Day, 1842. Before this, however, the King had

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granted the biſhops what had hitherto been denied them, a free reſort to Rome.

In Cologne, too, Frederick William acted with conſiderable nobleneſs of ſpirit. The King of Bavaria permitted the Biſhop of Spires, Van Geiſſel, to act as coadjutor of the archdioceſe; in order that negotiations might be ſet on foot with Rome. The Pruſſian monarch officially diſavowed his predeceſſor's violence. The Archbiſhop, however, finding his health fail, and weary of ſtrife, reſigned his poſt in a beautiful paſtoral, in which he told his people that, if he ſeemed to retire from the active battle of his dioceſe, it was only that, like Moſes, he might be the better able to lift up his hands for them to heaven. He died October 19, 1845; and to him, undoubtedly—to his firmneſs and to his ſufferings—is to be aſcribed the remarkable regeneration of the Church in almoſt all the great cities of the Northern Rhine; nowhere, however, more remarkable than at Coblentz. The intereſt which the King took in that noble work, the completion of Cologne, ſhowed his friendly diſpoſition at leaſt to Catholic art; while perfect freedom was guaranteed to the Roman Church in Pruſſia by the 15th organic article of Dec. 5, 1848.

Let us now glance at the eccleſiaſtical condition of Rhineland, where the conqueſts of Napoleon had obliterated all the old landmarks, and his overthrow had deſtroyed the new *régime*. Von Dalberg, Primate of Ratiſbon,* the leading eccleſiaſtic of Germany during the troubles, died in February, 1817. Shortly afterwards the Proteſtant princes of Germany reſolved on a general meeting, for the purpoſe of an arrangement with Rome regarding the change, or creation of dioceſes, now abſolutely neceſſary, from the vaſt alteration of territorial boundaries, and the mediatization of ſo many little ſtates. There met at Frankfort-on-Main (March 24, 1818), the ambaſſadors of Baden, both Heſſes, the four Hanſeatic towns, Mecklenburg, Naſſau, Oldenburg, Waldeck, and Wurtemberg; thoſe of Wurtemberg and Baden taking, as was natural, the initiative in the deliberations. To the epiſcopal arrangements conſequent on this meeting we have already alluded in the brief ſketch we gave of the pontificate of Pius VII. But difficulties preſently aroſe. One of the biſhops-deſignate for the new ſees, by name Weſſenberg, had already been coadjutor to Von Dalberg at Conſtance, and the Pope now refuſed him his bulls. The reaſon; the See of Rome imagined theſe prelates to have been engaged in common to carry out the ſo-called *Kirchenpragmatik*, the organic

* Some of our readers will remember the rather ſtriking effigy of this prelate, kneeling on a raiſed pedeſtal before a very lofty croſs, in the centre of the nave of this cathedral.

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articles propoſed by the Proteſtant ſtates as a kind of concordat, but diſapproved by the Pontiff. Theſe matters were finally arranged by Leo XII. in his bull *Ad Dominici gregis* (April, 1827). In the October of that year Bernard Boll was inſtalled in that lovely cathedral of Freiburg in Breiſgau as firſt archbiſhop; and the Vicariates-General came to an end. But freſh troubles were at hand. The thirty-nine *Paragraphs* of January, 1830, created a deep ſenſation all over Germany. By theſe the offices of the Church were ſubjected to a *Placet* from the police-office. The biſhops tamely yielded; only one generous defender of the liberty of Catholic rites was found to lift up his voice—the free Baron von Hornſtein. Pius VIII. in a brief to the prelates of the Upper Rhine for this reproaches them with having obeyed man rather than GOD. The troubles that followed, and eſpecially the daily encroachments made by the civil power on the rights of his Church, embittered and ſhortened Archbiſhop Boll's days; he could not procure the removal of one Reichlin-Meldegg, an almoſt profeſſed Socinian, from the chair of Catholic Theology at Freiburg.

The ſtand made by Van Droſte, in the neighbouring Pruſſian territories, quickened the exertions of the Church in Wurtemberg and Baden. The Biſhop of Rottenburg brought in a *Motion*, in the ſecond Chamber of the former State, which, under that name, became the watchword of eccleſiaſtical liberty; it contained nine main articles; which, though rejected at the time, were conſtantly kept in view by thoſe who ſucceeded to the ſtrife. In Baden things were worſe; for here a ſection of Catholics were for a free German Church—free, that is, from Rome, but chained to the wheels of the State. At the head of theſe was Dominic Kuenzer, the paſtor of the Spital Kirche at Conſtance, and he had a ſtrong following at Carlſrhue. But Boll had ſucceſſors of a different calibre to himſelf. Archbiſhop *Demeter* firſt, and then *Von Vicari*, the preſent venerable Metropolitan, with whom we have the honour to be ſlightly acquainted, loved but to act on the famous ſaying of S. Bernard's, *Nihil magis diligit Deus in hoc mundo quam libertatem eccleſiæ ſuæ*. It was hoped that the Baden troubles of 1848, which ſhattered to pieces the old order of things, would have knapped aſunder the chains of the Church; but the complete toleration now given by the great Proteſtant ſtate, Pruſſia, was in theſe comparatively little kingdoms, on various pretences, deſired. In the February of 1853, the Metropolitan Von Vicari invited his ſuffragans of Rottenburg, Mainz, Lemburg, and Fulda, to a conference at Freiburg. The reſult of this, and a later conference, was a demand of theſe four points: 1. Free intercourſe

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with prieſts and laity; 2. Catholic ſchools; 3. Permiſſion of religious houſes; 4. The rights guaranteed to the Church by the Peace of Weſtphalia. After innumerable difficulties, a convention was drawn up between the King of Wurtemberg and the Apoſtolic See, in July, 1857, which has, we believe, proved to work well; and another between the Grand Duke of Baden and the ſame Pontiff, in June, 1859, which gave riſe to great troubles, and was explained by a ducal manifeſto in the following ſpring. Affairs in Baden ſtill remain, to a certain extent, unſettled; though in this nation, the Catholics are two to one—in Wurtemberg only one to two. Of all theſe States we ſay, in the old rhyme,

Bayern und Pfalz,
Gott erhalt's!

We have entered ſo fully, on former occaſions, into the Church hiſtory of Holland and Belgium, that we may omit thoſe ſtates now, and proceed to Auſtria.

Auſtria came unprepared to the great ſtruggle, on account of the pſeudo-philoſophical reforms of the Emperor Joſeph. Suppreſſed and impoveriſhed monaſteries, and pedantic routine taking the place of Church education, had not only their uſual reward, but actually loſt Belgium. The new *régime*, by incorporating the princely domains of the archbiſhopric of Salzburg into the imperial domain, ſo far did the Church good ſervice. If any one wiſhes to judge for himſelf how thoſe half-ſecular, half-religious principalities worked, let him read the ſecond volume of the "Germania Sacra," of Hanſiz, that which contains the archbiſhopric of Salzburg. We would refer him eſpecially to the Epiſcopate of Francis, Count of Harrach, towards the end of the ſeventeenth century. Hanſiz honours him with an eulogy which, ſo far as words go, would ſeem rather extravagant if applied to S. Auguſtine. Yet the fact comes out that, becauſe ſome poor wretch treſpaſſed on his rights of free warren, this admirable prelate *condemned him to the galleys for life*. It is only right to add that, ſome years after, he procured the priſoner's liberation.

As Auſtria returned more nearly than did the other German States to the old *régime*, there is the leſs to ſay of her recent Church hiſtory. Notable names therein are Leopold Chlumczanſky, firſt Biſhop of Leitmentz, and then Archbiſhop of Prague; the Count von Firmain, Archbiſhop, firſt of Salzburg, then of Vienna; and, above all, F. X. Salin, Biſhop of Grork. The Jeſuits re-entered in 1820; the Redemptoriſts in 1816. In September, 1822, the Archbiſhop of Gran called together a National Court of Hungary. That primacy is the richeſt in

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the world; till 1848 it averaged 50,000*l.* a-year; in that year the Diet framed an act which diminiſhed it, proportionately with the other ſees, to about 34,000*l.* Surely it may be doubted whether, in the preſent ſtate of things, ſuch extravagant wealth is good for the Church. The moſt important event of late is the recent Concordat, the ceaſeleſs object of inſult to Proteſtant papers.

We have ſtill, to take a fair view of the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory (in its wideſt ſenſe) of modern Europe, two more papers to write: whether they ſhall appear or not muſt depend on the wiſhes of our readers.

The firſt would contain a ſketch of the excluſively Proteſtant countries, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finmark, with the Proteſtant and Reformed communities of Germany.

The ſecond, the ſtruggles of the Roman Church in the border lands between herſelf and the Eaſt; Wallachia, Moldavia, Dalmatia, Bulgaria,—above all, Poland.

The reader will obſerve, that, except ſo far as the Papal See is concerned, we have made no mention of Italy. The fact is, we dare not allow ourſelves to ſpeak of the preſent conteſt. We are not ſpeaking of the queſtion of the ſuppreſſion of the Pope's temporal power, but of the ſacrilege and confiſcation which have followed in the rear of Sardinian aggreſſion and ſucceſs.

That mere Proteſtants ſhould ſee in every aggreſſion on Rome a matter of thankfulneſs, is not ſurpriſing. That mere Anglicans ſhould ſee in the hankering of modern Chambers after the wealth of the Church a diſpoſition to receive an "Italian Reformation," is not an unparalleled blindneſs. But that the general run of Church journals, here and in America, can ſpeak with ſuch nonchalance of the awful, the wholeſale ſacrilege—the deſtruction and ſuppreſſion of monaſteries that had ſtood from the ſeventh century,—how can we account for it? And that Engliſhmen, who have curſed the atrocities of the French Revolution, can complacently view ſuch diabolical butcheries as the maſſacre of Pontelandolfo, to which the Noyades of Nantes, or the Fuſillades of Lyons ſcarcely from a parallel, proves the maxim of the end ſanctifying the means to be conveyed in the preſent day. One queſtion only we will aſk. Can any one deny, has any one attempted to deny, theſe facts?

The Sardinians and their allies have, on an average, killed fifty perſons daily, thus making a total of about 10,000 of the *brigands* and their friends. Setting aſide the loſſes ſuffered in the ſix months' campaign which followed the deſtruction of Gaeta, the combats in the Abruzzi, and the many maſſacres in other places, the victims of Piedmont muſt amount, at leaſt, to

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60,000. The families of 6,000 officers and 50,000 *employés* are reduced to miſery. Skirmiſhes of all kinds, deſtruction of grain, dearth of food, increaſe of taxes, attacks on religion and the clergy, ſuppreſſion and deſecration of convents, add to the miſeries of the unhappy country.

And now we would refreſh ourſelves and our readers by looking away from the poor ſchiſm-rent Church as ſhe is, to that which ſhe was intended to be, to that which ſhe will be, as we verily believe, on earth; as we know, in Heaven!

Jeruſalem, quæ ædificatur ut civitas: cujus participatio ejus in idipſum.
Illuc enim aſcenderent tribus, tribus DOMINI: teſtimonium Iſrael, ad confitendum nomen DOMINI.
Quia illic ſederunt ſedes in judicio: ſedes ſuper domum David.
Rogate quæ ad pacem ſunt Jeruſalem; et abundantia diligentibus te.
Fiat pax in virtute tuâ: et abundantia in turribus tuis!

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XVII.

CHURCH FESTIVALS AND THEIR HOUSEHOLD WORDS.

T would be an inquiry, equally curious and profitable, which ſhould inveſtigate that which we may call the domeſtic influence of the Mediæval Church. How eccleſiaſtical feſtivals became ſeaſons of home enjoyment; how holy days were turned into holidays; how the Church's children learnt, in private life, to think and to ſpeak in the Church's way; how, aſcending higher, the powers of this world, the governors of the ſtate, fell almoſt unconſciouſly into the times and the ſeaſons of her who is not of this world; how, for example, ſheriffs were pricked on the morrow of S. Martin; how lawyers reckoned by Hilary or Trinity term; how every claſs was ſubject to the ſame moulding influence; how boys went a *Midlenting*, and peaſants hunted the wren on S. Stephen's day, and kings held their Maundy. Merchants, over their ledgers, ſpoke the language, at leaſt, of religion; till very lately, bills of lading always commenced with the words "*I*, A. B. *do ſend greeting in the Lord God everlaſting;*" nor are the formulæ quite obſolete, "The ſhip C. whereof D. E. *under God* is maſter;" nor yet that, "To ſail with the firſt fair wind *that God ſhall ſend.*" Gems were inveſted with a thouſand myſtical ſignifications in the eyes of the jeweller; the country ſimpler had his Lent Lilies, his Herb Trinity, his Our Lord and Lady, his Alleluia Flower, his Star of Bethlehem. Children began their Alphabet with a *Criſcroſs;* countrymen ſaw in the aſs the token of our LORD'S entry into Jeruſalem; ſuicides were buried in a croſs way. It was the ſame influence always and everywhere at work; ſometimes beautifully, ſometimes amuſingly, ſome-

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times extravagantly, but always moſt really. The Church, whatever her language, was herſelf vernacular.

We propoſe to give a few of the national and provincial terms which have been impreſſed on Eccleſiaſtical Holydays. It may not be entirely uſeleſs to dwell on them; for we are not yet perfectly rid of that ſtiffneſs which led men, at the beginning of the movement, to call Chriſtmas Eve the Vigil of the Nativity, and to date letters on the Monday of Pentecoſt. That a Church ſhould really be national, her terms muſt be houſehold words, as they have always moſt been when a national Church was moſt efficient. Without further preface, we will begin with the commencement of the Eccleſiaſtical year.

It is curious that the ſeaſon of Advent ſhould have retained its Latin name everywhere. The Sundays, indeed, were not always reckoned in the ſame way, the more uſual method being to count the firſt as the fourth, and that neareſt to Chriſtmas as the firſt. The old rule for finding the firſt Sunday in Advent ran thus:—

> Saint Andrew the King
> Three weeks and three days before Chriſtmas comes in:
> Three days after, or three days before,
> Advent Sunday knocks at the door.

The old Hiſpanic Advent had ſix weeks, the Sunday next after Martinmas being the firſt;* and this is alſo the caſe in the Ambroſian rite.

Church ſaws fixed the commencement of winter to S. Clement's Day. The uſual lines which regulate the beginning of the ſeaſons are:—

> Dat Clemens hyemem; dat Petri ver Cathedratus:
> Æſtuat Urbanus; autumnat Symphorianus.

We have read them thus in a Cambray Miſſal:—

> Cedit hyems retro cathedrato Simone Petro.
> Ver fugat Urbanus; æſtatem Symphorianus.
> Feſtum Clementis caput eſt hyemis venientis.

Or, if the reader wiſhes a verſion:—

> Winter goes off, and ſkies grow fair,
> When Simon Peter ſits in Chair:
> Saint Urban bids the Spring be gone:

* When the Dominical letter is A, there are, in fact, ſeven Sundays in the Mozarabic Advent. But in that caſe the ſeventh falls on Chriſtmas Eve, and the office is of that day entirely.

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Symphorian calls the autumn on:
Saint Clement's day the wind and rain
And cold of winter brings again.

And a very fair diviſion, too, if we add to the times ſpecified (February 22, May 25, Auguſt 22, and November 21), the eight or ten days that the correction of the Calendar, at the date when theſe verſes were written, would have required.

The ſeaſon of Advent has left few traces in natural names. *Advent-graſs* hence receives its title; and in Germany wild geeſe are called *Advent-birds*, and ſometimes, as alſo with us, *Ember-geeſe*.

The Engliſh Calendar gives the old rule for the diſcovery of the Advent Ember-days; the Wedneſday, Friday, and Saturday, after S. Lucy's Day.

Faſting days and Emberings be
Lent, Whitſun, Holyrood, and Lucie;

ſaid the rhyme. The modern Roman uſe fixes the laſt to the third week in Advent, which muſt always come to the ſame thing.

The criſtate verſes give them thus:—

Dant Crux, Lucia, Cineres, Chariſmata Dia,
Ut ſit in angariâ quarta ſequens feria.

The Latin name has remained in modern languages, though the contrary is ſometimes affirmed, *Quatuor Tempora*, the *Four Times*. In French and Italian the term is the ſame; in Spaniſh and Portugueſe they are ſimply *Temporas*. The German converts them into *Quatember*, and thence, by the eaſy corruption of dropping the firſt ſyllable, a corruption which alſo takes place in ſome other words, we get the Engliſh *Ember*. Thus, there is no occaſion to ſeek after an etymology in embers; or with Nelſon, to extravagate ſtill further to the noun *ymbren*, a recurrence, as if all holy ſeaſons did not equally recur. In Welſh, Ember-week is *Wythnos y cydgorian*, the Week of the Proceſſions. In mediæval Germany they were called *Weih-faſten*, *Wiegfaſtan*, *Wiegefaſten*, or the like, on the general principle of their ſanctity (we ſhall preſently ſee the meaning of the word). We meet with the term *Frohnfaſten*, *frohne* being the then word for *travail*. Why they were named *ſoldfaſten* it is leſs eaſy to ſay.

Of the Saints Days that occur during Advent we have three French proverbs:—

Si hiver était outre la mer,
Si viendra il a Sant Nicolas parler.

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of S. Lucy :—

A la fête de Sante Luce
Le jour croit du ſaut d'une puce.

Of S. Thomas :—

A la fête de Sant Thomas,
Les jours gradiſſent d'un pas.

All which maxims ſpeak of the old Calendar. If they are, as is likely, of the fifteenth century, S. Lucy's day falls on what would now be the 22nd of December, S. Thomas's on the 30th. This muſt be kept in mind in the like ſayings.

We proceed to Chriſtmas. In moſt Celtic languages Chriſtmas Eve is called the *Night of Mary*. It is ſtill obſerved with great pomp in the Iſle of Man, the peaſants vying with each other in bringing tapers to church, and in ſinging carols there. The feſtival itſelf is variouſly named. Our own *Chriſtmas* comes neareſt to the German provincialiſm, *Chriſtfeſt*. The Romance languages merely retain the Latin name, the French deviating from it moſt widely in *Noel*. This word became a cry of joy; we find it ſung at Angers, during the eight days preceding Chriſtmas, fifteen times at the concluſion of Lauds, and it thus came to be uſed at other ſeaſons of rejoicing. So, Monſtrelet frequently tells us of the cry of Noel that accompanied ſome triumphant proceſſion. The Welſh *Nadolig* is from the ſame ſource. The German *Weihnachten* has been derived from *Wein*, as if expreſſing the feſtal character of the day. But it is clearly from the inſeparable compound *Weih*, which denotes ſanctity or holineſs, and occurs ſo often in German eccleſiaſtical words. Its compoſition with the word *night*, rather than *day*, is referable to the midnight maſs with which the ſolemnity ſo beautifully begins. In Portugal, *Paſcoa*, as the proper term for Eaſter, is by an eaſy corruption applied alſo to the two other great feſtivals. Chriſtmas is therefore *Paſcoa do Natal*.

Here, alſo, we have the Scotch *Yule*, the mediæval German *Juel*, as they ſay, from *julen*, to be merry. But a more remarkable appellation, *Anklopfters-dag*, from a cuſtom of going round with mallets or hammers, and beating at every door and ſhutter, a ſymboliſm of the anxiety of "the ſpirits in priſon" to be ſet free by the birth of the New King. In Baſque, Chriſtmas is *Eguberi* (*i. e. New Day*): "old things are paſſed away; behold, all things are become *new*." The Eaſtern Church, as we ſhall ſee, gives (not leſs truly) this epithet to the Eaſter ſeaſon. In Iriſh, Chriſtmas is called *Notlaig*; ſimply from *Natale*.

S. Stephen's Day was in the ſouth of France called *Straw*

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Day, from the benediction of the ſtraw, which ſome rituals then appointed. Hence, in Germany, it was *Hafer-Weyhe*, with the ſame meaning. In the north of England it is known as *Wrenning Day*, from the cuſtom of ſtoning a wren to death, a cruel commemoration of S. Stephen's martyrdom. In the ſouth, the pigeon matches uſually there celebrated are a relic of the old rite. In Denmark it was ſometimes called "Second Chriſtmas Day."

The Holy Innocents had a peculiar appellation in England and Germany only, *Childermas Day*, and *Kindermeſſe*. In other languages it is ſimply Innocents' Day. The office of the day throughout the Church was one of ſorrow; in many places *Gloria in Excelſis* was not ſung: in ſome not even the *Gloria Patri*. The colour alſo was black. A trace of this remains in Leigh-upon-Mendip, in Glouceſterſhire, where, from time immemorial, a muffled peal has been rung on that feſtival. But, till a very recent period, not only that day itſelf, but the ſame day in every week of the ſucceeding year, was Childermas Day, and was conſidered highly unlucky. So the *Spectator* tells us of his ſuperſtitious hoſteſs:—"As they began to talk of family "affairs, a little boy at the lower end of the table told her, that "he was to go into join-hand on Thurſday. 'Thurſday!' "ſays ſhe: 'no, child, if it pleaſe GOD, you ſhall not begin "upon Childermas Day: tell your writing-maſter that Friday "will be ſoon enough.' I was reflecting with myſelf at the odd- "neſs of her fancy, and wondering that anybody would eſtabliſh "it as a rule to loſe one day in every week." Addiſon gives the day rightly, for in the preceding year (1710) Holy Innocents fell on a Thurſday.

The election of a Boy Biſhop, which took place uſually on S. John's Day, at night, ſometimes gave riſe to ſcenes of a very unedifying character, both on Holy Innocents' and on New Year's Day. The latter was, in French, *La Fête des Soudiacres*, or more frequently, *The Feaſt of Fools*. The former name was intended as a kind of pun between *ſou-diacres*, ſubdeacons and *ſouls diacres*, drunken deacons; and both in the Eaſt and the Weſt the cuſtom gave the Biſhops a good deal of trouble in putting it down, or at leaſt reſtraining it within due bounds. On the contrary, in the ſouth-eaſt of Europe, the *Miſſa de idolis prohibendis* ſtamped quite a different character on the day, by announcing the overthrow of the profane joy which formerly welcomed in the New Year by an Idol Feaſt.

In Germany, beſides the ordinary *Jahrſtag*, it was ſometimes known as *Eben-Weichtag*, *i. e.* a feſtival equal in importance to Chriſtmas.

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The Epiphany, as it contains in itſelf three diſtinct feſtivals, ſo it was to be expected that we ſhould find it known by a variety of diſtinct names. In the Spaniſh *Epifania*, and the Italian provincialiſm, *Befania*, the Greek name is ſimply retained. In old Spaniſh, however, we find it called *Apparicion*, derived from the Mozarabic ritual, which gives the *Apparitio Domini*. So in the Abbey of Fontevraud, it was *L'Apparition*. Our common Engliſh name, *Twelfth Night*, marks it out as the concluſion of Chriſtmas-tide. For the moſt part, however, national uſages connect its title with the worſhip of the Magi. So in German, it is *Dreykönigſtag*; in Daniſh, *Hellig Tre Kongers Dag*; in French, *Les Rois*; in Portugueſe, *Dia das Reis*. In England alſo, to ſome extent, the feſtival was known as the *Three Kings' Day*, and the practice of drawing for king is a relic of that uſe. In Manx, it is *Laa'l Chybbyr-uſhtey*, the day of offering worſhip. Another German name was *Oberſtag*, or *Der Oberſte*. In Saxony, *Great New Year's Day*, as being a feſtival of more importance than the Circumciſion. In Auſtria, *Perchtag*, that is, Bright Day, for the ſame reaſon that we ſhall hear of in the Eaſtern Church. In the Eaſt, the caſe was different. Here, as every one knows, the 6th of January was at firſt celebrated as the Feaſt of the Nativity, and Manifeſtation to the Gentiles, both in one; and the oppoſite practice was introduced from the Roman Church. The name Epiphany was ſtill, however, applied in many caſes to Chriſtmas Day, and the univerſally received title for our Epiphany was *The Lights*; the Sundays before and after it alſo deriving their name from that appellation. The title originally bore reference to the illumination of Baptiſm, inſtituted, according to the more probable opinion, on that day, and afterwards to the candles with which, as ſymbolical of that, the churches of the Eaſt blaze. There it is ſtill a feſtival of ſuperior importance to Chriſtmas, and in many churches of mediæval France the caſe was the ſame; as at Rouen, where it received the name of the *Star Feaſt*. Again, the ſolemn benediction of the waters in the Eaſt, has given a title, in ſome countries, to the day. Thus, in Illyria and Bulgaria it is known as the *Vodocaerſcta*, the "Benediction of the Water;" in Ruſſia, *Creſhtſhenie*, the Slavonic term for Baptiſm. In Welſh the feſtival is ſometimes termed *Yſtwyll*, gloom-expelling, ſometimes *Serenwyl*, Star Feſtival.

The morrow of the Epiphany was popularly called *S. Diſtaff's Day*, from the goodwife reaſſuming her diſtaff after the Chriſtmas holyday:—

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Partly work, and partly play,
Ye muſt on Saint Diſtaff's Day.

But this, of courſe, was ſimply a jocular appellation. *Plough Monday*, on the contrary, had, in ſome rituals, its own benediction. In Belgium, this is called *Loſt Monday*, as given up entirely to revelling. At Straſburg, it is *Schwör Tag*, becauſe the city magiſtrates are then annually ſworn in.

The Sundays after Epiphany have been named ſolely from their numbers; it being very rare, even in ancient Miſſals, to find them called from their introits. In the north of Italy, however, the ſecond is known as *Marriage Sunday*, from the marriage of Cana, related in the goſpel for the day.

The Purification was, in one ſenſe, to the Weſt, what the Epiphany was to the Eaſt, and has uſually received its name from the multitude of tapers employed in the office, with reference, primarily, to the Light to lighten the Gentiles, which was then manifeſted by the mouth of Simeon. The French Church calls it *La Chandeleure;* in Spain and Portugal it is the *Candelaria;* in Baſque, *Ganderailu;* in Denmark, it is the *Kyndelmiſſe;* in Germany, the *Lichtmeſſe;* in Suabia, *Kerzweihe*, or *Kerzmeſſe;* in Belgium, the *Kerſdag*. In Welſh it is *Gwyl Vairy Canwyllau*, the Feſtival of Mary of the Candles; in Manx, for a reaſon we cannot explain, it is *Laa'l Moirrey my Giangle*, the Day of Mary's being tied or ſecured. But, in the Eaſtern Church, it derives its name from the *meeting* of our LORD by Simeon and Anna; and is there termed *Hypapante;* by the Ruſſian Church, with the ſame meaning, *Srietenie*. And this name was, as ſo often, tranſferred to the Latin Church, by which it was written *Hypapanti;* an eaſy corruption reduced this to *Hypanti*, which was the moſt frequent mediæval name. In the north of Italy it was often termed *S. Simeon's Day;* in France the name was, in many inſtances, the ſame as that in our Calendar—the *Preſentation*. We alſo meet with that of *Suſception Day*. The proverb had great vogue:—

Si ſol ſplendeſcat, Mariâ purificante,
Major erit glacies poſt feſtum quam fuit ante.

So, in France:—

Selon que nos viellards ont dit,
Si le ſoleil ſe montre et luit
A la Chandeleure, croyez
Qu'encor un hiver vous aurez.

There is this proverb alſo:—

A la fête de la Chandeleure
Les jours croiſſent de plus d'une heure,
Et le froid pique avec douleur.

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S. Blaiſe's Day is, in ſome parts of Germany, *Kleine Kerzmeſſe*—little Candlemas—becauſe of the bonfires that it was uſual (for an uncertain reaſon) to kindle on that night. One thing is clear—that the cuſtom, not being peculiar to England, could not have ariſen in an abſurd pun on the ſaint's name, as ſome have affirmed.

The week before Septuageſima Sunday is, in the Eaſtern Church, called *Exhortatory* Week, becauſe the faithful are then exhorted to prepare themſelves manfully for the great faſt. The Neſtorians term it the *Ninevites'* Week, on account of a faſt which they obſerve in commemoration of the repentance of Nineveh. The Armenians, who do the ſame, name it, from an uncertain reaſon, the *Artziburion*. "At that time," ſays a Greek divine, with bitterneſs ſufficient, "the thrice accurſed Armenians obſerve their abominable faſt of Artziburion." The Saturday of the week was known as *Alleluia Saturday*, becauſe Alleluia was then, according to the moſt uſual rule, dropped till Eaſter. Hence we have the beautiful hymn, *Alleluia dulce carmen*, and the magnificent *Alleluatic* ſequence, appointed for that day.

Septuageſima almoſt everywhere retained its Latin name. In the Eaſtern Church it is the *Sunday of the Prodigal Son*, that being the Goſpel for the day. The week that ſucceeds is, in the Eaſt, *Apocreos*, becauſe from Septuageſima Sunday meat is forbidden.

Sexageſima had alſo only its Latin title. In the Eaſt it is the Sunday of *Apocreos*; the weeks, at that time of the year, preceding, and not following their Sunday. The enſuing week is, in the Eaſt, *Cheeſe Week*; in Ruſſia, *Butter Week*; becauſe, till the cloſe of the following Sunday, cheeſe and butter are allowed. The Friday of Sexageſima was, in the north of Germany, the *Kind-feſt*, or *Kind-tag*, being, by a peculiar rite, the Feſtival of the Invention of the Child in the Temple. In the Tyrol, the Thurſday before Quinquageſima was called *Mad Thurſday*, becauſe kept as an eſpecial Carnival; alſo, *Rinne Donnerſtag*, from an uncertain reaſon.

Quinquageſima, or *Eſto mihi*. In Germany this is, in many places, called *Pfaffen-Faſtnacht* (Prieſt's Faſting Night): many mediæval councils having ordered eccleſiaſtics to abſtain from meat from that day forward. It was alſo very widely known as *Eſto mihi Sunday*, from the commencement of the introit, *Eſto mihi in Deum Protectorem*. In the patois of Navarre it is *Dimenge cabée*, a corruption of *Dominica in Capite Jejunii*. In Denmark it is *Faſtelavn's Sondag*, Sunday of the Preparation for the Faſt. In the Tyrol *Rinne Sontag*, probably (like the preceding Thurſday)

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in the ſenſe of *Run-about* Sunday. In the Eaſt, for the reaſon given above, it is *Butter* or *Cheeſe Sunday.*

The following Monday is, in England, *Collop Monday;* becauſe, on that day, the laſt meat, and that in ſmall quantities, was ſuppoſed to be cooked. In Vienne, and the adjacent parts of France, it was (and ſtill is) *Fat Monday* (*Lundi gras*), for the following reaſon:—Some provincial Councils endeavoured to commence the faſt, as in the Eaſt, on this day, inſtead of on the Wedneſday; the people compromiſed the matter by beginning it on Tueſday, and hence this title for the laſt fleſh-day. So in Switzerland, it is *Feiſte Dag.*

Shrove Tueſday. Here, as ſo often, the Engliſh name is, beyond all diſpute, the moſt beautiful and appropriate of any; expreſſing the penitence with which Lent ſhould be welcomed in. In Southern Europe it takes its name from the exact reverſe, namely, from the Carnival. In Italy, it is *Martedi graſſo*, as in France *Mardi gras;* alſo *Martedi di Carnovale.* The Spaniſh Church terms it *Martes de carneſtolendas;* the Portugueſe, *Dia do Entrudo;* or, more commonly, *Entrudo* alone; from the old word *entrudar*, to feaſt. Again, in France, we have *Carême entrant;* or, in the old mediæval form, *Carementramnus.* In Walloon patois, *Mâdicâmentran.* In Danſk, on the ſame principle as Quinquageſima Sunday, it is, *Faſtelavnſtirſtag;* in Germany it is uſually known as *Faſtendienſtag*, Faſt Tueſday. In Welſh Shrovetide is *Ynyd*, which is probably derived from *Initium* Quadrageſimæ, the beginning of Lent, and thus alſo the Manx, *Oie-innyd.*

Aſh Wedneſday has, in moſt Churches, its name from the benediction and the wearing of aſhes on that day. Thus, in German, it is *Aſcher Mittwoche;* in Danſk, *Aſke Onſdag;* in Illyrian, *Ciſta Srijda;* French, *Le jour de Cendres;* in Spaniſh, *Miercoles de Ceniza;* in Portuguefe, *Quarta feira de cinza.* But, from alſo being Wedneſday in *Capite Jejunii*, it is, in Navarre, *Mercré cabée*, like Quinquageſima Sunday. In Germany it was ſometimes *Eſchtag*, ſometimes *Schürtag*, from *ſchüren* (now *ſcheuren*,) to purify.

Lent itſelf has three claſſes of appellations. In the firſt place, thoſe derived from the ſeaſon of the year, as our own *Lent*, akin to the German *Lenz*, and identical with the Dutch and the Flemiſh *Lente*, the ſeaſon of ſpring. Next, thoſe which have their origin from the idea of the faſt. So in Ruſs it is *Velekie Poſt*, the Great Faſt; or ſimply *Poſt*, the Faſt. In Danſk, *Faſtetid;* in German, *Faſtenzeit.* So, in the Eaſtern Church, it is ſimply the Μεγάλη Νηστεία. Thirdly, thoſe derived from the number of days it laſts; *Quadrageſima* in Latin, *Carême*

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in French. And this is the caſe in all the Romance languages, and ſo alſo in Welſh, when Lent is *Garaways*; in Manx, *Kargys*; in Iriſh, *Corghas*. Its weeks, when numerically reckoned, are forwarder by one in the Eaſt than in the Weſt. The firſt week in Lent is, according to the rite of Conſtantinople, that which follows Quinquageſima: according to the uſe of Rome it is that which follows the firſt Sunday in Lent.

The day after Aſh Wedneſday is named, in ſome parts of England, *Embering Thurſday*.

The firſt Sunday in Lent. Good old Durandus labours to explain why this ſhould be called *Quadrageſima*, when, in point of fact, it is not the fortieth, but the two-and-fortieth, day from Eaſter. His myſtical reaſons, if not convincing, are at leaſt beautiful: "Becauſe Lent reacheth not ſave to Maunday "Thurſday, which is the day of abſolution; for by means of "Lent well obſerved, and by true penitence, man ſpiritually "cometh to the Supper of the LAMB; as it is written: 'Bleſſed "are they that are called to the marriage ſupper of the LAMB.' "Again, becauſe the children of Iſrael, being fed with manna in "the deſert by the ſpace of forty years, came, through forty "encampments, to the Land of Promiſe. By whoſe pattern we "alſo, abſtaining forty days from the luſts of the body, are "refreſhed by the word of life, and give ourſelves up to prayer, "that ſo we may enter by JESUS CHRIST into the land of the "living; even as they by JESUS Nave, that is, Joſhua, into the "Land of Promiſe." The more common name, however, was from the introit, the Sunday *Invocavit*. So we often read: "The emperor arrived at Metz on the Tueſday after Invocavit." "The Council was begun on the Wedneſday of the week called Invocavit." It was ſometimes termed *Quintana*, becauſe five Sundays intervened between it and Eaſter. Our old vernacular name was *Shrove Sunday*. In ſome parts of Germany it was *Alte Faſtnacht*, Old Faſt Night,—a relic of the ancient commencement of Lent on the following day, before the additional four days were added to complete the forty. In the Eaſt it is *Orthodoxy Sunday*, a feſtival inſtituted primarily to commemorate the final defeat of the Iconoclaſts, but extended to a general commemoration of all triumphs of the Faith.

The firſt week in Lent was called by the Anglo-Saxons *Cyſwuka*, that is, *Chaſte Week*.

The ſecond Sunday in Lent is alſo, from the introit, the Sunday *Reminiſcere*. In France it was ſometimes called *Tranſfiguration Sunday*, becauſe that event, according to the uſe of Paris, formed the Goſpel of the day.

The third Sunday, or the Sunday *Oculi*, has not, to our

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knowledge, any vernacular name in the Weſt, but in the Eaſt it is σταυροπροσκυνήσιμος, from the Adoration of the Croſs on that day.

The fourth, or *Lætare Sunday*, is called both by the Eaſt and Weſt, *Midlent Sunday*. In Germany, by an odd tranſlation of the introit, *Fröhlechen Sonntag*. In the Weſt it is alſo termed *Refection Sunday*, partly becauſe the Goſpel for the day relates the feeding of the five thouſand, partly becauſe it was obſerved as a little carnival between the two halves of Lent; as now, the *Mi-Carême* in Paris is an occaſion of great gaiety and ſplendour. In Rome, it is the Sunday of the *Golden Roſe*, from the benediction of that token of the Pontiff's approbation. It was frequently termed in Spain the Sunday *Mediante*, becauſe it exactly halved the old Spaniſh Lent, and becauſe the Goſpel commences with that word.

Thurſday of the Midlent Week is, in the Eaſtern Church, *Thurſday of the Great Canon*, becauſe the hymn of S. Andrew of Crete, known by that name, is then ſung.

The fifth Sunday is *Paſſion Sunday*, becauſe then the Weſtern Church begins her more ſolemn commemoration of the Paſſion. Then the two glorious hymns of Venuntius Fortunatus, *Vexilla Regis prodeunt*, and *Pange lingua glorioſi prælium certaminis*, begin to be ſaid. It was alſo ſometimes called *Midlent Sunday*, becauſe it follows the Midlent week; there being many inſtances in the Weſt, where the Eaſtern example of conſidering Sunday as the laſt day of the week may be traced. More properly it was called *Midlent Octave*. In Germany we find it named *Black Sunday*, with reference to the veiling of the croſſes in black, which takes place at that paſſage of the Goſpel, "JESUS hid Himſelf, and went out of the temple."

The Saturday of Paſſion Week, or, as the Eaſtern Church calls it, Palm Week, was named in the South of Europe, *Alms Saturday*, it being cuſtomary to beſtow charity on the poor, in remembrance of our LORD'S words ſpoken on that day; "Ye have the poor always with you, and whenſoever ye will, ye may do them good." In the Eaſt, it is appropriately named *S. Lazarus's Saturday*, and often, both by Eaſt and Weſt, *Palm Saturday*.

The ſixth Sunday in Lent has a variety of names, moſt of them beautiful and appropriate. In England, Holland, Germany, and Denmark, it is *Palm Sunday*; in Italy, *Olive Sunday*; in Spain, Portugal, and France, *Branch Sunday*; in Welſh, *Flower Sunday*. In Ruſſia, it is *Verknie Voſcreſenie*, *Sallow Sunday*, from the neceſſary employment of ſallows in the proceſſion. For a ſimilar reaſon, it is in various parts of England

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Willow Sunday, or *Yew Sunday*. Again, it was named *Tradition Sunday*, becauſe on that day the Creed was taught to the catechumens who were to be baptized on Eaſter Eve; *Indulgence Sunday*, from an uncertain reaſon; *Palm Eaſter*; the *Capitilavium*, becauſe it was then uſual to waſh the heads of the children who were about to be baptized; *Flower-Eaſter*; *Eaſter of the Competents*, or *Paſcha petitum*, becauſe of the tradition of the Creed to thoſe who were competent for baptiſm; *Hoſanna Sunday*, or merely *Hoſanna*, in the South of Europe, as it is in the Coptic Church. In Germany, *Pluem Sonntag*, Bloom Sunday. In the Greek Ritual it is ſimply *Palm Sunday*, though ſometimes called *S. Lazarus's Sunday*. In Georgia, by a ſingular reference to S. Mary Magdalene, it is *Bzobiſa Aghebiſa*, Proſtitution Sunday. In ſeveral parts of England, and eſpecially in Hertfordſhire, it is known as *Fig Sunday:* and in Hertford itſelf and the ſurrounding towns, more figs are ſold in the preceding week, than in all the reſt of the year together. No doubt the origin of this cuſtom was our LORD'S deſiring to eat of the fig-tree, on the Monday following that Sunday. Only it is curious that the tradition ſhould have laſted on through the Middle Ages, when preſerved figs muſt have been at leaſt as great a rarity as natural figs are with us.

The ſixth week in Lent is, in all the Romance languages, as with us, *Holy Week*. The title Paſſion Week, ſo often beſtowed improperly on it among ourſelves, is in Ruſſia given to it by right, *Straſtnoe Nedevie*. The Latin term, the Greater Week, *Hebdomada Major*, does not ſeem to have come into vernacular uſe. In old French it was called, as it ſometimes is ſtill, *La Semaine Peneuſe*. So Hildebert begins a ſermon on the Paſſion: "Septimana iſta, fratres cariſſimi, ex re nomen habens, vocatur laborioſa, vel, ut vulgo loquuntur, a *pœnâ*, *verbo ruſtico*, *pœnoſa*." The moſt beautiful term, however, as ſetting forth its abſtraction from worldly labours, and its holy quiet, is that by which it is known in Germany and Denmark, the *Still Week*. In Germany it is alſo the *Marterwoche*, and *Car* or *Charwoche*, Suffering Week. In the Eaſt it is the *Great Week*, and each day has the ſame epithet, Great Monday, Great Tueſday, &c. Finally, in many mediæval writers, it is the *Authentic Week*; in the ſenſe, we ſuppoſe, of *the* week,—the week that is a week indeed; and ſo we have found it named in a Mayence Miſſal of 1519. The Welſh call it *Wythnos y Grog*, the Week of the Croſs. Tueſday was in Germany, for an unknown reaſon, called *Blue Tueſday*; Wedneſday, *Krumm Mittwoche*, from the confuſion (they ſay) of the Phariſees' Counſel. In Ireland, *Spy Wedneſday*, with reference to Judas's miſſion.

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We come now to *Maundy Thurſday*. It is rather ſingular that this day ſhould not have derived its vernacular name from its great inſtitution, the Bleſſed Euchariſt. It had, indeed, in mediæval Latin, the name, *The Birthday of the Chalice*. So Hildebert:—

> Hoc in Natali Calicis non eſt celebratum,
> Quando Paſcha novum vetus eſt poſt Paſcha dicatum.

But, in modern languages, this did not obtain. In Danſk we have the name of *Skierterſdag*, as, in ſome parts of England, that of *Sheer Thurſday*, from the old root *Skier*, ſignifying pain or affliction. In France it is ſimply *Jeudi Saint*, a term likely to be confounded with Aſcenſion Day. In German it is *Grüne Donnerſtag*, Green Thurſday; the origin of the term is much diſputed. It is probable, however, that the epithet is here to be taken in the ſenſe of *unripe*, inaſmuch as in Slavonia and Carinthia the day is called *Raw Thurſday*, with what reference we are quite unable to explain. In Spain, as with us, it is *Juéves del Mandato*, from the performance of the *mandatum*, the waſhing of the feet. In Portugal it is *Quinta Feira de Endoenças*, Sickneſs Thurſday, on account of the conſecration of the chriſm for the unction of the ſick. In Welſh, with reference to the mocking of our LORD it is *Iau y Cablyd*, Thurſday of Blaſphemy. In Brunſwick it was *Good Thurſday*, and ſo Boniface IX. in a Bull, ſpeaks of "*Bonam quintam feriam in Cœnâ Domini.*" The Swiſs call it *High Thurſday*. In ſome parts of Germany, and in France, *White Thurſday*, from the white colour of that day only in Holy Week. In Auſtria, finally, it is *Antlatz-Tag*, Remiſſion Day, from the readmiſſion of penitents into the Church.

Good Friday is another example of an Engliſh appellation that ſurpaſſes in beauty the vernacular terms of other languages, except the Flemiſh, where it is alſo uſed. But that we are ſo completely uſed to it, we ſhould probably feel what a touching acknowledgment is the name of the work accompliſhed on that day. In ſome parts of England it is *Char-Friday*, that is, Paſſion Friday; a name alſo in uſe in Germany. There, however, it is uſually called *Still Friday*. Denmark has a far leſs appropriate name, *Long Friday*. It is not a mark of very high devotion, that the length of the office ſhould be that which has given the title to the day. *Black Friday*, a name common over Southern Germany, gives the popular view of the ſeaſon, and *Holy Friday* is the ſomewhat common-place title adopted in moſt of the Romance languages. In Welſh, it is *Gwener y Corglith*, Friday of the Leſſon of the Croſs.

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Eaſter Eve has in few modern languages any more recondite name than in our own. In Portugal, it is *Sabbado de Alleluia*, from the triumphant reſumption of the Alleluia in the firſt veſpers of Eaſter. In ſome parts of Germany, it is *Judas Saturday*. In the Eaſt, in the ſame way as the reſt of the week, it is *Great Saturday*, except among the Armenians, who call it *Burial Saturday*.

With reſpect to the Sundays in Lent, the rhyme well known in the North of England may deſerve a little conſideration :—

> Tid : mid : miſera :
> Carlins : Pſalms : Paſte-egg-day.

Or, as it is in another verſion :—

> Tid : mid : merila :
> Carl : Palm : and Good-pace-day.

Clearly there is ſome reference to the various names of the Sundays in Lent : but it is very difficult to fit in the order of the rhyme with that of the Sundays. *Miſera*, is no doubt a ſimple corruption of *Reminiſcere*, the ſecond Sunday in Lent : in which caſe, *Mid* would be the firſt, and *Tid*, *Quinquageſima*. But there is nothing, either in the Introit, Collect, Epiſtle, or Goſpel, which, by any poſſible chance, could be corrupted into ſuch an abbreviation. *Paſte-egg-day* no doubt ought to be *Paſch-egg-day*, that is, with reference to the Eaſter-eggs once diſtributed here, as ſtill in the Eaſt. *Carl: Carl Sunday*, or *Carling Sunday*, or, by a corruption, *Caring Sunday*, is in the Midland Counties a name for Paſſion Sunday. *Carlings* are a particular kind of beans, which, like haricot beans now, were eaten on that Sunday ; and, for quite as uncertain a reaſon as that of their uſe on S. Maurice's day in Switzerland. *Palm* (by corruption *Pſalms*) explains itſelf.

We come now to the Queen of Feſtivals. And here the Greek and Latin, in various corruptions, is almoſt univerſal ; appearing in the French *Pâque*, in the Portugueſe *Paſcoa*, in the Illyrian *Paſka*, and (which is rather ſtrange) in the Daniſh *Paaſke*, the Welſh *Paſg*, the Iriſh *Caiſc*, the Baſque *Phazko*. The Engliſh *Eaſter*, and the German *Oſtern*, and Auſtrian *Aſter-tag*, from the goddeſs *Eoſtre*, whoſe feaſt fell in April, afford a curious inſtance how the Church, when it ſuits her, lays hold of a Pagan word, and adapts it to her higheſt and holieſt purpoſes. This derivation, however, does not ſeem to have pleaſed ritualiſts. So, for example, the piety of Honorius of Autun is more conſpicuous than his etymology in the following ſentence:—" *Oſter* " is from *the Eaſt*, becauſe as there the Sun ariſeth, who, as it

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"were, dies in his ſetting; ſo here the Sun of Righteouſneſs, "which is CHRIST, who, as it were, ſets in His Death, riſes again." Others will deduce from *Urſtand*, the Reſurrection. But theſe are vain attempts to get rid of an etymology, of which, after all, there is nothing to be aſhamed. In Manx, it is *Yn-chaiſht*, "The Holy." In the Eaſt, the common title is Λαμπρά, the Bright Day. Thus a Cretan ballad, deſcribing the celebration of the principal feaſts of the Church:—

Τοῦ Χριστογέννου γιὰ κήρι,
Καὶ τοῦ βαΐου γιὰ βαΐα·
Καὶ τῆς Λαμπρῆς τὴν κυριακὴ
Γιὰ τὸ "Χριστὸς ἀνέστη."

At Chriſtmas tapers kindle,
At Palmtide Palm-gifts bring;
And then upon *Bright Sunday*
"The Lord is riſen," we ſing.

The uſe is the ſame in the Ruſſian Church, where Eaſter Day is the *Svietloe Voſcreſenie*.

In Illyrian, Eaſter Week is, we know not why, *Vodena nedielja*, *Watery Week*, unleſs it may refer to the Baptiſm of the Catechumens on Eaſter Eve.

The Octave of Eaſter is, with us, *Low Sunday*, probably from the contraſt between the rapturous joy of Eaſter, and the more ordinary routine to which we now return. At the ſame time, in every part of the Weſtern Church, it is a Sunday of the firſt claſs. In the Latin Church, it is the *Dominica in Albis*, that is, *in Albis depoſitis*, becauſe then the recently baptized laid aſide their white robes. But the Germans, tranſlating exactly from the Latin, call it *der weiſſe Sontag*, for preciſely the reaſon that it is *not* white. It is as often called the Sunday *Quaſimodo*, from the introit. In the canton of Soleure, in Switzerland, it is *Bean Sunday*, on account of a certain diſtribution of beans which then takes place, and by which the tranſlation of ſome of the Martyrs of the Theban Legion is commemorated. In the Eaſt, it is *New Sunday*, with reference to the Renovation of all things by our Lord's Reſurrection.

Mundi renovatio
Nova parit gaudia:
Reſurgente Domino
Conreſurgunt omnia.

It is thus named alſo by the Armenians. The Greeks frequently call it *Antipaſcha*, and alſo *S. Thomas's Sunday*, in commemoration of his converſion on that day.

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While in Eaſter-tide, we muſt not forget to mention the *Annotine Eaſter*. This was a commemoration of the preceding Eaſter, made on that day in the following year. There is a ſequence for this feſtival, the only one with which we are acquainted, beginning;

Surgit Chriſtus cum trophæo,
Jam ex Agno factus Leo.

As, however, Annotine Eaſter fell often in Lent, and ſometimes in Paſſion-tide, it was in moſt Churches transferred either to the Sunday *Quaſimodo*, or to the fourth Sunday after Eaſter, or in ſome caſes, to Saturday in the Octave. The origin of its inſtitution ſeems to have been the natural wiſh of thoſe baptized at Eaſter, to celebrate the firſt anniverſary of their ſpiritual illumination.

A French proverb about Eaſtertide is:—

Entre Pâques et la Pentecoûte
Le deſſert n'eſt que d'une croûte.

The Second Sunday after Eaſter. This, in the Eaſtern Church, is the Sunday of the Ointment-bearers (τῶν μυροφορῶν), from the Goſpel. In the Armenian Calendar, it is *Green Sunday*, becauſe the ſpring is now, at lateſt, burſting forth.

The Third Sunday after Eaſter. This, for a ſimilar reaſon to that mentioned above, is, in the Eaſt, the *Sunday of the Paralytic*. Why the Armenian Church calls it *Beautiful Sunday*, we know not.

The Fourth Sunday after Eaſter is, with the Greeks Mid-Pentecoſt, from dividing the time between Eaſter and Whit-Sunday. Alſo, from the Goſpel, it is the *Sunday of the Samaritan*.

The fifth is *Rogation Sunday*, with the three Rogation Days following. In Germany this is the *Betſontag*, with the ſame meaning: in other languages the Latin term ſeems almoſt invariably followed. The Week is in Germany the *Betwoche;* in Anglo-Saxon, *Gangwuca*. The Oriental Church, retaining the old rule of admitting no faſt between Eaſter and Pentecoſt, has no ſuch ſeaſon, and therefore no ſuch name. The Gotho-Hiſpanic Church, wiſhing to obſerve the Rogations, and yet unwilling to break the canon, transferred them either to the Thurſday, Friday, and Saturday in the week of Pentecoſt, or elſe to the Ides or to the Kalends of December. In the Eaſt, Rogation Sunday is the *Sunday of the Blind Man*, from the Goſpel.

Aſcenſion Day has not many vernacular names. In Germany, it is uſually *Uffarts-tag;* ſometimes *Non-Tag*, becauſe Nones

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were kept with ſingular ſplendour, in conſequence of the tradition that, at this hour, our LORD aſcended into Heaven. In ſome parts of the ſouth of France it was termed *Bread Thurſday*, from a diſtribution of bread which then was made to the poor; probably with reference to that verſe of the Pſalm, "Thou art gone up on high: Thou haſt led captivity captive, and received gifts for men." In England it has been known as *Bounds Thurſday*; from beating the bounds of the pariſh, transferred, by a corruption of Rogation proceſſions, to this day. In Manx, it is *Jaſdyl*, which they derive from *Jas*, GOD, and *theill*, the world, becauſe GOD on that day went up to Heaven from the world. In Ruſſia, they uſe an eſpecial term for this day, inſtead of the more ordinary word for *Aſcenſion:* calling it *Vozneſenie*, and not *Voſchojdenie*. The Eaſtern Church knows of no eſpecial title for the feſtival, except that, in Cappadocia, from an uncertain reaſon, it was the *Epiſozomene*.

The Sunday after Aſcenſion is ſo called all over the Weſt. But in the Eaſt it is termed the *Sunday of the Three Hundred and Eighteen*, from the commemoration which then takes place of the Fathers of Nicæa.

Whit Sunday. It is curious that this name ſhould be ſo miſtaken. It is neither *White Sunday* (for, in truth, the colour is red) nor *Huit* Sunday, as the eighth after Eaſter; but ſimply by the various corruptions of the German *Pfingsten*, the Daniſh *Pintſe*, the various patois, *Pingsten*, *Whingsten*, &c., derived from Pentecoſt. The corruption is eaſy and plain enough: if more proof were wanted, note—

1. That as it is not Eaſter Sunday, but Eaſter *Day*, ſo it is not Whit Sunday, but Whitſun *Day*.

2. Although the barbarous corruptions of Whit Monday and Whit Tueſday, are now in vogue (they do not occur in the Prayer-book), yet no one ventures to ſpeak of Whit Week or Whit-tide, or Whit-holidays, but Whitſun Week (juſt as *Pfingsten Woche* in German), &c. If the derivations were from White, was it utterly impoſſible that the unmeaning ſyllable ſhould here have got in? Who ever heard of Eaſter-ſun Week, or Eaſter-ſun holidays?

The Romance languages have, for the moſt part, vernacularized the Latin name. But in Spain the day is uſually called the *Fieſta del Eſpirito Santo;* and in Portugal, by the uſe of the word Paſcha we already noticed, *Paſcoa do Eſpirito Santo.* In Italy it is *Paſqua Roſata*, becauſe the roſes are now in full flower. The German name will ſuggeſt to ſome of our readers Göethe's beautiful imitation of Reynard the Fox:—

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Pfingſten, das liebliche Feſt, war gekommen: es grünnten und blüthen
Feld und Wald: auf Hügeln und Höhn, in Büſchen und Hecken,
Uebten ein fröhliches Lied die neuermunterten Vögel, &c.

From the ſeaſon, German every-day ſpeech names a number of common objects: thus, green geeſe are *Pentecoſt geeſe;* the peony is the *Pentecoſt roſe;* broom is *Pentecoſt-bloſſom.* In Ruſs it is *Troitzie Den,* Trinity Day; probably as filling up the commemoration of the bleſſed Trinity. In the Eaſt it is, of courſe, Pentecoſt.

Ember Wedneſday in Whitſun Week is called *High Wedneſday* in Germany; *Good Wedneſday* in the Holſtein, becauſe, though a Faſt, it has ſo many attributes of a feaſt.

The Friday in the Octave is, among the Neſtorians, named *Golden Friday.* For that day of the week being a high commemoration throughout the year, this, in its moſt ſacred ſeaſon, is ſuppoſed to bear the palm from the others; and hence its title.

It was not to be expected that *Trinity Sunday,* as a day of ſuch late inſtitution, ſhould have left much trace in modern languages. In old French it was popularly called the *King of Sundays;* alſo *Bleſſed Sunday.* In the Eaſtern Church it is *All Saints'* Sunday, that commemoration being fixed for this day. The office itſelf was long unſettled in the Weſtern Church. The original collect for the Firſt Sunday after Pentecoſt was that which begins, "O GOD, the ſtrength of all them that put their truſt in Thee," and it is ſtill retained in the Roman Miſſal as an adjunct to the feſtival of the Trinity. The German Church was very tenacious of the old rite. Some celebrated the new feſtival on the ſecond Sunday after Pentecoſt, ſo as to leave the octave clear; large numbers transferred it to the Sunday next before Advent: and this was, we believe, retained in ſome parts of Rhineland to the laſt century, if, indeed, there be not even now a double commemoration. So it was at Orleans till the ſixteenth century.

Corpus Chriſti alſo, as a late feſtival, comes under the ſame head as the laſt. That, in England, as abroad, it was called from the Body of GOD, the vulgar oath ſtill remains to tell. The French Church has abbreviated it ſtill further, into the Fête Dieu.

The Sundays following Trinity are, in the Roman Calendar, as every one knows, called from Pentecoſt. But in the Sarum, and in moſt German Miſſals, they are named, as we name them, from Trinity.

We may obſerve that in the north of England, and eſpecially in Yorkſhire, the Sunday within the Octave of the Patron, or

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Wake Saint, is called after his name. Thus, at Ripon, *Wilfrid Sunday* is a very great holiday.

It merely remains to notice the other holidays which have received an Engliſh vernacular name.

Of theſe Lady Day ſhall be the firſt. That this term was fixed to the Annunciation and not to the Aſſumption, ſhows how, in the earlier times of England, the preſent reſpective importance of the feſtivals was reverſed. In Danſk it is the ſame, *Vor Fruedag;* but in other European tongues it is ſimply the Annunciation. In Welſh it is *Gwyl Vair y Cybydedd*, the Feſtival of Mary of the Equinox; in Manx, prettily enough, *Laa'l-Moirrey-my-Sanſh*, the Day of Mary's being whiſpered to.

Lammas Day, the Feaſt of S. Peter ad Vincula. It would be moſt natural to derive this from Loaf-mas, that is, the benediction of the new bread. But when we find the firſt of Auguſt termed in Welſh *Dydd degwm wyn*, Lamb-tithing day, it is clear that the eaſier derivative, Lamb-mas Day, is alſo the true one. The Manx name has in all likelihood the ſame origin; it is *Laa'l Lhuanys*. *Lhuan* is any creature, more eſpecially a lamb or calf, which comes out of due ſeaſon. It was probably the abſence of an octave, as compared with the great feſtival of S. Peter, that led to the proverbial idiom, *At latter Lammas;* that is, never; or, as the Danes ſay, on the 30th of February. In Germany, the day is *Kettenfeier*, the Feaſt of the Chains,—a literal tranſlation of the Latin.

The ſame feeling which ſuggeſted the Engliſh benediction ſhowed itſelf in all the wine countries on the ſixth of Auguſt. This was the benediction of the new grapes;—and the rite was often performed, as at S. Martin of Tours, by ſqueezing a grape into the chalice after conſecration. So we have *Le jour des raiſins;* in Germany, *Traubentag;* in the Moſelle diſtricts, *Liebfrauenmilchtag*, the Day of the Milk of our Dear Lady (from the celebrated wine ſo called). The Benediction of the Grapes took place on the ſame day in the Eaſt.

An inſtance is within our knowledge of the endowment of a Poſt-Reformation Sermon, "to be preached on Lady Day in harveſt," *i. e.* on the Aſſumption.

Saint Monday is, properly ſpeaking, the Monday after S. Criſpin: a great holiday. In Danſk it is *Frimandag*, Holiday Monday: why the Germans call it Blue Monday we know not.

Hallowmas, or *All Hallows*, or *All Holland*, has ſcarcely any peculiar name elſewhere than among ourſelves. In Germany it is ſimply *Allerheiligen;* and in the Romance languages, a pure tranſlation of *Feſtum Omnium Sanctorum*.

All Souls. This, in Welſh, is *Gwyl y meirw*, the Feſtival of

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the Dead, and ſometimes, more poetically, *Gwyl cenad y meirw*, the Feſtival of the Embaſſy of the Dead. In Spaniſh it is *El dia de las animas;* in Portugueſe, more curiouſly, it is the *Dia dos finados*, from *finado*, a dead body. In Italy it is the *Giorno de' morti.* In Germany, preciſely as with us.

S. Thomas's Eve is, in Manx, *Oie'l-fingan*, the Eve of Cliffs; becauſe men then went out on the cliffs to ſhoot veniſon for the approaching Chriſtmas Feſtival.

The liſt might, undoubtedly, with great reſearch, and wider opportunity, be well-nigh indefinitely extended. In ſhort, wherever the Church was early planted, there her influence over domeſtic language will appear very ſtrongly; where ſhe was not eſtabliſhed till a late period, there ſuch vernacularisms are ſcarcely, or not at all, perceptible. This, we believe, is true to a great extent in Bohemia, more ſo in Poland, and ſtill more ſo in Lithuania. But the examples which have been produced will not have been given in vain, if they lead any one to conſider how completely the Church ſhould mingle herſelf with the houſehold words of her children, and ſhould, even in this ſenſe, become all things to all men.

FINIS.

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